

BULLETIN OF THE RAMAKRISHNA MISSION INSTITUTE OF CULTURE

VOL. XII

No. 1

NEW YEAR GREETINGS

WE extend to all our readers everywhere our sincere greetings and good wishes for the New Year.

The year that has passed has been for the Institute a time of consolidation and planning. All who have visited the Institute's new building have been impressed not only by its beauty, but by the possibilities it holds out for the fulfilment of the aim of the Institute to be a centre from which will radiate ideas and principles of thought that will generate health and strength in a world made weak by dissension and fear.

As we have shown in the pages that follow, the future strength of India depends on her ability to reaffirm now her long-established conviction that the reality of the world is a spiritual reality, and that this truth must be accorded practical expression in every aspect of national and personal life. To neglect or deny the importance of the practical expression of this truth leads to death through inertia and stagnation; on the other hand, to regard the means of practical expression as the sole reality leads to death through materialism.

Thus a proper understanding of the rela-

tion between the spiritual and the physical aspects of life becomes imperative for the whole world. The search for this balance may be regarded as the key to many of the problems of this age. It also adds great significance to the coming together of nations that is a feature of modern times, for each of the world's cultures stands for a particular emphasis of thought which is inclined to leave other aspects neglected. So the nations have much to give each other, and, both consciously and unconsciously, this exchange of influence is taking place. Acceptance of the idea of fulfilment and enrichment through intercultural influences leads naturally to acceptance of the principle of world unity, the concept of mankind as a single entity. Such a concept, in turn, opens the way to the establishment of peaceful co-existence among the nations of the world.

These, then, are the basic ideas which form the guiding policy of work at the Institute and find expression through its classes, lectures, publications, work for international cultural relations, and other activities, and which, it is hoped, will find fuller expression in ways now to be developed.

OBSERVATIONS

ASSERTING THE NATIONAL IDEAL

PLANNING for the future, India is today confronted with many problems which must be solved before she can be regarded as being firmly established on the road to prosperity and progress. These problems concern not only the immediate technical difficulties facing a newly independent country, they also concern questions of ideology, the world of thought, the national motivating force, as it finds expression in the daily life of the people in changing social customs, in the aims of education, in religious expression, and in adaptation to modern innovations.

Technical problems will be left to those qualified to deal with them, to engineers, economists, industrialists and administrators, modern India's 'Brains Trust', who are now laying the foundations of the future national economy.

Questions of ideology, however, cannot be solved in any similar fashion. There is no 'Brains Trust', no group, no body, on whom to thrust the responsibility of guiding the nation's thought. This responsibility therefore devolves upon every thinking individual. It is the general public, men and women in the professions, housewives, business men, students, the great band of office and factory workers, who must give thought and guidance to matters concerning national ideology. The vast ocean of village dwellers, now seemingly ineffective because they lack sophistication and formal education, will gradually become more and more articulate and it may be that as they become aware of the existence of ideological conflict, of the need to preserve the true national thought, theirs will be the stronger influence, for the simple reason that they have less to unlearn, for they live, even now, nearer to the heart of India than do the so-called educated who have been cut off

from their own culture. Thus it is the whole nation that must now unite in the defence of national thought, in the preservation and handing on of that special genius, that dynamic and enduring force, which has for countless centuries, ensured the continuity of the Indian nation.

THE FACTS OF HISTORY

The first task before modern India is, then, to clarify and understand just what that special genius is. Hidden in the maze of political upheaval, economic degeneration, faulty education, and sweeping social change, the Indian national genius is not now easily discernible. To discover this genius it is therefore necessary to look back into the past. Through the written word, through sculpture, architecture, and other arts, through the lives of sages and the thought they bequeathed, through tradition itself, it is possible to establish without doubt, without room for argument, where India's genius lies.

India, 'the ancient land where wisdom made its home', accepted wisdom as its ideal. The study of the nature of man led directly to the study of the mind, the spirit, of man, and thus was established the supremacy of the Self, the inner spirit in which man and all his world had being. History shows that the conviction of the supremacy of the Self became the absorbing national interest. All other interests bowed to this. The ideal man was not the greatest king, nor the greatest warrior, nor the man with the greatest property and wealth. Superior to all of these was the sage, the 'one of steady wisdom' who could point the way to immortality. Similarly, the Brāhmana caste was originally that group in society whose task it was to preserve this tradition. The Brāhmana, 'the man of God, he who has known Brahman', was to be the ideal man, the perfect man.

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He was to be the trustee of the national heritage, and he was to see that the ideals which constituted that heritage were taught to all throughout the land.

These are the facts of history. He who would understand India today must study these facts and ponder them. He must learn from them if he wishes to play any part in leading his country forward out of the mire into which she has fallen. Some there are who declare that since the national ideal has led the country to the sorry pass she is now in, it is necessary to adopt another ideal, a better one. 'Religion?' they cry, as they throw up their hands in horror, 'We have had enough of religion, and it has done us nothing but harm. Let us now try politics, social reform, industrialization, and the pursuit of wealth. Religion will not feed our children.'

Let us beware of those who think in this way, for their argument is based upon a fallacy that could lead the nation to disaster. A calm, unbiassed view of history shows that it was not religion that brought about the downfall of the country, but the opposite of religion, the lack of it, the empty shell without the inner spirit. It was not the national ideal that led the people astray, but their failure to live up to that ideal. The national ideal preached strength, spiritual strength. It was weakness that brought about national decay. Those who decried religion as the national ideal reveal, on the one hand, their ignorance of the true teachings of their religion and, on the other, their ignorance of the history of their country, which shows that decay set in when those true teachings failed to reach the people, but were instead confined to the hands of a few. The downfall of the country was assured when the trustees of the nation's spiritual wealth began to use that wealth for their own benefit, in the form of the privilege of caste, thus exposing the nation to the common human weaknesses that find a ready

habitation in minds undefended by their own spiritual heritage.

If today we find those same human weaknesses rampant in our society, it is because the national spiritual heritage has not yet been given back to the people. The would-be reformer must therefore begin at this point. He must first establish clearly in his own mind the actual existence of such a spiritual heritage, the national ideal. He must see it as a reality, a fact; he must understand its importance to himself as well as to his country, and he must realize the psychological fact that to depart from the established national ideal means death to the country.

POINTING THE WAY FORWARD

It was Svami Vivekananda who set out very clearly the reality of the national ideal and the inevitability of preserving it and handing it on if India was to live. He loved to point out the connection between the ancient Hindu and the ancient Greek, to compare them and show the significance of their different attitudes to life: 'Two curious nations there have been, sprung of the same race, but placed in different circumstances and environments, working out the problems of life each in its own particular way. I mean the ancient Hindu and the ancient Greek. The Indian Aryan, bounded on the north by the snowcaps of the Himalayas, with fresh-water rivers like rolling oceans surrounding him in the plains, with eternal forests which, to him, seemed to be the end of the world, turned his vision inward; and given the natural instinct, the superfine brain of the Aryan, with this sublime scenery surrounding him, the natural result was that he became introspective. The analysis of his own mind was the great theme of the Indo-Aryan. With the Greek, on the other hand, who arrived at a part of the earth which was more beautiful than sublime, the beautiful islands of the Grecian Archipelago, nature all

around him generous yet simple, his mind naturally went outside. It wanted to analyse the external world. And as a result we find that from India have sprung all the analytical sciences, and from Greece all the sciences of generalization.' (From 'The Work Before Us')

The ancient Hindu's analysis of his own mind led to the establishment of religion as the foundation of the national life : 'Each nation has its own part to play, and, naturally, each nation has its own peculiarity and individuality with which it is born. Each represents, as it were, one peculiar note in this harmony of nations, and this is its very life, its vitality. In it is the backbone, the foundation, and the bedrock of the national life, and here in this blessed land (India) the foundation, the backbone, the life-centre is religion and religion alone. Let others talk of politics, of the glory of acquisition of immense wealth poured in by trade, of the power and spread of commercialism, of the glorious fountain of physical liberty, but these the Hindu mind does not understand and does not want to understand. Touch him on spirituality, on religion, on God, on the soul, on the Infinite, on spiritual freedom, and, I assure you, the lowest peasant in India is better informed on these subjects than many a so-called philosopher in other lands.' (From 'Reply to the Address at Rannad')

The decision made in ancient India to adopt religion as the national ideal affects every one of us today : 'Every man has to make his own choice ; so has every nation. We made our choice ages ago and we must abide by it. And, after all, it is not such a bad choice. Is it such a bad choice in this world to think not of matter, but of spirit, not of man but of God ? That intense faith in another world, that intense hatred for this world, that intense power of renunciation, that intense faith in God, that intense faith in the immortal soul, is in you.

I challenge anyone to give it up. You cannot. You may try to impose upon me by becoming materialists, by talking materialism for a few months, but I know what you are ; if I take you by the hand, back you come as good theists as ever were born. How can you change your nature ?' (From 'My Plan of Campaign')

Again and again Swami Vivekananda uttered his warning that if India were to attempt to adopt any other ideal than her traditional one, such an attempt would spell disaster : 'I see that each nation, like each individual, has one theme in this life, which is its centre, the principal note round which every other note comes to form the harmony. In one nation political power is its vitality, as in England. Artistic life in another, and so on. In India, religious life forms the centre, the keynote of the whole music of national life ; and if any nation attempts to throw off its national vitality, the direction which has become its own through the transmission of centuries, that nation dies, if it succeeds in the attempt. And, therefore, if you succeed in the attempt to throw off your religion and take up either politics or social reform or any other thing as your centre, as the vitality of your national life, the result will be that you will become extinct. To prevent this you must make all and everything work through that vitality of your religion. Let all your nerves vibrate through the backbone of your religion. I have seen that I cannot preach even religion to Americans without showing them its practical effect on social life. I could not preach religion in England without showing the wonderful political changes the Vedānta would bring. So, in India, social reform has to be preached by showing how much more spiritual a life the new system will bring ; and politics has to be preached by showing how much it will improve the one thing that the nation wants -- its spirituality.' (From 'My Plan of Campaign')

In his 'Reply to the Address at Ramnad', the same warning is repeated: 'Stand on your own feet and assimilate what you can; learn from every nation, take what is of use to you. But remember that as Hindus everything else must be subordinated to your own national ideals. Each man has a mission in life, which is the result of all his infinite past Karma. Each of you was born with a splendid heritage, which is the whole of the infinite past life of your glorious nation. Millions of your ancestors are watching, as it were, every action of yours, so be alert. And what is the mission with which every Hindu child is born? Have you not read the proud declaration of Manu regarding the Brāhmana where he says that the birth of the Brāhmana is 'for the protection of the treasury of religion'? I should say that that is the mission not only of the Brāhmana, but of every child, whether boy or girl, who is born in this blessed land--for the protection of the treasury of religion'. And every other problem in life must be subordinated to that one principal theme. . . . There may be a nation whose theme of life is political supremacy; religion and everything else must become subordinate to that one great theme of life. But here is another nation whose great theme of life is spirituality and renunciation, whose one watchword is that this world is all vanity and a delusion of three days; and everything else, whether science or knowledge, enjoyments or powers, wealth, name, or fame, must be subordinated to that one theme. The secret of a true Hindu's character lies in the subordination of his knowledge of European sciences and learning, of his wealth, position, and name, to that one principal theme which is inborn in every Hindu child--the spirituality and purity of the race. Therefore, between these two, the case of the orthodox man who has the whole of that life-spring of the race, spirituality, and the other man, whose hands are full of western imitation-jewels but who has no hold on

the life-giving principle, spirituality, of these I do not doubt that every one here will agree that we should choose the first, the orthodox, because there is some hope in him. He has the national theme, something to hold to, so he will live, but the other will die. Just as in the case of individuals, if the principle of life is undisturbed, if the principal function of that individual life is present, any injuries received as regards other functions are not serious, they do not kill the individual, so, as long as this principal function of our life is not disturbed, nothing can destroy our nation. But, mark you, if you give up that spirituality, leaving it aside to go after the materializing civilization of the West, the result will be that in three generations you will be an extinct race; because the backbone of the nation will be broken, the foundation upon which the national edifice has been built will be undermined, and the result will be annihilation all round.'

Finally Swami Vivekananda showed how the practical application of this theory was the way forward for the nation: 'When the life-blood is strong and pure no disease germ can live in that body. Our life-blood is spirituality. If it flows clear, if it flows strong and pure and vigorous, everything is right; political, social, any other material defects, even the poverty of the land, will all be cured if that blood is pure. . . . To take a simile from modern medicine, we know that there must be two causes to produce a disease, some poison germ outside, and the state of the body. Until the body is in a state to admit the germs, until the body is degraded to a lower vitality so that the germs may enter and thrive and multiply, there is no power in any germ in the world to produce a disease in the body. In fact, millions of germs are continually passing through everyone's body; but so long as it is vigorous it never is conscious of them. . . . Just so with the national life. It is when the national body is weak

that all sorts of disease germs, in the political state of the race or in its social state, in its educational or intellectual state, crowd into the system and produce disease. To remedy it, therefore, we must go to the root of this disease and cleanse the blood of all impurities. The one tendency will be to strengthen the man, to make the blood pure, the body vigorous, so that it will be able to resist and throw off all external poisons. We have seen that our vigour, our strength, nay, our national life is in our religion. I am not going to discuss now whether it is right or not, whether it is correct or not, whether it is beneficial or not in the long run, to have this vitality in religion, but for good or evil it is there ; you cannot get out of it, you have it now and for ever, and you have to stand by it, even if you have not the same faith that I have in our religion. You are bound by it, and if you give it up you are smashed to pieces. That is the life of our race and that must be strengthened. You have withstood the shocks of centuries simply because you took great care of it, you sacrificed everything else for it. Your forefathers underwent everything boldly, even death itself, but preserved their religion. ... That is the national mind, that is the national life-current. Follow it and it leads to glory. Give it up and you die ; death will be the only result, annihilation the only effect, the moment you step beyond that life-current. I do not mean to say that other things are not necessary. I do not mean to say that political or social improvements are not necessary, but what I mean is this, and I want you to bear it in mind, that they are secondary here, and that religion is primary. The Indian mind is first religious, then anything else.' (From 'The Future of India')

THE THREAT OF ANNIHILATION

In the light of these words, and in view of the very different outlook that prevails

in India today, it would appear that the threat of annihilation hangs over the country no less realistically than the same threat which, arising from different causes, hangs over the West. Thus in both East and West the threat of annihilation is the crisis of the age, and this crisis itself holds out hope for the future. For a crisis has the power to force man into the right path. Out of sheer desperation, out of the horror of impending doom, springs the clarity of vision required to take an upward trend. This is true in the life of the individual no less than in the life of a nation. So sin and weakness and error, failure and catastrophe are called 'blessed', for they can be used by the man of perception for his own salvation.

In the final chapter of *Fortitude* by Hugh Walpole, the hero of the story finds himself in just this position. He has apparently failed in every aspect of his life. Alone on a hilltop to face his problems, he is overtaken by a storm which matches his mood.

'He felt a great exultation surge through his body.

'Then the Voice, not in the rain, nor the wind, nor the sea, but yet all of these, and coming as it seemed from the very heart of the Hill, came swaying through the storm -

"Have you cast *this* away, Peter Westcott ?"

"And this ?"

"That also—"

"This also —"

"And this ?"

"I have flung this, too, away."

"Have you anything now about you that you treasure ?"

"I have nothing."

"Friends, ties, ambitions ?"

"They are all gone."

"Then out of the heart of the storm there came Voices :

"Blessed be Pain and Torment and every torture of the Body ... Blessed be

Plague and Pestilence and the Illness of Nations ...

“Blessed be all Loss and the Failure of Friends and the Sacrifice of Love ...

“Blessed be the Destruction of all Possessions, the Ruin of all Property, Fine Cities, and Great Palaces ...

“Blessed be the Disappointment of all Ambitions ...

“Blessed be all Failure and the ruin of every Earthly Hope ...

“Blessed be all Sorrows, Torments, Hardships, Endurances that demand Courage ...

“Blessed be these things for of these things cometh the making of a Man ...”

Peter, clinging to the Giant's Finger, staggered in the wind. The world was hidden now in a mist of rain. He was alone - and he was happy, happy, as he had never known happiness, in any time before.

The rain lashed his face and his body. His clothes hung heavily about him.

He answered the storm -

“Make of me a man - to be afraid of nothing ... to be ready for everything - Love, friendship, success ... to take, if it comes ... to care nothing if these things are not for me -”

“Make me brave! Make me brave!”

We in India today, who wish to see the nation grow to previously unreached heights of manhood, need not grieve unduly for the degradation that we see around us in our society. We need not weaken the nation further by barren criticism or empty wailing. Instead we shall gather up our strength and in full self-confidence help the nation forward. Self-confidence we may have in full measure if we take our stand upon our country's past greatness. We shall look back in order to be able to look forward in the faith that the strength that was is the strength that will be. Conscious that this strength lies in the national life-current that springs from the spiritual interpretation of life, we shall now once more make this interpretation

the basis of national life in all its phases.

Like Peter Westcott, we shall be ‘ready for anything’ and ‘afraid of nothing’; ready for success, if it comes, for wealth and progress, for the comforts and conveniences of modern life, and unafraid if they do not come, for we shall not be dependent on these things. The true centre of our happiness will lie not in them, but in the ability to go beyond them to the unchanging inner spirit in which they have their being.

GOING TO THE ROOT

This ability to go beyond the world of physical realities to an inner world of spiritual reality is the central point of what is meant by ‘that intense faith in another world, that intense hatred for this world, that intense power of renunciation, that intense faith in God, that intense faith in the immortal soul’ which summarizes India's national ideal. It will be clear, therefore, that what is required in order to bring the national ideal into play in the life of modern India is a reassertion of this basic attitude. Nothing more than this is required, fundamentally, for if this is done, all other benefits and improvements will flow naturally from it.

The word ‘renunciation’ brings terror into the heart of the average man. To him it brings visions of a life completely barren, devoid of love and joy, devoid of achievement, devoid of simple, natural pleasure, and negative throughout. While it is believed that ‘renunciation’ is synonymous with mere austerity, the national ideal will not be understood. Indeed, those who cry ‘No more religion for us’ have this to support their stand - that for too long ‘religion’ has been synonymous with inertia. The claim of spirituality has been used to hide dullness, stupidity, and mental and physical laziness. The claim of renunciation has been used to hide sheer unfitness for work, the inability even to make a living, and the shirking of

responsibility. The ability to sigh for *mokṣa* has been regarded as sufficient camouflage for slavery to mind and body. Religion of this kind, if it can be called religion, must certainly be swept away.

The poisons of inertia, dullness, laziness, and deceit can best be swept away by a spirit of healthy activity. Such a spirit is now gathering momentum in this country. This spirit, born of the nation's determination to achieve independence, and fostered by success, now marks every aspect of planning and building for social progress. There are signs that the way is open to the reformation of the national character. Some sixty years ago Swami Vivekananda pleaded for the cultivation of activity and energy as a preliminary to such a reformation: 'We want that energy, that love of independence, that spirit of self-reliance, that immovable fortitude, that dexterity in action, that bond of unity of purpose, that thirst for improvement.' It cannot be denied that since that call was uttered, some attempt has been made to answer it. The India that was asleep has awakened, and some of the qualities called for have been made manifest.

It is this that marks the present time as a period of great importance for the future of India. Energy, enthusiasm, the thirst for improvement, self-reliance, and even fortitude are not lacking in the country. But what has yet to be made plain is the direction in which these qualities will be allowed to lead the nation. Will they be directed towards the establishment of political stability and the perfection of political organization through universal franchise and a smooth-working administrative service? Will they be directed towards social welfare, towards the provision of equal opportunities for all in education, health services, pensions, and other such amenities? Will they be directed towards economic stability, to the raising of the *per capita* income of the nation,

the removal of poverty, and insurance against flood or drought, or the failure of crops?

In all of these fields, no doubt, some degree of success may be foreseen as a result of the new-found spirit of activity and the national determination to set the country's house in order. What cannot be foreseen at this stage, however, is in what direction this activity will lead the national character. Before this can be decided one more quality must be aroused, a quality that is at present conspicuous by its absence. This is the quality of unity of purpose. The country has not yet been integrated into a whole; there is as yet no one loyalty strong enough to overcome or sublimate narrow sectional interests. Without unity of purpose, without a sense of solidarity in the country, all the splendid manifestations of energy and activity that have now been aroused will be frustrated. They will defeat their own purpose.

The fact of the absence of unity of purpose in India today is of the utmost significance. It is a sign that the national ideal has not as yet been given its true place in the building of the new India. It is a sign of the threat of annihilation that faces a country that rejects its own national ideal.

To bring her hard-earned independence to full fruition, India must rally all sections of the people under the single banner of the national ideal, which is spiritual solidarity. For India, outward reform is not enough to create a bond of unity of purpose. Reforms through politics, economics, and the principles of the welfare state are not enough to create this unity. Going to the root of all these reforms, however, to the inner world of spiritual reality which is alone the explanation, the rationale, of every ethical endeavour, India will find fulfilment when her national ideal finds practical expression in all these various ways.

THE UNIVERSITY AND THE COMMUNITY IN AMERICAN SOCIETY

OLIVER C. CARMICHAEL

Dr. Carmichael, who is Educational Consultant to the Ford Foundation, was in Calcutta for the purpose of meeting leading personalities in his own field and discussing questions of mutual interest. Amongst the many distinguished positions which Dr. Carmichael has held, he has been Chancellor of Vanderbilt University, and President of the Carnegie Foundation. The lecture printed below was given at the Institute on 30 October last year.

INSTITUTIONS of higher education in the United States enjoy, to a marked degree, the confidence of the community, interpreted in the broad sense. To this confidence is added what might be termed affection, a feeling of an intimate relationship to one's *alma mater* or to one's community institution. The concrete expression of that fact is found in the magnificent support which alumni contribute annually to their *alma maters* for buildings, equipment, scholarships, and operations, and in the splendid response of local communities to appeals for help when their institutions are in need. The tradition of giving to higher education began in the early years of Harvard College founded in 1636. Mr. S. Eliot Morison, in *Three Centuries of Harvard*, recounts the early struggles of the institution when its discontinuance was threatened for lack of funds and of students. One year it appealed to the colonists for scholarship help requesting one shilling from each, saying that if the shilling were not available, a peck of wheat would do. The record indicates that the response was generous and the crisis met. That institution by 1900 reported an endowment of \$1,300,000 and by 1960, \$538 million, representing gifts of alumni and friends. The habit of giving to Harvard established in the seventeenth century has flow-

ered not only in this capital fund but also in a vast array of buildings, gifts of alumni and friends.

What happened at the oldest institution set the pattern for the colleges and universities that were subsequently founded. By 1900 the aggregate of all endowments supporting higher education amounted to \$170 million, and by 1960 this had increased to approximately \$4,000 million. While the tradition of voluntary support of higher education applied originally to the private institutions, in recent years it has extended to those enjoying tax support. The State universities of Texas, California, and Virginia have substantial endowments and many other State and municipal institutions have lesser foundations, which are growing each year. Gifts are made not only to permanent funds but for general maintenance, buildings, equipment, and scholarships.

Philanthropic foundations, such as those established by Carnegie, Rockefeller, and Ford, make grants to all types of institutions but their major support goes to the privately rather than to the publicly-controlled institutions. The older foundations in their early history frequently made grants for buildings and for endowments, now they devote most of their support for higher education to operational purposes, for the improvement of the quality of the programme, for

teachers' salaries, for strengthening teacher education, for recruitment of able students, or for experiments of various types.

SUPPORT FROM INDUSTRY AND BUSINESS

Within recent years corporations as well as individuals and foundations have contributed substantially to the support of higher education. In 1959 voluntary contributions from industry and individuals for this purpose aggregated \$540 million despite the fact that both individuals and corporations are taxed for the support of the public institutions in their States. An organization known as the Council for Financial Aid to Education was formed a few years ago by an enlightened group of business leaders to encourage their colleagues in business and industry to increase their support of higher education. Since its formation corporate business support of colleges and universities has shown marked growth. In many of the States privately-supported colleges and universities have formed associations through which united appeals to business and industrial corporations in their States are made for voluntary support. Each year since these organizations have been established, contributions obtained through their efforts have increased steadily. Both the colleges and the corporations like the plan. Each association has a team of solicitors which seeks help for all the members of the association. Thus, the time spent on this work by solicitors is greatly reduced. By the same token, officials of corporations have to see only one rather than several committees.

The significance of voluntary corporate support can be fully realized by an analysis of what is involved. In effect, the stockholders say to the directors of the company: 'Instead of paying us all the earnings as dividends, take part of it and give it outright, with no strings attached, to the colleges and universities of your selection.'

Thus, it is not simply a few officials who are the contributors but, in many cases, hundreds or thousands of laymen, who chose to invest in the corporation. Except for a very sympathetic and favourable climate of opinion with respect to higher education, such a plan would not be viable.

To sum up the attitude of Americans towards higher education, as expressed by their gifts, it would be fair to say that few causes rank as high. Stockholders in thousands of instances make contributions in three different ways to higher learning: through taxes, local, State and national; through personal gifts to their *alma maters* or other institutions; and through allowing part of the earnings of the companies in which they hold stock to contribute to the cause. If stockholders have opposed the companies' policies in this matter, it has never been brought to public attention.

One of the bright aspects of the postwar era, throughout most of the world, has been a surge of interest in higher education that appears to have no parallel in history. Despite the wintry blasts of the cold war and the wistful references to civilization's chance of survival in this atomic age, a rebirth of interest in university education has been a marked characteristic of the period, and in no country more than in India, where the university population has increased more rapidly since 1946 than that of any other country.

SUPPORT FROM GOVERNMENT

Thus far we have dealt with the attitude of individual Americans, local communities and business groups towards our institutions of higher learning. What is the attitude of government—local, State, and national—toward the enterprise? This question can best be answered by citing a few facts.

All property, land, housing, and equipment of educational institutions are exempt from taxation; likewise, all income from

tuition fees, endowment interest, and gifts, and grants. Individuals and corporations making donations to higher education, and other eleemosynary institutions, are relieved of income tax on all gifts up to fifteen per cent of their total net annual income. The income of many individuals is such that the federal government collects seventy to ninety per cent of it in income taxes. If such individuals choose to donate generously to colleges and universities, the government will actually bear seventy to ninety per cent of the gifts made, up to the fifteen per cent limit, while the individuals provide only ten to thirty per cent : yet there seems to be no disposition to change the policy. In short, the federal government does all it can to encourage voluntary gifts to colleges, universities, and other eleemosynary institutions. On the State level the pattern follows the lead of the federal government. In addition, the State provides thirty to fifty per cent, and sometimes more, of the funds necessary for the maintenance of its higher educational institutions.

A number of cities have established tax-supported universities. Louisville, Kentucky ; Cincinnati, Toledo, and Akron, Ohio are examples. Cleveland, Ohio, with a population 950,000 prides itself on receiving no tax support for its two universities and three colleges. The entire support comes from the voluntary contributions of the community. A Commission on Higher Education in that community has a paid full-time director to work with institutions and business corporations in the promotion of the cause of higher education. In the early months of this year the five leading banks of the community developed a plan of financing those desiring a college education who are in need of help in order to meet expenses. They provide long-term loans at very low rates of interest to qualified students who would be unable to attend college without such help. In short, they propose

to lift the economic barriers to higher education for capable students who desire a college education. The community has also been generous in providing funds for buildings and equipment to all five privately-controlled institutions.

HIGH STANDARDS FOR DEMOCRACY

Two basic ideas undergird the American attitude toward education. They are, firstly, that in a democracy where universal suffrage prevails, education, not of the few but of the many, is a prerequisite to success ; and secondly, that an opportunity to develop one's talents is a right of each individual which a democratic society has responsibility for providing. American history is replete with examples of leaders who, since the founding of the Republic, have emphasized these cardinal tenets.

George Washington said : ' In proportion as the structure of government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.'

John Adams stressed collective responsibility of society in this statement : ' The whole people must take upon themselves the education of the whole people and must be willing to bear the expense of it.'

Thomas Jefferson declared : ' If a nation expects to be ignorant and free, in a state of civilization, it expects what never was and never will be.'

In the late nineteenth century De Witt Clinton, Governor of New York, stated : ' The first duty of government, and the surest evidence of good government, is the encouragement of education.'

Finally, in the twentieth century Woodrow Wilson reasoned : ' Popular education is necessary for the preservation of those conditions of freedom, political and social, which are indispensable to free individual development. No instrumentality less universal in its power and authority than government, can secure popular education. In

order to secure popular education the action of society as a whole is necessary ; and popular education is indispensable to that equalization of the conditions of personal development which are the proper objects of society. Without popular education, moreover, no government which rests upon popular action can long endure. . . .

Business and industrial leaders are motivated, in their attitude toward higher education, by a number of considerations. They share the public's interest in maintaining a strong dual system of higher education. There is a general belief that private and public institutions have supplemented each other in developing an effective programme, and that the United States, would suffer serious losses if privately-controlled colleges had to resort to government support for survival as institutions of high quality. Their leadership in the past has depended upon the quality of education which they provided and upon the tone and atmosphere of their campuses. To maintain the traditional values of private colleges and universities has been an effective plea. Even though the percentage of students attending such institutions has dropped steadily for the past fifty years, until now only about forty per cent of the enrollment in higher education attends private institutions, the conviction still persists that, provided they can maintain standards of excellence, they are, and can continue to be, a powerful leaven for quality in higher education even if the percentage of students served by them drops still lower.

APPLIED RESEARCH IS BIG BUSINESS

Another set of factors influence business and industry to support public institutions. Research, itself, has become big business. Total expenditures for research in the 1958-59 year for the nation as a whole was in excess of \$12,000 million. Three-fourths of this sum was spent by business and industry. The university professors themselves conduct

a substantial part of that research on contract for business and industry, but more importantly they train research workers. If the job of training is poorly done the quality of research will deteriorate and, thus, progress will be retarded. Consequently, business and industry have a vital stake in seeing that university graduates are adequately prepared to man their laboratories.

There is much concern in the United States over the meagreness of support for pure research as compared with that which is available for applied research. Both business and industry are interested chiefly in the applications of scientific discoveries and, hence, allocate most of their research budgets for projects in this area. The universities must bear the major responsibility for basic research and yet they can find relatively little support for this fundamentally important activity. Government appropriates vast sums for science and technology but the percentage of its support earmarked for pure research is distressingly low.

Within the past decade or two some encouraging developments have occurred that give promise of reversing the trend. For example, the leaders in the food industry pooled their resources and established an organization known as the Nutrition Foundation, dedicated to basic research in the field of nutrition. Some forty of the largest companies hold membership in this corporation, make annual contributions, and have representatives on the Board of Trustees. In addition, there is a Scientific Advisory Committee with an able director which screens applications for funds to support pure research in food and nutrition. Most of these applications come from university scientists who are engaged in basic investigation. Over the past fifteen years more than \$4 million have been disbursed by the foundation. Already two Nobel prize winners have won this recognition for work supported by its grants. The organization is re-

ceiving increasing support each year with new companies being added constantly. Many of these companies have their own research departments but support this foundation, in addition, because they recognize the importance of basic research if the industry is to attain its maximum efficiency and usefulness. The findings of its grantees are made available not only to the entire industry but to the public as well.

A group of insurance companies have organized a similar foundation with the object of promoting basic research on degenerative diseases. The American Pharmaceutical Association has also followed the example in setting up a fund to promote pure research in the field of pharmacology.

The importance of these groups is not to be measured by their size and the amount of the funds contributed to research but rather by the fact that all three recognize the obligation of industry to provide funds for basic as well as for developmental research. They may, indeed, be the forerunners of a national movement to recognize the paramount importance of basic research and the business community's obligation to promote it.

It is clear from this discussion of the attitude of business and industry toward higher education that the support provided is not motivated solely by altruistic impulses but also by an enlightened self-interest. If the universities fail to prepare future scientists and technologists adequately, or if they ignore their function to produce pure scientists and to promote basic investigation through lack of funds, business and industry will be the first to suffer. It is, therefore, in their long range interest to do all they can to strengthen universities, to support them in their efforts, to emphasize basic research and to provide help in recruiting and training scientists and technologists. Contributions to higher education are recognized as an investment that will yield dividends in the long run and are, therefore, a justifiable expenditure.

Government as well as industry relies on the universities for assistance in a variety of ways. According to the December 1959 report of the National Science Foundation, sixty per cent of the cost of research performed by the university faculties in the United States is borne by the government. In the light of this fact, regulations favouring universities and the contributions to the support of these institutions from the public treasury are fully justified on the basis of the immediate and long range returns.

EDUCATION AND SOCIAL NEEDS

Research is, of course, only one of the many facets of higher education's contribution to the proper functioning of society in which government has a prime interest. Political, social, educational and professional leadership is, largely, the product of the educational system. If that system fails, society itself and government at all levels will reflect that failure. But there is now a new sense in which government is dependent upon university education for its security and leadership. Since sputnik appeared the public feels keenly the importance of scientific progress. Intellectual and scientific excellence appears to have become a major element in national defence. For the first time in history national superiority has been reckoned in terms of intellectual power. Formerly, we thought of our defence potential in terms of military divisions, airplanes, warships, airplane carriers, submarines. Now we talk about laboratories, scientific achievements, and the number and quality of our scientists and technologists. The strategic role which scientists must now play in national defence makes government all the more dependent upon institutions of higher learning.

In short the interdependence of government, business, industry, and the university accounts largely for the splendid relations existing between these several agencies in the United States. The relationship is revealed

not only in the fields of postgraduate education and research but in professional fields as well. Historically, training for the learned professions— theology, law and medicine— has been a function of the university but, within recent years, the number of professions seeking university education and sponsorship has been greatly expanded. Business administration, dentistry, veterinary science, journalism, social work, and industrial and labour relations are but a few examples of the newcomers in the university curriculum. The American Council on Education issues a handbook of colleges and universities in the United States every five years. In the latest edition (1960) twenty-odd professional curricula are listed and described.

The history of universities records changing emphases and changing programmes but the twentieth century has witnessed more basic modifications in the philosophy and practices of higher education than any other similar period. For that reason there must be constant scrutiny of innovations with a view to insuring that the primary functions of universities are not sacrificed to secondary purposes.

The movement toward adapting the higher education programme to meet social needs has been evident for several decades but its great acceleration has occurred since World War II. The increase in tax support in many countries is an index of that growth. In Britain the University Grants Council was organized in 1919 with a grant of £900,000. It had increased to

£2,225,000 by the beginning of the war and remained at that figure until 1945. Now it is in excess of £35 million for annual operation and some £70 million for building during the current quinquennium. In the United States the major burden of higher education was borne by private colleges and universities until the late 1940's. As late as 1956 only forty-two per cent of the cost of higher education was borne by taxes. Now sixty per cent of the college population attends public institutions and tax support exceeds the income from private sources for the operation of colleges and universities. In all Commonwealth countries, with the possible exception of Canada, public funds bear the major burden of the cost of higher education.

All of this means that universities in these areas are more closely related to their communities than ever before in their history and more subject to public demands. The recognition which this implies is gratifying but it also suggests certain dangers. A university which does not serve its community cannot easily justify its existence but, on the other hand, an institution that serves only its community's needs ceases to be a university in the true sense.

A chief problem of university education in the last half of the twentieth century is that of preserving and keeping vital the universal aspects of its mission while serving the more immediate needs of society. Pursuit of truth is still the central purpose of a great university.

'THE PROBLEM OF EVIL IN MODERN INDIAN THOUGHT'

AMIYA KUMAR MAZUMDAR, M.A.

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THE problem of evil has been the most baffling problem in human experience.

Serious thought has been given to it by eminent thinkers of the East as well as of the West, but modern thought has not reached any agreement in regard to a solution. Broadly speaking, evil is of two kinds : physical evil, or pain and suffering, and moral evil, or sin. Neither materialism nor absolutism is affected by the problem. Evil does not appear on the material plane, for the material universe is neutral, it is neither good nor evil. In like manner, to the absolutist, evil has no ultimate meaning. If we look at the entire universe from the point of view of eternity, what we call evil vanishes. In Advaita Vedānta, Reality is Brahman, which is identical with the Self, consequently, the world of plurality is unreal ; and evil being a product of the world of plurality is necessarily unreal.

The problem may be analysed in the following way. If God is good, why should there be evil at all in God's creation ? Even if God permits evil, why should He not destroy evil since He is omnipotent ? Why should God be merely an idle spectator of the suffering of the innocent, and of universal calamities and catastrophes, since He is merciful and benevolent ? Both optimists and pessimists admit that the world is full

of evil, namely, death, disease, natural calamities, injustice, fraud, and so on. The optimists, however, contend that although there is evil in the world, this world is the best of all possible worlds. The pessimists, on the other hand, are deeply overwhelmed by the preponderance of evil and assert that life is not worth living. Some western philosophers contend that God is good but His power is limited and hence He cannot avoid evil. In other words, God is a finite and growing Being. The only redeeming feature is that God suffers with His creatures, sacrifices Himself, and thus conquers evil for them, as also for Himself, by His transcendent love and goodness. There are others who hold that God is endowed with omnipotence and intelligence, but deny that God can be good. In this view God is supremely indifferent to the weal and woe of his creatures, nay, he is devoid of all moral attributes. In the face of the evils so rampant in the world, they say, God cannot be both omnipotent and good. Ancient optimists sought to explain the problem by postulating two ultimate principles, one being the ground and source of good, the other being the source of evil. The ancient Persian optimists called the creator of good Ahura Mazda, and Ahriman was the name given to the creator of evil. The view that good

and evil are the results of two distinct and eternally separate causes is noticed in many of the sayings of Jesus. For instance, 'A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit'. According to the New Testament, disease, sorrow, suffering, misery, crime, sin, and all that is evil, are the works of Satan or the evil spirit.

CREATION AS GOD'S PLAY

It is evident that the problem of evil is associated with the idea of the special creation of the world by an extra-cosmic personal God. The problem assumes a different form if the theory of special creation is replaced by that of *līlā* (the idea of play, delight). It is true, indeed, that there are passages in the Upaniṣads, particularly in the *Chāndogya* and *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣads*, that the One desired to become many, that He desired to produce a second self. Literally interpreted, the passages indicate that God created the world with a view to fulfilling a purpose. But when passages like, 'There is no manifoldness in Reality' and 'All this is Brahman', are taken into account, it becomes clear that Brahman who is self-sufficient could not have any motive in creating the world. In fact, creation is to be taken in the sense of projection; self-manifestation or spontaneity is the very essence of creation. In *The Life Divine* (Vol. I, p. 155) Sri Aurobindo has rightly pointed out that the whole of creation is *līlā*. This is the Vedāntic view. 'Creation is play, the child's joy, the poet's joy, the actor's joy, the mechanician's joy, of the Soul, of things eternally young, perpetually inexhaustible, creating and re-creating Himself in Himself for the sheer bliss of that self-creation, of that self-representation: Himself the play, Himself the player, Himself the playground'. Again, 'Delight is existence, delight is the secret of creation, delight is the root of birth, delight is the

cause of remaining in existence, delight is the end of birth and that in which creation ceases (*ibid.*). 'From *ānanda*', says the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad*, 'all existences are born, by *ānanda* they remain in being and increase, to *ānanda* they depart' (III.6).

The delight of existence is infinite, and that is why we find variety in creation. Sri Ramakrishna pointed out that since Brahman is indeterminate, no rule can be imposed on the self-manifestation of Brahman by saying that only good and beautiful things should find a place in reality. Bosanquet loved to refer to the proverbial expression, 'It takes all sorts to make a world'. In like manner, Sri Ramakrishna used to say that variety is the characteristic feature of God's creation. There are good men as well as bad men in the world. It is God who has endowed man with noble dispositions as well as with vicious tendencies: there are sweet fruits as well as bitter ones. It does not follow from this, however, that a sinner is to be relieved of all responsibility for his sinful action. Just as every action has its reaction in the physical world, so every action has its reaction in the moral world. One must necessarily enjoy the fruits of one's actions, whether they are conducive to well-being or not. Ramakrishna used to say, 'If you chew chillies you will certainly get a hot taste'. To the question, Why does God create vicious men at all? Sri Ramakrishna replied that creation is God's *līlā*, a sportive delight, whose significance cannot be grasped by the categories of human thought. *Līlā* is motiveless. In this connection, Sri Ramakrishna urged his devotees to bear in mind the distinction between *vidyā māyā* and *avidyā māyā*. *Avidyā māyā*, or the *māyā* of ignorance, consists of anger, passion, and so on, and it entangles one in worldliness. *Vidyā māyā*, or the *māyā* of knowledge, consisting of kindness, purity, unselfishness, and so on, leads one to the path of liberation. It should be remembered, however,

that both belong to the world of relativity.

THE RELATIVE VALUE OF SIN

It was further pointed out by Sri Ramakrishna that the glory of light was enhanced by the presence of darkness in the world. Lust, greed, and anger are there as human sentiments because God desires to mould noble souls who would be able to conquer passions and evils. This reminds one of Keats's view that the world is a vale of soul-making. It is held that it is against a background of hostile environment that noble and heroic souls are best developed. Suffering and struggle, trial and tribulation, help one develop one's personality and character. Although moral evil or sin is a fact, yet it is not a final and all-pervading fact inherent in the nature of creation. Sri Ramakrishna held that all the sins of the body fly away if one chants the name of God and sings His glories. 'The birds of sin', said Sri Ramakrishna, 'dwell in the tree of the body. Singing the name of God is like clapping your hands. As at the clap of the hands, the birds resting on a tree fly away, so do our sins disappear at the chanting of God's name and glories.' Again, it is seen that the water of a well sunk in a meadow evaporates on account of the heat of the sun. Likewise, the water of the reservoir of sin is dried up by the singing of God's name and his glories.

The metaphors and analogies used by Sri Ramakrishna are not only apt, they are pregnant with deep significance. Let us take the metaphor of the tree with birds resting on it. The relation of the tree to the birds is an external or separable relation. So is the relation between sin and a human being. The metaphor implies that moral and physical evil are not inherent in human nature. For instance, fire is merely a material phenomenon; it is not an evil in itself. Whether fire is good or evil depends on the use we make of it. The same thing may appear as

good and as evil under different circumstances. The same fire is looked upon as good when it cooks our food, gives warmth to a half-frozen man in winter, guides the path of a traveller; but it will be called the producer of evil when it destroys life and property, or guides a vicious man to commit crimes. Electricity is good when it gives light, moves a railway train or a tramcar, and relieves pain, but it is evil when it fells a man under the shock of its tremendous current. It follows, therefore, that fire and electricity are neither good nor evil. Phenomena appear to be good or evil inasmuch as they fulfil or thwart human interest.

On one occasion Vidyasagar, the great educationist, pointed out to Sri Ramakrishna that there was no need to have faith in God. In support of his view, Vidyasagar referred to an historical fact—the slaughter of thousands of prisoners-of-war by Chengiz Khan. Vidyasagar complained that God being omniscient, He certainly perceived this inhuman atrocity but did not exert Himself to stop it. Ramakrishna replied that it is not possible for finite human beings to understand God's ways and actions: God creates and He preserves, and it is He who destroys. Man with his limited knowledge cannot comprehend why God destroys. Sri Ramakrishna urged that it was not necessary to persuade oneself to understand the inscrutable ways of God. A devotee need not trouble himself with the problem of evil. All that was necessary in the modern age was intense love for and unflinching devotion to God. As Sri Ramakrishna put it, 'O Mother! I do not need to understand. Please give me love for thy lotus-feet. The aim of human life is to attain *bhakti*. As for other things, the Mother knows best.' When a man enters a mango garden with a view to eating mangos he should not waste his time in sheer statistical calculation in regard to the number of fruits, branches, and leaves.

So we find that Sri Ramakrishna tackled

the problem of evil, from three points of view. First he admitted the reality of evil but denied that it is an ultimate reality. Secondly, evil is there as part of the variety of the world, and it enhances the value of good. Lastly, man can remain unaffected by evil provided he constantly chants God's name with sincere devotion. Once he realizes Godhead, he reaches a region beyond good and evil.

LIFE AND DEATH, COMPLEMENTARY HALF-TRUTHS

Amongst modern Indian thinkers, Rabindranath Tagore has tackled the problem in a somewhat novel manner though basically he is in agreement with the Vedāntic view. According to him, evil and imperfection are necessarily bound up with creation and as such it is futile to ask why there is evil. Like Sri Ramakrishna, Rabindranath denied the absolute and ultimate character of evil. The difference between good and evil is a difference of degree and not of kind. As he put it, 'The towing rope binds a boat, but is the bondage its meaning? Does it not at the same time draw the boat forward?' Rabindranath believed that so-called evil may be transmuted and transformed into good by the sincere efforts of man. He laid stress on the view that evil or suffering is a great educative agency. It is through suffering and pain that man achieves nobility of character. Pain, disease, poverty, are not absolute evils; they arise when there is an absence of adjustment of our individual self to our universal self. Rabindranath pointed out that it would be wrong to assume that there was something inherent in the nature of things which made us miserable. A selfish man willingly undergoes pain and suffering for the sake of the self, in the expectation that what appears as pain and trouble from a limited point of view, would appear as just the opposite when seen in a larger perspective. Thus,

what is a loss to the smaller man is a gain to the greater, and vice versa. From the higher standpoint of a man's life, good, pleasure, and pain lose their absolute value. This is proved by the life history of martyrs.

Life and death are, according to Rabindranath, complementary half-truths. We shut our eyelids one moment only to open them the next moment. When a man walks he alternately puts his feet on the road and raises them. When the child sucks his mother's breast, he is in great comfort. The moment the mother does not allow the child to suck any further he cries on account of the deprivation. The child is reassured when he is allowed to suck the other breast a moment later. Life and death are like the two breasts of the mother, or the two alternate steps of the man who walks, or they can be compared to the opening and shutting of the eyelids. Tagore said, 'It (Death) looks black, as the sky looks blue, but it does not blacken existence, just as the sky does not leave its stain upon the wings of the bird.' (*Sādhanā*, p. 50) As a child learns to walk, he frequently falls to the ground, yet in spite of his repeated failures the child does not lose hope. There is an impulse of joy in the child's life which sustains him in his apparently impossible task. If we were to confine our attention to the many failures of the child in his attempt to walk, the sight would be painful indeed. If, however, we take a wider view, we derive infinite joy from the sight of a child struggling to walk, gradually transforming his failures into achievement.

We should look upon our failures and sufferings in the same manner, in a larger perspective, and only then pain and suffering would cease to oppress us. An undying faith in the inherent divinity of man is a factor which prevents us from accepting any of our disabilities as a permanent fact. What appears to be imperfection has for its ideal perfection in the truest sense of the

term. In our journey towards the Infinite we try to realize the truth through untruths, the good through evil, immortality through death. Tagore said, 'Our will, our character, has to attain perfection by continually overcoming evil, either within or without. Our physical life is consuming bodily materials every moment to maintain the life-fire ; and our moral life too has its fuel to burn. This life process is going on - we know it, we have felt it ; and we have a faith which no individual instances to the contrary can shake, that the direction of humanity is from evil to good' (*Sādhanā*, p. 53).

According to Rabindranath, the infinite possibility of perfection is symbolized by pain. It is only when a selfish person invokes pain for his self-gratification that pain becomes an evil. In fact, he writes, pain is but 'the vestal virgin consecrated to the service of immortal perfection, and when she takes her true place before the altar of the infinite, she casts off her dark veil and bares her face to the beholder as a revelation of supreme joy' (*ibid.* p. 65).

While both Sri Ramakrishna and Rabindranath denied the ultimate reality and absolute character of evil, Aurobindo raised the question as to why evil is not a permanent feature of existence. Aurobindo put the problem in a different manner. The problem is not, Why is there evil at all ? but, When exactly did evil appear ? At what stage in the world's evolution did evil make its appearance ? Evidently evil was not present on the purely material plane, for material nature is neutral, it is neither good nor evil. Evil arises under certain conditions and disappears when these conditions vanish. Aurobindo points out that evil is certainly a product of plurality and diversity, yet when there is oneness and complete mutuality of consciousness, force, plurality, and diversity cannot produce evil. Evil arises when there is a disturbance in the sense of oneness. Yet,

separateness by itself does not produce evil, but, combined with self-assertiveness or egoism, it is the cause of the origin of evil. In other words, evil is the name we give to the obstruction and hostility of the material plane to the creative self-expression of the spirit. It is only when evolution reaches the plane of consciousness that evil originates, for it is on this vital plane that self-assertiveness finds its best expression and becomes forceful so as to preserve itself against all obstacles and hostile forces. This, in brief, is the answer of Sri Aurobindo to the question, How does evil appear ?

There is yet another way in which evil originates. Evil enters the world through the agency of certain forces of darkness which act in a superphysical manner. These powers are always trying to impose their own forces on the creatures of the world. They always hinder the manifestation of light and truth. This world is, in fact, a world of *rākṣasas* and *asuras*, demons and monsters, and although the forces of darkness are powerful, yet they do not in any way constitute permanent features of the world.

THE SOLUTION AND THE GITA

Granted that evil is a passing phase in the world, the question remains, How can we get rid of evil altogether ? Since evil is a cosmic problem, the solution lies not in the development of individual consciousness, but in a radical transformation of existence as a whole. It is true indeed that the course of evolution, which is progressively realizing higher and higher values, holds out a hope that human nature will undergo transformation ; yet we depend on another factor, namely, Divine Grace so that the transformation may take place sufficiently quickly. The operation of Divine Grace or the descent of Divine Light would help to wipe out evil altogether. In other words, the course of evolution would reach a stage when evil no longer would exist as a force thwart-

ing the development of good. The descent of Divine Light presupposes intense self-effort on the part of the individual aspirant—a yogic discipline by virtue of which man makes himself fit to receive Divine Light. Divine Light and the yogic discipline of the aspirant are also complementary half-truths. These two lead the evolutionary process towards a goal which would witness the disappearance of evil altogether.

Any account of the problem of evil in Indian thought would be incomplete without a reference to the doctrine of Karma. *Karma* is a necessary postulate of Hindu ethics and religion. It is not however, a theory which can be logically demonstrated. 'As you sow, so shall you reap', this is how the doctrine has been formulated. It would be wrong to identify *karma* with fatalism. The theory implies that a man can, by his own actions, influence or mould his future destiny. The freedom of the individual self to regulate his conduct and to exercise his judgement and reason with a view to conquering his impulses and passions has always been commended by the religious philosophers and lawgivers of India. The doctrine of Karma is based upon the belief that the inequality between one man and another in regard to worldly position and advantage, the incompatibility between a man's character and his happiness or suffering, offends our sense of justice and demands an explanation compatible with the moral government of the universe.

It cannot be said, however, that the doctrine is completely successful in solving all the problems of good and evil, yet it is the least objectionable as a theory. At least one difficulty connected with the doctrine may be noted in passing. In so far as *karma* is looked upon as *anadi*, that is to say, having no ascertainable beginning in time, it involves an infinite regress. Far from destroying the basis of moral responsibility, *karma* strengthens it. Yājñavalkya laid down that

the fruition of an action depended upon human effort and the favourable factors created by a man's actions in his previous births. Śaṅkara exonerated God from the charge of partiality and cruelty by pointing out that rewards and punishments are awarded by Him in accordance with good or ill desert, and not arbitrarily. Śaṅkara further held that good or bad fortune is primarily dependent upon a man's own actions and efforts. Śaṅkara says that God is to be looked upon as a cloud. Just as a cloud pours forth rain impartially on two adjoining areas of cultivation, so God provides infinite avenues to His creatures without any bias. If the cultivator fails to make the best use of rainfall, he does not get a good harvest; but he does not accuse the cloud of partiality. Furthermore, scriptural injunctions and prohibitions can have meaning only if freedom of action is accepted.

The *Gītā* leaves ample room for the freedom of man inasmuch as Sri Kṛṣṇa urges Arjuna to discharge his duty as a warrior and to fight in spite of his inclination to the contrary. Sri Kṛṣṇa appeals to Arjuna's ability to make a deliberate choice as between alternative courses, this also implies that the *Gītā* accepts freedom of will as valid.

There is no denying that the problem of evil does not admit of a summary solution through any ratiocinative process, yet if we care to follow the teachings of the *Gītā* we may remain unaffected by the impact of the forces of good and evil. It is necessary to realize that the Almighty is seated in the hearts of all creatures and is the origin of all their activities and is the universal background. So a man has to perform his duties completely surrendering his will to the divine will. This is the innermost significance of disinterested action. Work is transformed into worship when all work is dedicated to the Lord. It is necessary to bear in mind that when the *Bhagavad-Gītā* commends renunciation (*sannyāsa*) it is to be understood

in the sense of renunciation of desire and attachment ; it does not signify abandonment of all work. The Lord exhorts the devotee to surrender all his duties and codes of conduct to Him, and gives assurance that He will save the devotee from all evil (XVIII.66). The Lord describes the end as transcendence of all work (*naishkarmyasiddhi*) which is attained through renunciation (XVIII.49). In the realms of both *bhakti* (devotion) and *jñāna* (knowledge), we go beyond the moral 'ought'. Once the devotee reaches this level he is not troubled by the thought, Why have I done an evil action ? Why could I not do good ? From this point of view, there is no duality or division, no relativity or multiplicity whatsoever. He is the same

in pleasure and pain, cold and heat, praise and blame. In fact, he does various actions, but is not really an agent or doer. The distinction between good and evil vanishes because he is able to maintain an equanimity of soul no matter how he is received by friend or foe ; no matter how nature treats him. The metaphysical evil is transcended by the wisdom that realizes the non-dual spirit in everything. The *yogin* who has attained an equanimity of vision realizes the Self in everything, and everything in the Self (VI.29). As the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* puts it, 'Evil does not overcome him ; he overcomes all evil. Free from evil, free from impurity, free from doubt, he becomes a knower of Brahman' (IV.23).

- I was under great temptations sometimes, and my inward sufferings were heavy ; but I could find none to open my condition to but the Lord alone, unto whom I cried night and day. And I went back into Nottinghamshire, and there the Lord shewed me that the natures of those things which were hurtful without were within, in the hearts and minds of wicked men. The natures of dogs, swine, vipers, of Sodom and Egypt, Pharaoh, Cain, Ishmael, Esau, etc. The natures of these I saw within, though people had been looking without. And I cried to the Lord, saying, 'Why should I be thus, seeing I was never addicted to commit those evils ?' And the Lord answered that it was needful I should have a sense of all conditions, how else should I speak to all conditions ; and in this I saw the infinite love of God. I saw also that there was an ocean of darkness and death, but an infinite ocean of light and love, which flowed over the ocean of darkness. And in that also I saw the infinite love of God ; and I had great openings.

SOCIAL LIFE IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY CALCUTTA

BENOY GHOSH, M.A.

Sri Benoy Ghose is a student of social change in West Bengal. He is the author of several books in Bengali on the social and cultural history of West Bengal. The lecture given below, which will be of particular interest to those who know Calcutta, was delivered at the Institute on 12 November last year.

IT is difficult to present a coherent picture of the social life of eighteenth century Calcutta by piecing together the scattered fragments of information collected from widely different sources. But that should not discourage us as the appeal of history, especially social history, is essentially to the imagination. We shall have to project our imagination, bridging across the gaps of knowledge and the dry lands of facts, to behold our ancestors as they were, going about their daily business and daily pleasures. Possibly for this reason it has been said, 'History, after all, is the true poetry, and reality, if properly interpreted, is grander than fiction'. In our case, we have to peer at these social scenes in Calcutta through dim telescopes of research across a gulf of nearly two hundred years.

The information which has been employed in this study has been taken from the usual quarries of the social historian—diaries, memoirs, letters, and accounts of travellers, periodicals, and literary works. Yet, even the whole mass of knowledge is indeed very small compared to the sum total of social history which, as Trevelyan says, could only be mastered if we knew the biographies of all the men, women, and children who lived at a particular time. Now, as estimated by various authorities, the population of Calcutta increased from roughly fifteen to twenty thousand in the beginning of the eighteenth century to nearly 500,000 by the end of it. On the basis of this estimate we can assume

that on an average about 250,000 souls lived in Calcutta during the eighteenth century. They all might have desired to record their individual experiences of life for the scrutiny of the social historian, which he in turn would have found useful. But, unfortunately, we have not even half a dozen biographies of the period, and not more than eighteen diaries, memoirs, and accounts of travellers and other dwellers in the city. Volumes of Government records we have, of course, but they are not a very rich quarry, as far as we have been able to assess, wherefrom a social historian, at least, may extract useful material. We have to generalize and approximate, therefore, on the basis of a small number of references, assumed to be typical but which cannot certainly claim to give the complete picture of a complex social life.

Sociologists have indicated four tentative stages of development in regard to the life of a city; they have labelled them as 'infantile', 'juvenile', 'early mature', 'mature'. Two further stages have also been noted as 'late mature' and 'senile', to characterize the over-development and subsequent decay of a city. Perhaps the city of Calcutta, at least in some of its old historical zones, has reached today the 'senile' stage. It is interesting to look from this city's old age to its childhood in the early eighteenth century, when it was clinging miserably to its original commercial-military core around the old Fort William, now completely vanished, but then located on the

present site of the G.P.O. Custom House and Koilaghat Street Railway Office.

In July 1698, the English obtained from Prince Azimushwan, by the payment of a sum of sixteen thousand rupees, the permission to purchase from the existing zamindars the right to the rent of the three villages of Dihee Kalikata, Govindpur, and Sutanuti. The zamindars were the descendants of Lakshikanta Majumder, better known as the Shabarna Chowdhuris, whose pomp and power can be measured by the extensive ruins of their settlements, offices, and temples in Barisha, south of Behala. The right to rent the three villages was purchased by the English from Ramchand Roy, Monohar Roy and other holders in this Shabarna family of zamindars, for a sum of thirteen hundred rupees, then the annual rent of the three villages mentioned. These three villages constituted the nucleus round which the city of Calcutta grew, in the last 250 years, into one of the largest cities in Asia.

THE NEW CAPITAL

The condition of Calcutta was not at all bright and hopeful in the first half of the eighteenth century. In *East India Gazetteer* of 1815, Hamilton gives the following 'correct description', as he calls it, of Calcutta as it existed in 1717: 'The present town was then a village ... the houses of which were scattered about in clusters of ten or twelve each.' Chowringhee (now part of the main thoroughfare of Calcutta) was then a small village consisting of straggling hovels. It appears from Orme's *History* that in 1756 there were about seventy houses in the town belonging to the English. South of Chowringhee was Dihee Birjee village between the present Theatre Road and Elgin Road, and beyond it existed Dihee Chakrabere, Kalighat, Bhowanipur, and other villages. In the north, even in Holwell's time in 1752-3, Simla, Molunga,

Mirzapur and Hogalkyria were villages in the possession of private proprietors who could not be prevailed upon to transfer their rights to the East India Company. Till June 1757, when, by the treaty with Mirjafer, the Company acquired the zamindari right of all the land lying to the south of Calcutta as far as Kulpee in the 24-Parganas, the area directly under English rule in the town extended approximately to the Chitpur Bridge in the north, the old Chitpur Road leading to Kalighat skirting the present Chowringhee in the east, and the Circular Road in the south. In fact it was not till 1772, when the final decision was taken to remove the revenue offices from Murshidabad to Calcutta, that the town actually got any effective incentive to develop urbanization. The Proceedings of the Committee of Circuit, dated 28 July 1772, are very important from the point of view of the early development of Calcutta as a city. Of the whole proceedings the following excerpt referring to the decision to move is directly relevant to our theme:

'Such a change independent of the advantages which we hope to derive from it in establishing a more regular plan of business, and acquiring a practical knowledge and command of the collections, will be productive of many other important consequences. The numerous officers and retainers of the Khalsa, and of the new Courts of judicature, with all their families, domestics, and dependents, will increase the demand for the necessities and conveniences of life, and of course require a number of tradesmen, artisans, and market people to supply it. This vast influx of people will be drawn to Calcutta, and with it a great increase of wealth. The consequence of the Presidency will be much improved with its populations, as it will lessen that of Moorshidabad; which will no longer remain the capital of the province, having nothing to support it but the presence of the Nabob, and a few families of consider-

ation ; who, possessing valuable property on the spot, will of course choose to continue there. The consequence of the Nabob himself will sink in proportion, and the eyes of the people will be turned to Calcutta, as the centre of Government, and to the Company as their Sovereign. Their manners, by a constant intercourse, will by degrees assimilate with ours ; and breed a kind of new relation and attachment to us. This too will open a new source of trade, advantageous to the mother country, by the consumption of its most valuable manufactures. Nor is this the mere suggestion of fancy, since we already see, that in their habits, in their equipages, in the furniture of their houses, in their buildings, and in short in everything where their religion and the difference of climate will permit it, they begin to affect the fashions of the English.' This is an interesting example of how an induced change in the economic and political sphere produces social changes, and the resulting social changes in turn react on the economic sphere.

THE NOUVEAUX RICHES OF CALCUTTA

This new Bengali urban upper class acquiring the material affects of English culture in the 1700's was composed mainly of the dewans, munshis, banians, brokers, merchants, and farmers of the markets and bazars of Calcutta. Among the families who belonged to this new upper class may be mentioned the names of the Sovabazar Raj family founded by Maharaja Nabakrishna, Clive's dewan ; Raja Sukhomoy Roy, who was dewan to Elijah Impey and whose maternal grandfather, Lakshikanta Dhar, was banian to Clive ; the Mullicks of Pathuriaghata, a family founded by the two millionaire merchant brothers, Sukdeb Mullick and Nayanchandra Mullick ; the Paikpara Raj family, founded by Gangagobinda Singha, dewan to the Council and subsequently to the Board of Revenue ; the Bhukailas Raj family of Kidderpore, founded by Gokul

Chandra Ghoshal, and Jaynarayan Ghoshal, the former a famous banian and dewan to Governor Verelst ; the Tagores of Jorasanko ; the Setts and Basacks of Barabazar, Bengali weavers by caste, who were hereditary brokers and merchants of the East India Company ; the Dey-Sarker family of Simla in north Calcutta, founded by Ramdulal Dey, one of the richest men in Calcutta in the second half of the eighteenth century, who made his fortune wholly by trade and as dewan to Messrs. Fairlie and Co. ; the Singha family of Jorasanko founded by Santiram Singha, dewan to Middleton, and to Thomas Rumbold, Chief of Patna ; the Mitra family of Kurnertuli founded by Gobindaram Mitra, dewan to the Zamindary Kachary of Calcutta, and known as the Black Deputy or the Black Zamindar, against whom Holwell catalogued formidable charges of corruption, nepotism, and misappropriation of money in 1752-3 ; the Ghosh family of Pathuriaghata founded by Ramlochan Ghosh, sarkar to Warren Hastings ; the Datta family of Hatkhola founded by Madan Dutta ; Baranashi Ghose's family, in north Calcutta ; Akrur Dutta's and Hidaram Banerjee's families in Moulunga—all millionaires, who made their wealth mainly by trade and also as banians. There were many others. As all roads in the eighteenth century that led to contact with English rulers and merchants led to wealth also, the number of fortune-hunters and fortune-makers who flocked to the new city from neighbouring villages was considerable. These were the people of Calcutta, constituting the original urban 'aristocracy' of the time, who began 'to affect the fashions of the English'.

As an outstanding example of this affecting of English fashions, I may mention here the Durga Puja festival as it was observed then, by the wealthy Bengalis of Calcutta. Holwell says in his *Interesting Historical Events*, in 1766, 'Durga Puja is the grand general feast, usually visited by all Europeans

(by invitation) who are treated by the proprietor of the feast with the fruits and flowers in season, and are entertained every evening whilst the feast lasts, with bands of singers and dancers'. It is evident from Holwell's remark that the new class of Bengalis had already converted their great religious festival into a 'grand feast' in which all Europeans participated. The following is another description from the *Calcutta Chronicle* of September 1792 : 'The grand festival of the Durga Puja commences on Sunday next. The following are the principal houses where the customary annual ceremonies will take place : Raja Nabkissen's, Prankissen Singh's, Krishnachandra Mitra's, Narayan Misra's, Ramhari Thakur's, Baranashi Ghose's, Durpanarayan Thakur's.' ... 'Of the Nautches at the different great houses, those at Sukhomoy Roy's afforded by much the most satisfaction ; not only on account of the superior number of singers and dancers, but of the coolness of the place ; no low crowds being admitted, and two large swing punkhas being kept constantly in motion. The only novelty that rendered the entertainment different from those of last year, was the introduction, or rather the attempt to introduce some English tunes among the Hindustanee music.' Now, if we remember this attempt of our venerable forefathers to introduce English tunes into Hindustani music, we may very well forgive the attempts of present day musicians to introduce international tunes into modern Bengali music.

- We would like to quote another description from the *Calcutta Gazette* of the early eighteenth century just to point out the range and variety of this cultural hotchpotch. 'Many of the rich Hindus, vying with one another in expense and profusion, endeavour by the richness of their festivals to 'get a name amongst men'. 'The principal days of entertainments are the 20th, 21st and 22nd October, on which Nikee (Bayzee), the

Billington of the East, will warble her lovely ditties at the hospitable mansion of Raja Kissen Chand Roy and his brothers, the sons of the late Raja Sukhomoy Roy. Nor will the Hall of Nihnani Mullick resound less delightfully with the affecting strains of Usha Rani, who for compass of voice and variety of note, excels all the damsels of Hindusthan ; Misree, whose graceful gestures would not hurt the practised eye, will lead the fairy dance on the board of Joykissen Roy's happy dwelling. At Raja Rajkissen's may be viewed with amazement and pleasure, the wonderful artifices and tricks of an accomplished set of jugglers, just arrived from Lucknow ; Babu Gopinohan Deb, urged by usual anxiety to contribute to the amusement of the public, has, besides a selection of the most accomplished nautch girls, engaged a singularly good buffoon, whose performances, and those of a boy who has the uncommon faculty of being able to dance with impunity on the naked edge of two sharp swords, may claim the title of unique. Besides these, the respective residences of Babu Gopinohan Thakur and Guruprasad Bose, have each their individual cause of attraction, and promise to repay by a full measure of delight those who are content to forsake the calm repose of peaceful slumbers, for the hum of men and the bustle and squeeze of crowded assemblies.'

Money was steadily replacing the old traditional criteria of social status, 'blood', or 'caste', and in a growing urban society with an increasingly impersonal character, titles and symbols and the need for the display of money were gaining importance among the new status seekers. Hence in the good old days of the 'Honourable John Company', our forefathers who were also all 'honourable' men, indulged in a fantastic competition for what is called conspicuous consumption. It is important to note that the old medieval sumptuary laws, regulating the dress and luxury expenditure of each

social class according to tradition, were falling steadily into disrepute in the new city, and luxury, competitive luxury, was becoming a daily habit. To spend more and more, to parade, was what mattered most in a society fluid and impersonal.

Government House, built first in the middle of the old Fort William in 1709, was according to Hamilton, 'the best and the most regular piece of architecture' that he 'ever saw in India'. The new Government House, executed by Captain Wyatt, was built on the plan of Kedleston Hall in Derbyshire, designed by the famous architect, Robert Adam, in 1759-60. The Murshidabad palace of the Nabob was replaced by this new palace of the English Nabobs as the dominant centre of new life and culture. The prevailing drama and theme of society shaped itself in the new setting as much as it had done in the old palace at Murshidabad. Power and pleasure, a sterile mechanical order and a radiant sensuality, were the two poles of this new Calcutta court life. One can detect the influence of this court on the city in nearly every aspect of the social life of the new upper class. A baroque character was imposed upon Calcutta throughout the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries. The residences of the English and the local new upper class were built on the model of the new Governor's palace in Chowringhee. In north and east Calcutta mainly, these buildings were dominated by domes, stately columns, and ornamental facades, with sculptures of a sensuous nature placed in the attached gardens. All this can still be seen in the old residential houses of the Tagores, the Mulicks, the Lahas, and other old, rich families of Calcutta. The new standard of domesticity, with the new comforts, the new luxury of privacy, the new voluptuous ornateness, introduced changes in interior decoration, with wooden and plaster ceilings, panelled and painted walls, wooden floors, mahogany furniture, and classical

motifs. The new sense of spaciousness was expressed in the raising of the ceiling and in wide doors and windows, producing an internal order that corresponded to the new baroque characteristics outside. Today, one may still get some idea of these interiors and furniture in the old houses of Calcutta.

It would appear from all this as if the city was built up, in the eighteenth century at least, for the benefit of a few dozen families, who owned a substantial share of urban property and who lived on their unearned incomes and increments from trade and commerce, from farming and land speculation.

THE FLIGHT OF THE UNDER-PRIVILEGED

The domination of upper class dwellings and gardens in the different quarters of the city was at the expense of lower class huts and hovels, and of grazing and arable lands. If one wades through the dilapidated volumes of memorials of old eighteenth century leases, deeds and *pottahs*, in the Calcutta Collectorate, one will be surprised to find the number of large gardens and estates in the possession of foreigners and the local upper classes. The Rev. Kiernande, founder of the Old Mission Church, was the owner of a large estate in Bhowanipore of about 300 *bighas*; Governor Vansittart had a large garden house in Chowringhee which is the present Loretto Convent in Middleton Row. His brother George, a civil servant of some importance, acquired a large property of about 632 *bighas* of land in Dihee Birjee, extending from the south of the present Middleton Row to Elgin Road. The Rev. Johanson possessed hundreds of *bighas* of land on the bank of the river in east Calcutta. David Hare owned huge property around the present Hare Street and College Street areas; missionaries, educationists, administrators, merchants, and interlopers, all were equally interested in owning property in Calcutta. On a rough estimate it may be said every European was in possession of about two

bighas of residential land in the heart of Calcutta in the eighteenth century. The Bengali Setts and Basaks, the Tagores, the Lahas, and the Mullicks, and non-Bengali city-magnates, like Hoozorimall and Onichand, also had extensive property. These were all acquired by forcibly uprooting the real sons of the soil, the Hindu and Muslim peasants, fishermen and artisans, from their ancestral homes. They were either steadily pushed beyond the boundary of the town, or were squeezed and huddled together in slums inside the city, growing like mushrooms by the side of the magnificent palaces of the new city lords, or on the margins of the city, far away from the commercial core and upper class residential zones. They were neither given adequate compensation for the loss of their property, nor were they allowed to enjoy the monetary benefits accruing from the gradual improvement of the city resulting from the betterment of lands, the establishment of new markets and bazars under the Company's management and under private ownership, and with the construction of new roads. These monetary benefits, in fact, safely found their way to the vaults of the rapacious new land speculators and hazaar farmers of Calcutta in the shape of unearned incomes, in the golden days when there was no tax authority.

The grim story of this uprooting of poor local people is recorded in the eighteenth century Proceedings of the Council and the Board of Revenue and in the early nineteenth century proceedings of the Lottery Committee for the improvement of the town of Calcutta.

STATUS AND SLAVERY

There are some other dark shades in this social picture of Calcutta. A variety of economic developments and consequent social changes created a steadily increasing demand for domestic servants, workmen, and labourers, throughout the century, and multiple

sources furnished their supply. As commerce and speculation enriched a host of obscure nondescript men, and elevated them from the streets to the upper stratum of society, and as the new urban society was becoming more impersonal, the necessity of maintaining a train of servants as visible indication of social status, assumed a greater significance in the town than in the country. The new upper class in Calcutta took care that their establishments were no less extensive and costly than those maintained by the English nobility. The demand for domestics was therefore greatly intensified by this challenge from the local urban upper and middle classes.

The gradual break-up of the old village communities and rural organizations of Bengal occurred during this same period under the impact of new administrative and land-revenue policies, particularly in the second half of the eighteenth century. After the battle of Plassey and the acquisition of Dewani by the English, villagers became increasingly unsettled and were pulled towards the town by a variety of new employment opportunities. A large proportion of them was absorbed as domestic servants and day labourers or coolies in road and house buildings, tank and swamp filling works. Philip Francis's Private Secretary writes in his memoirs : 'The expenses of this settlement are beyond all conception. Mr. Francis pays £500 a year for a large but rather mean house. His establishment of servants, which is thought pitiful, consists of sixty. I maintain fifteen, and yet am forced sometimes to clean my own shoes. My greatest comfort is to turn them all out and bolt the doors.' If this pitiful number of sixty is taken as the average number of domestics required in each upper class household, and half of it as being for middle class households, the demand for servants must have been considerable in the period under review. In 1766 it was resolved by Government to have

an office for keeping a register of all servants of every denomination in Calcutta. In 1759, in consequence of a complaint 'of the insolence and exorbitant wages exacted by the menial servants in the settlement', it was resolved to fix the monthly rates, and any servant refusing to comply with this order was to have his possession in land sequestered or to be imprisoned and whipped. Any servant ill-treated by his master was to be released from his service. According to this wage scale a *khansamah*, whether Christian, Moor, or Hindu, had Rs.5 a month, a bearer Rs.2½, washerman to a single person Rs. 1½, shaving barber or wig barber Rs.1½, the house tailor Rs.3, and the latter was to attend at seven or eight in the morning on pain of corporal punishment. This rate was announced with beat of drum and was affixed in public places in English, Persian, Bengali, and Nagri. Thirty years later it was three times as high.

There are very interesting accounts of these domestics in the letters of Mrs. Fay, memoirs of William Hickey and other reminiscences, and also in the periodicals of the late eighteenth century like *The Calcutta Gazette*, and *The Calcutta Chronicle*. Sometimes slaves were purchased and appointed as servants; Calcutta being then an important slave-trade centre. William Jones, in a charge to the Grand Jury in the Supreme Court of Calcutta in 1785 said: 'Hardly a man or a woman exists in a corner of this populous town, who hath not at least one slave child either purchased at a trifling price, or saved perhaps from a death that might have been fortunate, for a life that seldom fails of being miserable. Many of you, I

presume, have seen large boats filled with such children coming down the river for open sale at Calcutta. Nor can you be ignorant that most of them were stolen from their parents, or bought perhaps for a measure of rice in a time of scarcity.' These slave-servants were mercilessly treated by their masters, whipped and physically tortured on many an occasion. This can be well imagined from the statement, already quoted, of Philip Francis's Private Secretary. The labourers and coolies were not placed in a better position. They were in the clutches of middlemen, exploited both by the employers and labour contractors. Like domestics and slaves, the labourers also escaped frequently from the town and the tyranny of their new employers and their agents. The periodicals of the late eighteenth century are filled with notices of such escapes, and tales of torture and exploitation. Labour and servant scarcity was therefore periodically felt in Calcutta, and it hampered the huge construction and improvement works in the town.

To understand the contrasts between the descriptions of pomp and parade with which we commenced, and the picture of servility and depression with which we are closing, we must realize that before the humanitarian conscience of the nineteenth century had begun to shift social attitudes and values, destitution had been accepted as the normal lot in life for the majority of people in growing towns like Calcutta, and the groundwork of a large servile proletariat was a necessary feature of the blaze and pomp of a baroque way of life, which was essentially the upper class social life of eighteenth century Calcutta.

BOOK REVIEWS

ONE WORLD AND INDIA. By Arnold Toynbee, with an Introduction by Humayun Kabir (Indian Council for Cultural Relations). Distributors : Orient Longmans, Delhi and Calcutta, 1960. 63 pp. Rs. 4.00)

One World and India contains the second series of the Maulana Azad Memorial lectures delivered by Arnold Toynbee, world famous historian, under the auspices of the Indian Council of Cultural Relations. The author treats his subject matter concisely under the following headings : The Need for World Unity ; The Movement toward World Unity ; India's Contribution toward It.

The need for world unity is obvious by now : the disunited nations and cultures of mankind 'now find themselves within point-blank range of each other' with devastating new weapons in their hands which, if ever used in a great war, would wipe out civilization everywhere. What men must have, therefore, is a central agency for controlling the use of atomic energy.

The second grave danger, demonstrating the need for men's joint efforts in solving common problems, is the growing threat of a population explosion. 'To prevent disaster, world population must be regulated. If men let nature take its course a point will come where 'famine will bring back with it both pestilence and war'. To bring food production to its scientific maximum the planet must be managed as a single economic unit. Both for sheer survival and also from a moral standpoint, man, remembering his common origin, must learn to be his 'brother's keeper'.

• While the need for world unity is self-evident the movement toward it is less clear-cut. There are disruptive forces such as linguistic quarrels and narrow-minded nationalism. But these forces, says the author, are either the inevitable 'by-products of democracy' or the result of a healthy 'reaction' against foreign rule under colonial empires. However, these empires are fast crumbling and the newly emerging nations

cannot but help recognize, after liberation, the need for international co-operation for the sake of their own development. In non-western countries nationalist revolutions are also accompanied and followed by a determined break with antiquated, purely local traditions, thus strengthening the tendencies toward greater unity in modern world civilization. Similar tendencies, Toynbee points out, can be observed on the cultural and moral plane as men learn foreign languages and ways, and recognize the need for mankind's ethical solidarity as the only means to prevent suicidal wars. The author is emphatic that military methods for unification, as employed by empire builders of all ages, are thoroughly out-dated.

In the third and last lecture, dealing with India's contribution to world unity, Toynbee makes these points : India, he stresses, has a 'key position' in the world, philosophically and culturally, as it is the central link in a chain of regional civilizations, holds the balance in the world-wide competition between rival ideologies and is the homeland of about half the total number of the living world religions.

Next, India faces and has to solve crucial problems which most of the rest of humanity is also confronted with and which have therefore world importance. 'The world's eyes are fixed on India's efforts to modernize her peasantry by voluntary means, on her way of handling the population problem and of giving diverse social, racial and linguistic groups equal opportunities in a united Commonwealth.

Last, but not least, India has through the ages been a source of inexhaustible spiritual strength for humanity. It has developed a philosophy of life which teaches that there are many roads to Truth and God, that peace is unthinkable without tolerance, and that renunciation is more heroic than the use of violence.

Today the world needs India's philosophy

more than even bread or rice, for without it mankind has no chance of survival, no chance of peace, no chance of unity.

There are occasional statements in these lectures with which this reviewer could not agree, as for instance, when Toynbee seems to think of nature as something outside of man or of world-wide urbanization as a prerequisite of civilized progress. But these matters are peripheral in the author's context. They do not reduce the basic value of an important book on vital issues written by a truly great author.*

HELMUT G. CALLIS

CIVILIZATION OR CHAOS ? By Irene Conybeare. (Chetana, Bombay. Second edition, revised and enlarged. 1959. 247 pp. Price Rs. 10.50)

This book which presents an interrogation even in its title, deals with the most vital question of the age—whether humanity, at the present juncture of history is proceeding towards progress or heading towards chaos in the midst of the sound and fury of modern civilization. Miss Conybeare makes it clear at the very outset that she has little faith in the advancement which modern man has been making in academic learning, in science, and in technology. These in fact have created problems which will drive humanity to ruin and annihilation unless there arises a spiritual renaissance through a proper understanding of the fundamentals of the great religions of the world, and through the actual living of the religious way of life.

While not being opposed to the advancement of science and technology, and while realizing the necessity of raising the standard of living of eastern nations, Miss Conybeare emphasizes the fact that the only thing that can ultimately guide our civiliza-

tion out of the present impasse is the cultivation of a 'Christ or Buddha consciousness'. This supermundane consciousness is made manifest on earth in different ages through the divine wisdom and truth-realization of master minds which have led the world to light and delight from darkness and remorse.

With this truth as her major premise, Miss Conybeare makes an honest and efficient attempt to extract the essence of religion which may serve as a real dynamic in our life, preparing us for a regenerated 'New Humanity'. Her understanding of the essence of the great oriental and occidental religions is deep and sympathetic, and with this understanding she has drawn living inspiration from her Master, Meher Baba, the Indian saint, whom she believes to be the *Avatara* of the present epoch. She places before us indeed a very inspiring vision of the New Humanity. But the main difficulty with us, the readers, is that Miss Conybeare seems to be running all through on parallel lines with the materialists and atheists of the age. She selects topics and gathers material and offers interpretations and observations from faiths and convictions that are rooted in the very depths of her being; but how to turn the sceptical man from his path of doubt and denial to which the facts of life, he would say, are invariably leading him? The reasons behind the increasingly materialist attitude of man, some analyses of causes and fallacies, these might have been more convincing to the modern man than the rationalization of religious tenets and even of myths and legends. The book, therefore, may not help a materialist or a sceptic to turn towards the truth of spirituality to the extent that it will strengthen and enlighten the faithful in their path of spirituality.

S. B. DAS GUPTA

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

Intercultural Studies in Utah

A report is given in Institute News in this issue of a visit from Dr. Helmut G. Callis. During the course of his visit Dr. Callis informed the Institute that the University of Utah, where he is Professor of History, established an Institute of Intercultural Studies in 1959. At present the studies are concerned with the cultures of the Middle East. On Dr. Callis's return to his university this year he will be given a free hand to develop the India department. Dr. Callis has promised to send full information about the work of his Institute, which will be published in due course in this section.

A New International Centre in Delhi

On 30 November Crown Prince Akihito of Japan laid the foundation stone of the India International Centre in Delhi. The centre, which is being built with the help of the Rockefeller Foundation, is being established for the promotion of understanding and amity among the different communities of the world.

Scientists and Peace

In 1957, a Canadian industrialist, Mr. Cyrus Eaton, conceived the idea of inviting nine of the world's top scientists to meet at his home in Pugwash, Nova Scotia, 'to talk and think together about world problems'. The first conference was organized by Bertrand Russell. In 1958, a meeting of scientists was held in Austria. In 1959, twenty-five scientists met at Mr. Eaton's home again to discuss biological and chemical warfare. The 1960 conference was held in Moscow in November, and was attended by fifty outstanding scientists from more than ten countries, the largest national groups being from the Soviet Union and the U.S.A.

The subjects that were discussed were disarmament, control over armaments, and the contribution of scientists to enduring peace on earth. The next 'Pugwash conference' will be held in the U.S.A. this summer.

Russian Book Exhibition

Nearly 2,000 books on sociology, art, and science in English and Indian languages were displayed at the Calcutta University Institute during November and December, under the auspices of the Indo-Soviet Cultural Society and the U.S.S.R. Consulate-General. The books displayed included works by Indian authors published in the U.S.S.R., and by Soviet authors on India, children's books, and rare publications showing Indo-Russian cultural ties. Some rare books were supplied by the National Library and by the Asiatic Society.

Tagore Centenary News

During 1961 it is proposed to set up Tagore Chairs in Indian and foreign universities. London University has decided to establish a Tagore Foundation Chair at the School of Oriental and African Studies. Six American universities are proposing to establish such Chairs. Amongst the many publications being produced to celebrate the Tagore Centenary this year, one is of particular interest: eighteen selected essays by Tagore will be published by the Sahitya Akademi, Delhi, in a book entitled *Towards Universal Man*, and will appear in a large number of languages. These essays have been selected by forty people from West Bengal and forty from various parts of the world.

Twelve volumes of Rabindranath's works will be published in the Soviet Union in observance of the poet's centenary this year.

INSTITUTE NEWS

DURING November the Institute has been fortunate in having close and friendly contact with Dr. Helmut G. Callis, Professor of History, since 1947, at the University of Utah, U.S.A. Dr. Callis has made a special study of social and political conditions in Asia, and has lived in all the major countries of Asia for considerable periods. Dr. and Mrs. Callis were resident in Peking for several years, during which period they made a study of the circumstances governing the development of communism in China. Subsequently Dr. Callis prepared his work, *China, Confucian and Communist*, published by Henry Holt and Company.

During the Second World War Dr. Callis served as a consultant to the Far East Division of the Office of Strategic Services in Washington. He has also served at the University of Michigan as Director of the East Asia Area Programme, and at Yale in the Foreign Area Studies and Staff Officers' School. He has been the recipient of both Rockefeller and Ford Fellowships, and is now spending one year in India as a research scholar under the Fulbright programme, his subject being the study of traditional values in India and the effect on them of modern patterns of change.

On being introduced to the Institute Dr. Callis responded with warm interest to the aims and work of the Institute, and gave most generously of his time and council on many matters pertaining to the development of the Institute's objectives. In addition, Dr. Callis was good enough to fit in to his crowded programme a lecture which he delivered at the Institute on Saturday, 26 November, entitled 'East and West—Have They Met?' This lecture will be published in the February issue of the *Bulletin* and should be of value to all concerned with intercultural and inter-religious affairs.

The Institute looks forward to further

visits from Dr. and Mrs. Callis and their two young sons.

* * *

In September Mr. A. A. Ehteshami, Chancellor at the Consulate General of Iran, Calcutta, paid a visit to the Institute, accompanied by Mr. A. A. Jand, Assistant Cultural Counsellor at the Iranian Embassy, New Delhi, Mr. M. Kangar Parsi, Director of the Iranian Cultural House, Calcutta, and representative of the Iranian Ministry of Education, and Dr. Hira Lal Chopra, Lecturer in Islamic History and Culture at Calcutta University. Mr. Ehteshami and his colleagues expressed their warm appreciation of the work and aims of the Institute, particularly in strengthening cultural relations between India and other countries of the world. Their visit was of great significance as it marked the first steps in the direction of the School of Languages which the Institute has been planning to develop in the new building, as part of a wider scheme of studies. Arrangements are now being made between the Institute, Iranian Cultural House, and the Iranian Embassy in New Delhi to establish classes in Persian to be conducted by Mr. Kangar Parsi, and also classes in Iranian culture. Towards this end, the Institute has received as a gift, through the Iranian Embassy in New Delhi, fifty-one copies of Teheran University publications, eight text-books for schools, a map of Iran, and a copy of the report of a Press Conference given by His Imperial Majesty, the Shah of Iran. These publications are now in the Institute's library. In addition, another 140 copies of school text-books are on their way from Iran. The Institute is greatly impressed by the generous and immediate practical response to its needs, on the part of the Government of Iran. This collaboration will serve to deepen the long-standing cultural ties between India and Iran.

On 10 September, Mr. M. Kamgar Parsi, speaking in Persian, gave an address at the Institute on 'Education in Iran Today'. Mr. Parsi is a poet and a writer, and has had wide experience in teaching and in educational administration in Iran. Dr. Hira Lal Chopra, who presided over the meeting, gave a synopsis in English at the conclusion of the lecture. Dr. Chopra quoted Mr. Parsi as saying: 'Culture is not the monopoly of any single nation, but it is a common heritage for the whole world. Iran possesses an historical background of culture which is 2,500 years old, but she can equally well boast of cultural contacts with neighbouring highly advanced countries like India, whose Aryan culture is as old as that of Iran herself'. Dr. Chopra went on to say that, educationally, Iran had advanced phenomenally during the reign of the present Shah, who himself took a very keen interest in the education of his country's youth. Education was free in Iran and more than 13,000 Iranian students, studying abroad in the universities of Europe and America, were either being fully supported or substantially subsidized by the Government of Iran.

Another distinguished visitor to the Institute in November was the Tamil scholar and author, Professor A. Srinivas Raghavan, M.A., Principal of, and Professor of English at, the V. O. Chidambaram College, Tuticorin, Madras State. Professor Raghavan is a member of the Syndicate and the Boards of Studies in English and oriental languages of the University of Madras. He began writing in Tamil at an early age, and his essays were first published in *Kala Nilayam* in 1927. Since then he has developed as a literary critic, playwright, poet, and essayist. He is amongst the foremost speakers in Tamil Nad on literature and art, both in Tamil and English.

The occasion of Professor Raghavan's

visit to the Institute was the two-day All-India Tamil Writers' Conference, convened by the Tamil Writers' Association in Calcutta. Sri Raghavan was President of the Conference, and the Guest-in-Chief was Sri T. N. Kumaraswamy, a scholar in Tamil and Bengali, who first translated some of the outstanding literature of Bengal into Tamil.

Writers from all over India and from neighbouring countries attended, and the highlight of the conference was the presentation of the silver *decpasthambam* to two Bengali authors: Srimati Ashapurama Devi, and Sri Tara Sankar Banerjee. Sri T. N. Kumaraswamy and Professor Raghavan were also honoured with presentations.

One of the aims of the Association is to develop close contact with the writers of Bengal. It is hoped that by such contact and interchange of ideas, an enrichment of the literatures of both languages may develop, and the emotional integration of the two linguistic groups may be encouraged.

* * *

Among those who stayed in the Institute's International Hostel during August to November were the following:

Mr. Siegfried Niemuth, from Germany, who was in India to study Indian philosophy and visit places of religious and artistic interest;

Professor P. C. Koller, Professor of Cytogenetics at the University of London, and adviser to the World Health Organization on radiobiology, and therapy in relation to radiation accidents. During his stay in Calcutta Professor Koller lectured at the Bose Institute;

Mr. Ninian Smart, Lecturer in the History and Philosophy of Religion at King's College, London, whose lecture on 'Morals, Materialism, and Religion', appeared in the November issue of the *Bulletin*;

Dr. T. Caspersson, from Sweden, Profes-

sor of Medical Cell Research and Genetics, Director of the Nobel Institute for Cell Research, and of the Wallenberg Institute for Experimental Cell Research. Dr. Caspersson was visiting and lecturing at the Chittaranjan Cancer Research Institute, Calcutta. Amongst the many organizations of importance with which Dr. Caspersson is connected, it is of especial interest to the Institute to note that he is a member of the Swedish Unesco Council, and the Swedish Institute for Cultural Exchange with Foreign Countries.

Mr. James McAuley, M.A., Dip. Ed., and Mr. John Thompson, B.A., both from Australia; Mr. McAuley is a writer and Senior Lecturer in the Australian Government's School of Pacific Administration; Mr. Thompson is also a writer, and is a feature programmes organizer for the Australian Broadcasting Commission. Both came to India under the auspices of the Indian Council for Cultural Relations to meet Indian writers. Mr. Thompson plans to collect documentary material on tape and film for radio and television programmes in Australia;

Dr. F. A. Logan, A.D., M.A., Ph.D. from America, is a professor of American history, and is on a Fulbright programme assignment to universities in India. He is at present attached to Calcutta University;

Professor T. Fukutake, from Japan. Professor of Sociology at the University of Tokyo, was visiting India under a UNESCO Fellowship.

Mr. S. Kikuchi, from Japan. Managing Director of the Asian Culture Library, Tokyo, is visiting India by invitation of the Indian Council for Cultural Relations. He has shown particular interest in the Institute's library, and has held discussions with the Librarian, Sri B. Majumdar;

Mr. Edward Kiesz Kiewicz, M.A., who comes from Poland, is doing research in art subjects at Banaras Hindu University, and came to Calcutta on a visit;

Brigadier P. V. Subramanyam, B.E., Director, Vehicles and Engineering, Ministry of Defence, New Delhi, stayed at the Institute and acquainted himself with its work;

Swami Vishuddhananda, Vice-President of the Ramakrishna Mission, stayed at the Institute for two-and-a-half weeks;

Sri Manubhai Shah, Minister for Commerce and Industry, Government of India;

Mr. Gilles Guay, B.A., LL.B., Attorney-at-Law, from Canada, who was on a visit to India to pursue studies in religion;

M. Pierre Oppliger, from Switzerland, a Professor of French, and a social worker representing the Food for Peace Campaign;

Mr. Peter Bell, from England, a student of Trinity College, Dublin, where he is studying for his B.Sc. in economics. Mr. Bell was spending his vacation touring;

Mr. Brimo Kulezycki, from Poland, who is studying ancient Indian history and culture at the Calcutta University in the M.A. course;

Mr. Seymour Scheinberg, B.A., M.A., from California, U.S.A., a Fulbright Scholar doing research in connection with Sikkim and Bhutan; and

Mr. Paul M. Charlwood, from England, a student of St. Catherine's College, Cambridge. In August 1959, he came to India on a British Council Scholarship. Since its expiry he has remained in this country, in order to study religion in India.

During the same period the Institute also accommodated students, post-graduate students, and scholars from Thailand, Burma, India, and Japan.

The following are amongst those who have paid short visits to the Institute:

Dr. B. V. Kesar, Minister for Information and Broadcasting, Government of India;

Mr. Paal Bvekke, a poet and author of repute from Norway;

Madame Yvonne Panitza, from Paris, who was introduced to the Institute by Dr. Bannate, Head of the Philosophy and

Humanistics Study Section of UNESCO, and Princesse Jeanne-Marie de Broglie, also from Paris ;

• Ir. W. Werner, Deputy Director of Television Development for the firm of N. V. Philips, Eindhoven, Amsterdam.

* * *

During October the library added 270 books to the accession list, and during November 307 books were added. Of the total of 577 books, 421 were purchased and 156 were gifts. In October 300 books were classified and catalogued, 671 were borrowed, and 865 were issued for reference. In November 672 books were classified and catalogued, 1,517 were borrowed, and 1,232 were issued for reference. In October and November the reading room contained respectively 304 and 306 Indian and foreign periodicals.

The childrens' library added 51 books to stock during October and 131 during November, making a total of 1,997 books in stock. In October the childrens' library had 305 members, and an average daily attendance of 62 readers ; in November the membership was 319 and the average daily attendance was 50 to 60 readers. A total of 1,620 books was issued to the children during these two months for home study. The youngest member is Babu, a girl aged four-and-a-half years, who comes every day to the library to return one book and to take another. She balances her intellectual activity with making lively drawings in coloured chalks on the long, low blackboard fixed to one of the walls in the library.

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As the Puja vacation in the colleges continued till the end of October, the number of students attending the Students' Day Home was reduced from the normal during that month. The number of students, on an average, attending the reading room daily during October and November was 346 and 408 respectively, and the number of students

daily availing themselves of the canteen facilities averaged 300. The total number of books purchased and catalogued in the textbook library is now 4,608.

On 26 October the students attending the Day Home arranged in the Institute an entertainment with songs, instrumental music, a recitation, and a play, all of which were performed and presented by themselves. The play was a dramatized version of a short story by Rabindranath Tagore, *Sampatti-Samarpan* ('The Bequest'). One of the students, Sri Sudev Chakravarti, prepared the dramatization.

On 12 November Professor Parimal Kar, M.A. of Asutosh College, gave a talk to the students. His subject was 'The Cane of Abundance', being an account of his impressions of his recent visit to the U.S.A. and some countries of the Continent.

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At the weekly classes on *Śrīmad Bhāgavatam* held on Wednesday at 6 p.m. and conducted by Swami Omkarananda, attendance in November averaged 400.

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Swami Mahananda conducts classes on the *Bhagavad-Gītā* every Friday at 6 p.m. The average attendance in November was 650.

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Pandit Bhubaneswar Jha continued his Hindi classes which were held in two grades twice weekly. The Prārambhika (beginners) class was held on Tuesdays from 6.30 to 7.30 p.m., and the Praveśa (advanced) class was held on Fridays from 7.30 to 8.30 p.m. The number of students enrolled for the Tuesday class was 10, and for the Friday class, 9.

In September the examination held by the West Bengal Rashtra Bhasha Prachar Samiti was taken by the students of the Hindi classes. In the Prārambhika section, 29 out of 35 passed the examination, in the Praveśa section all of the 5 entrants passed.

JANUARY LECTURES

At 5.30 p.m.

- January 7 **The Study of Man**
Speaker : Professor Michael Polanyi, F.R.S.
President : The Hon. Mr. Justice P. B. Mukharji
- January 14 **The Aesthetics of Abanindranath Tagore**
Speaker : Sudhir Kumar Nandi, M.A., B.L., D.Phil.
President : Sailaja Kumar Bhattacharji, M.A., D.Phil.
- January 21 **Religion, Church, and State**
Speaker : Professor Peter A. Bertocci, A.B., M.A., Ph.D.
President : Shashi Bhushan Das Gupta, M.A., Ph.D.
- January 28 **Social Life in Early Eighteenth Century Bengal**
Speaker : Sudhansu Mohan Banerjee, M.A., B.L., I.A.A.S.
President : Srikumar Banerjee, M.A., Ph.D.

SPECIAL LECTURES

A Course of Lectures on

Spiritual Foundations of Western Culture

by

Winifred H. Dawes

Every Tuesday, at 6.30 p.m.

This series of lectures is designed to promote a true understanding of western culture which today is widely thought of as materialistic but which has roots that go deep into spiritual experience, the common heritage of mankind. Spiritual expression in western culture flowered in medieval times and it is during the last two centuries that it has appeared to have been submerged by modern scientific civilization. It is hoped that this course of lectures will serve to give a correct insight into the character of western culture and civilization.

These lectures have been sponsored by the Spalding Trust of Oxford, England. The introductory lecture was given on 27 December. A printed synopsis of the lectures is available from the Institute,

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VOL. XII

No. 2

OBSERVATIONS

HARNESSING THE NATIONAL IDEAL

PERVADING India today, at all levels, is a spirit of national endeavour.

From the newly opened village post office to the newly constructed township, on all sides and in ways that benefit all sections of the people, the urge for improvement is felt and is being realized. This urge for improvement, moreover, is plainly linked with a new-found national pride. India is at last a nation once more, a nation free to build and make her society according to her own choosing.

This freedom, the freedom to choose her own way of life, places upon modern India a very great responsibility. No Indian can fail to be aware that the India he has inherited has come to him from a far distant past whose beginnings are lost in the mists of time. He cannot but be aware that a line of continuity runs from those early times to the present and that he has the task of handing it on, unbroken, to the future. This awareness comes to him in ways that are barely conscious, barely articulate, because they are so close to his everyday life. It may come to him, for example, through his

own name and the names of every member of his family, names that for century upon century have asserted the national values and have carried forward the ancient teaching that God and man are one.

Awareness of the traditional aspect of Indian life produces, of necessity, a sense of urgency with regard to the present. For it is obvious that the demands of the present involve much more than the mere maintenance of continuity of tradition. The present is marked by nothing less than a national re-awakening. The new-found energy and enthusiasm, the new-found strength and activity, mark the end of an era and the opening of a new one.

In his address at Rannad in 1897, Swami Vivekananda spoke of this fact. His words welled up from depths of feeling aroused by love for his people and by the vision of the new India that he saw being ushered in: 'The longest night seems to be passing away, the sorest trouble seems to be coming to an end at last, the seeming corpse appears to be awaking and a voice is coming to us, away back where history and even tradition

'fails to peep into' the gloom of the past, coming down from there, reflected, as it were, from peak to peak of the infinite Himalaya of knowledge, and of love, and of work, India, this motherland of ours—a voice is coming unto us, gentle, firm, and yet unmistakable in its utterances, and is gaining volume as days pass by, and behold, the sleeper is awakening! Like a breeze from the Hinalayas, it is bringing life into the almost dead bones and muscles, the lethargy is passing away, and only the blind cannot see, or the perverted will not see, that she is awakening, this motherland of ours, from her deep long sleep.'

To be alive today, to witness this reawakening of India, to share in it and to be part of it, is indeed a privilege and a responsibility. It calls for the highest wisdom, the greatest skill. For the India of the misty past has now to find fulfilment in the India of a yet greater tomorrow. To help bring this about is the task of the present generation.

AN UNWRITTEN CONSTITUTION

The peaks of 'the infinite Himalayas of knowledge, of love, and of work' represent the main points of the national ideal, that enduring motivating force that has been the mainstay of the nation, the means of continuity, for countless centuries. The character acquired by the Indian nation in the course of her long history can only be understood if it is viewed through this national ideal, the ideal that gave the highest value to wisdom, to the conviction that the only practical way of life was one that, penetrating beyond physical realities to the underlying spiritual reality, adopted spiritual reality as the one main theme to which everything else must be subordinated. The universe, society, the individual, all would be viewed from that standpoint alone. Utility would be judged by that ideal. Education, the social order, and the life of the individual would be regulated by no other standard

but that of knowledge, love, and work; knowledge reached by discrimination between the world of change and unchanging spiritual reality, love reached by the knowledge of the spiritual unity of all things, and work being the desire for pure service in a world seen through knowledge and love. Thus, the whole machinery of life would work in and through that ideal.

India lives today because, in some measure, that ideal has been maintained. It still stands as the national mind, the national life-current. It is there inborn in the blood of every individual, and none can escape it, though he may wish to, though he may try to. It is the unwritten Constitution of India, laying a law upon every individual, and propelling him forward towards the acceptance of the ideal and the endeavour to realize it and make it manifest in every aspect of life.

This view of India's national life-line of thought provides the secret of the solution to modern India's complex problems. The recognition of the national ideal not only implies need for the maintenance of its continuity, but also indicates how that continuity is to be assured. It provides a measuring rod by which to gauge the correctness and the value of every new development. Each new step can be scrutinized to ascertain to what extent it fulfils the unwritten Constitution and tallies with the national ideal. A new step that is found to be at variance with that ideal may then be recognized as wrong and dangerous for the country, while a new step that fulfils the national ideal may be welcomed as a natural growth that will help the nation forward.

Today, for example, we hear much about democracy. India, the new India, is to be a democratic country and all her planning and development are to be, first and foremost, on democratic lines. This, we are told, is a new step for India, since India has always been ruled by kings and not by parliaments. Parliaments, moreover, as con-

ceived in western countries and now adopted by India, are superior to rule by kings, for they place the sovereignty not upon one man, but upon the whole people. From this standpoint democracy proclaims the equality of every individual, and allows equal rights and opportunities to all.

Now the question may be asked, 'Since rule by parliament is new to India and is a western conception, why has India adopted it?' Perhaps the most obvious answer is that it was but a natural step on attaining independence to use the machinery that had already been set up under British rule. This answer, however, poses further questions. Is, then, parliamentary rule in India purely the superimposition, the imitation, of a western practice? Are the democratic ideals upon which it is based foreign to India?

Upon our answers to these questions depends the future of democracy in India. Indeed, the whole future welfare of the nation depends largely upon how we approach this new institution. If it remains a mere imitation, based on ideals that are foreign to our soil, we may be sure that it is doomed to early failure. For to turn from our own inherited ideals and to try to adopt political and social ideals that are unrelated to our own heritage would result in the severance of that heritage. India's life-line would be cut and India would no more be India.

THE BRAHMANA IDEAL

Parliamentary rule is now an established fact in India. We cannot now decline it, we cannot reject it on the plea that it is foreign and new to India. What we can do, however, and what we must do if it is to serve the nation and lead us forward, is to make it truly our own. Democracy in India will be more democratic than it has ever been, here or elsewhere, when it is worked out in the light of the national ideal.

It is India's national ideal that provides the true basis of democracy, the fundamen-

tal reason why sovereignty should rest in the people, why every individual should have equal rights and opportunities. For India's ideal, as we have seen, asserts the fundamental principle of spiritual unity and from that assertion springs, as a natural flow, all ideas of equal rights and opportunities, all ethical ideas, all ideas of the dignity and sovereignty of the individual. The true basis of democracy and the welfare state is a spiritual basis. True democracy is a proclamation of the infinite glory of the spirit of man. Democratic ideas reached from any other standpoint are materialistic, and therefore not of permanent value.

Hence it is not true to say that democratic ideas are new to India. They are as old as the conception of social law itself. The mythological *satyayuga*, the golden age, or, literally, the age of truth, provides a picture of a society that was democratic not simply by law, not merely by setting up democratic institutions, but by the simple fact of the natural expression of the infinite glory of the spirit of man. The *satyayuga* was visualized as being peopled only by Brāhmaṇas, and by a 'Brāhmaṇa' was meant 'he who had known Brahman', 'he who had killed all selfishness', he 'who worked to acquire and propagate wisdom and the power of love'. It is obvious that in a country peopled by men and women who were naturally spiritual and moral and good, neither police, nor military, nor civil government was necessary. Sovereignty, law, and government then rested entirely and truly in the people themselves. This was the origin of the immunity granted to Brāhmaṇas in subsequent eras. A Brāhmaṇa could not be killed, he was not subject to law nor to the rule of kings. A Brāhmaṇa was the protector of the treasury of religion, and by this was meant not merely that he alone had access to the sacred books, but that he, in his own life, was to manifest and pass on to others the spiritual truths of knowledge, love, and work.

THE PRESENT TASK

Swami Vivekananda appealed to the India of his day to set to work to return to that Brāhmaṇa ideal. The education of the people along the lines set out by India's own tradition was the only way to ensure a healthy society. 'It takes time, quite a long time, to make a healthy strong, public opinion which will solve its own problems ; and in the interim we shall have to wait. The whole problem of social reform, therefore, resolves itself into this : where are those who want reform ? Make them first. Where are the people ? The tyranny of a minority is the worst tyranny that the world ever sees. A few men who think that certain things are evil will not make a nation move. Why does not the nation move ? First educate the nation, create your legislative body, and then the law will be forthcoming. First create the power, the sanction, from which the law will spring. The kings are gone, where is the new sanction, the new power of the people ? Bring it up. . . . You must go down to the basis of the thing, to the very root of the matter. That is what I call radical reform. Put the fire there and let it burn upwards and make an Indian nation.' (From 'My Plan of Campaign')

These words are as true today as when they were uttered sixty years ago. Indeed, it is even more urgent now that heed should be paid to them. Whoever, looking at the country today, sees various evils which he longs to eradicate—corruption, provincialism, disunity, and much petty mindedness—would do well to work for their removal, not from the top, hoping to remedy these evils one by one, but from the root, by creating 'the new sanction, the new power of the people'.

To do this it is necessary to launch a campaign for the dissemination of India's traditional values, a campaign that will have for its object the re-establishment of the

national ideal in the everyday life and thought of the people. Swami Vivekananda showed how such a campaign could be effected : 'Every improvement in India requires first of all an upheaval in religion. Before flooding India with socialistic or political ideas, first deluge the land with spiritual ideas. The first work that demands our attention is that the most wonderful truths confined in our Upaniṣads, in our scriptures, in our Purāṇas—must be brought out from the books, brought out from the monasteries, brought out from the forests, brought out from the possession of selected bodies of people, and scattered broadcast all over the land. Everyone must know of them, because it is said, "This has first to be heard, then thought upon, and then meditated upon". Let the people hear first, and whoever helps in making the people hear about the great truths in their own scriptures, cannot make for himself a better Karma today. Says our Vyāsa, "Sacrifices and tremendous *tapasyas* are of no avail now. Of Karma one remains, and that is the Karma of giving. And of these gifts, the gift of spirituality and spiritual knowledge is the highest ; the next gift is the gift of secular knowledge ; the next is the gift of life ; and the fourth is the gift of food."

'In this land of charity, let us take up the energy of the first charity, the diffusion of spiritual knowledge. . . . And after preaching spiritual knowledge, along with it will come that secular knowledge and every other knowledge that you want ; but if you attempt to get the secular knowledge without religion, I tell you plainly, vain is your attempt in India, it will never have a hold on the people.' (ibid.)

What is education in India today but an attempt to get secular knowledge without religion ? That this education has no hold on the people and is daily becoming less and less effective in its influence on the character of the young is plain for all to see. This fact

is widely recognized and widely proclaimed by educationists, by parents, by the man in the street, even by the victims themselves. But rarely do we hear anyone do anything but condemn modern Indian education. No truly fundamental suggestions for a remedy are forthcoming.

The remedy, however, is here, patent for all to see who wish to see. That Swami Vivekananda pointed it out at the beginning of this century when the dangers were much less obvious than they are today—that *he* uttered the warning—is not important. Forget the prophet, if you wish, but not the prophecy. Face the facts and judge them on their own merit. No Indian, no truly honest Indian, who weighs in the balance the traditional Upanishadic teaching on the one hand, and, on the other, the political and social ideas now being disseminated in the name of education, can fail to admit that it is the traditional thought that is superior. It is superior because it is basic, fundamental. The man who knows that he is Ātman, that power and knowledge are within himself and he has only to manifest them, that man has faith in himself. He believes that the power is there, he experiences it, he expresses it in action. He uses his education to that end; physics, chemistry, economics, whatever his field of interest, these become for him a means of expressing the power within himself. On the other hand, the man who does not know that power and knowledge are within, but thinks they can be acquired from outside, that man has no faith in himself. He therefore feels forced to gird himself with chemistry, physics, economics, or any other specialization, and therefore remains intellectually and spiritually weak, for he is seeking power outside himself, and there he will never find it.

This, basically, is what is wrong with the educated Indian today. Steeped in western modes of thought, yet not supported by

western culture, he is at the same time cut off from his own traditional thought, his own culture. Thus he has no means of assimilating his education. Yet, being Indian, there is that in his blood which demands expression, but finds no outlet. Subconsciously he longs for the satisfying, peace-giving philosophy of his ancestors. India's cities are today peopled by a lost generation, men without roots. We need not therefore curse them for the errors they commit. If they can but realize the fact of their dilemma, they will set to work to see that it is remedied, if not in their own lives then in the lives of their children. Modern education is a necessity, no progress can be made without it. The secret of success for an Indian, however, is that he must learn how to subordinate that education, that scientific knowledge, that success in industry and commerce, to the national spiritual ideal which is in his blood, part and parcel of his very being, and which cannot, therefore, be ignored.

Thus the way to rescue modern India from the evils that beset her, now becomes clear. It is to foster the natural growth of that particular attitude to life, the special values, conceptions, principles that, by tradition, belong to the Indian mentality. It is only on this basis that full self-confidence can come to every Indian. Although self-confidence is not lacking in India today, it has no solid foundations. It is largely emotional and largely the reaction to the attainment of independence. That solid self-confidence that is observable in an Englishman *because* he is English, in an American *because* he is American, is still lacking in India. Without that firm self-confidence India cannot progress. Only when an Indian takes his stand on his own traditional thought, his national spiritual ideal, will he acquire full self-confidence and really believe in himself, in his own power, and assert, 'I am an Indian'.

EAST AND WEST — HAVE THEY MET ?

HELMUT G. CALLIS, Ph.D.

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TAKING the cue from Kipling, my comments will be largely in refutation of his prophecy contained in the well known verse :

O, East is East, and West is West
And never the twain shall meet
Till earth and sky stand presently
At God's great judgement seat ;

The scope of the topic makes me feel like a little boy standing with a toy bucket on the shores of the mighty ocean, trying to empty its waters. I feel that I owe you my apologies for the imperfections and crudities of this paper and, especially, for the many over-simplifications contained in it. For example, the brilliant contributions of the early East to world civilization in medicine, astronomy, mathematics, and other fields, remain unmentioned, as does the fact that eastern cultures, too, had

their share of imperialists and materialists.

As geographic terms, East and West are easy to understand, but when we think of them as respective mazes of governments, nations, schools of thought, and cultures, then confusion is invited and complexity becomes infinite. There are so many Easts and so many Wests ! On the Atlantic side, there are the contrasts between Anglo-Saxon culture, continental culture, and Spanish-American culture, and each of these in turn is divided into a great variety of societies, governments, and ways of life. In the East, too, there are dozens of nationalities and several great cultures, each with its own traditions and social idiosyncrasies. India, China, Japan, the lands of the Middle East are all cultural entities of a very distinctive character.

To heighten confusion, we have become accustomed in recent years to speak of an

East-West conflict, when we actually refer to the antagonism of two 'western' powers, namely of America and Russia. Moreover, it has become fashionable to contrast the philosophies of the East and the West as if each stood for a single entity, as they do not. The very terms Western Christendom, Islamic society, Buddhist Asia, Hindu India, and the like, indicate that distinct traditions and philosophies of life underlie each society.

But for our specific purpose here we shall have to look at East and West as a culturally contrasting pair connoting relatively clear-cut social and ideological attributes. Our emphasis will be mainly on predominant tendencies without denial that there are others. True as it is that eastern and western peoples had common beginnings, they have historically acquired certain features which distinguish them from each other. We shall start by studying these characteristic features in the East and then deal with the West.

THE GENIUS OF THE TRADITIONAL EAST

It is important for the westerner to appreciate the amazing changes that have occurred in the modern East, indeed to see that there is a *new* East. However, it is no less necessary to understand the Orient's inheritance, its fundamental character as it evolved through the millenia. For no civilization can drop its past any more than a man can drop his memory and still be himself.

Historically the genius of the East reveals itself in characteristic ways designed to adjust man most perfectly to nature and his society. The secret of this accomplishment is contained in diverse doctrines of forbearance, contentment, and renunciation. In India, the Brāhmanic ideal demanded renunciation of worldly satisfactions in order to attain divine reality. In China, the Confucian life pattern subjected man's self-will to the dictum of the clan elders. The Japanese way of life, merging Confucian, Bud-

dhist, and Shinto philosophies, asked self-denial and self-effacing loyalty in the name of the political lord. Even Russia, a 'western' country if seen in eastern perspective, but an 'eastern' culture from a western point of view, maintained forms of Byzantine-Christian orthodoxy which put the individual in his place and kept him there.

In every one of the cultures mentioned the goal was social stability, fortified by custom and tradition. Hence, innovators, inventors, and money-makers were mistrusted as revolutionaries against the sacrosanct traditional social order. In eastern society, where the group was more important than the individual, the individual received short shrift. Thus speaks the Lord in the *Bhagavad-Gītā*: 'To work you have the right, but not to the result', and Confucius adds, 'The covetous are never satisfied'. In this harsh school of poverty and forbearance, which was also the school of great souls and prophets for the cultivation of sympathy, patience, and self-discipline, the easterner learned his enormous capacity for suffering, which did not quake even at the gates of death or starvation. There was no keen pleasure, no stir of inventive genius, no appreciation of new things. However, the good point in a life of simplicity was that men learned to do one or two things well with little effort. Tools and skill were inherited and practised through generations. There were no great problems of change and of choice.

On the other hand, the entire East was filled with glaring examples of the consequences of the eternal subjection of the individual to society and to self-sacrifice by dint of institution and social discipline.

THE GENIUS OF THE HISTORICAL WEST

How different, by contrast, are the traditional ways of the West. While the East spoke the communal language of contentment and social solidarity, the West's plead-

ing from Pericles to Paine, was in the name of freedom and individualism. True, there were times when the West, too, under a powerful church, looked for stability, social and intellectual, but in the restless Occident these times are paradoxically remembered as those of the crusades, of popes and emperors struggling for supremacy, of religious disputes, and of a Christian empire finally doomed to disintegration.

The conflict between religion and secular power no less than competition between secular powers helped in the West to invigorate movements of freedom and reform, and the last five centuries of western history may be truly considered a continuous revolt against dogma, customs, and established authority. But, lest we forget, science was the precious product of these restless centuries, as well as modern industry, which is but science applied. In the oceanic world of the West, where nearness to the sea lured adventurous men to exploration and discovery of faraway continents, the individual, unrestrained by prince or priest, grew to his full stature.

While the Russian empire was built by iron-fisted Tsars, China by great emperors, and Japan by mighty noblemen, in the West the most significant history was made by individual explorers, inventors, robber barons, soldiers of fortune, captains of industry, and intellectual rebels of all types. These were the 'strong men' whom Kipling praises. It was they who built colonial empires and made America what it is. As little 'strong men' who insisted on their personal and political rights they gave life and vigour to western democracy. The West's watchword was freedom: freedom to choose, freedom to think, freedom to believe, *Dieu et mon droit*.

Broadly speaking, this western way, in its social consequences, led to a pattern of life characterized by war and imperialism, economic 'boom and bust', competition and ideological confusion, but the westerner

gladly paid that price; for it was the price of 'progress': progress toward man's mastery over nature, hunger, drudgery—and other men of other cultures. Wresting the fire from the heavens, Promethean western man swept with creative power across the globe, until the world and its people were cowering at his feet.

THE CHANGING EAST AND ITS MODERN PROBLEMS

The world's peoples did not take the Promethean challenge lying down. They accepted western man's mechanical gifts, but not his dominance. Stunned and amazed at first, the East soon began an agonizing reappraisal of its own position. Freedom for what and for whom? these other peoples asked. Equality, if it was a human right and inseparable from human dignity, let the white man grant that right to non-whites also. If democracy, the rule by the majority, was good, why not apply that system in the East, and relieve the white man of his self-imposed 'burden' of minority government? If machines multiplied men's powers, the East wanted to produce them too. In its adjustment and resistance to the West, the East soon changed beyond recognition. Today the old 'unchanging' East is gone forever and a new East has sprung into existence, and what a strange new East it is.

Having thrown off the West's colonial conquests, its laws and governments, the newly independent countries of the East have swiftly replaced them with westernized laws and governments of their own. Asia's new nations are as much interested now in military, economic, and social security as their western counterparts; and, like them, they, too, have elections, parliaments, constitutions, and presidents.

Ashamed of its poverty and political weakness, the once self-contained, contented East is now impatiently rushing to build the sinews of industrial power and wealth. Any-

where from the Near to the Far East, men, antlike, construct the arteries of modern communications, empty endless baskets of stones to construct dams and railroads, factories, and power stations. Everywhere the emphasis is on faster industrialization, greater output, and modern technology.

Everywhere in that modern East men shake off the dust of once sacrosanct customs, grow sceptical of their ancient beliefs, even try to modify their ancient scripts. Who would have dared to predict that the leaders of once castebound India would make caste discrimination punishable by law and abolish sectarian religious education in public schools, lest the old prejudices might revive ? Who could have imagined a China, once the 'paradise of the aged', throwing its old people on the social scrap-heap, together with the time-honoured classics of their 'master teacher' Confucius ? Nor let us forget the drastic changes in the status of oriental women. They now take part in public life, do men's jobs, play roles in politics, insist on full equality.

A new sense of individuality, a new freedom, a new zest for life, a new youth and womanhood have begun to flower in the East. They may encourage hopes that in the future East and West will be merely geographical terms without connotations of deep-seated cultural and social differences and conflicts. But, surely, this time has not come yet.

True, the East has been 'westernized' but it has not become 'western' in the process. Indeed, the conditions and the problems of the East are vastly different from those of the industrialized West. For in industry, the East has still largely to achieve what the West has already accomplished. Its population problem is vast and different from that of the West. The introduction of labour-saving machinery into areas where labour is cheap and abundant poses perturbing questions in Asian economics. There is also the risk

that machines in the East may raise man's numbers rather than his standards of living.

But the modern East, now in the beginning only of its industrial career, is not in a pessimistic mood. On the contrary, like nineteenth century Europe, the modern Orient is flushed today with the hope that science and technology will be a panacea for most human ills. Will these high hopes be realized ? Is it not conceivable that in the East there will never be enough for the too many ? Can we be sure that technological advances will be honestly used for the promotion of human welfare, instead of being abused for the production of political and military power (as seems to be the case in present day China and other areas of the East) ? But if modern science cannot be made to lighten the burden of daily living to the point where masses can become people and people can become creatively thinking individuals, then technology will be only a new scourge for the East, and not a blessing. If science and technology merely help to melt individuals into mass, the East will go down the road to George Orwell's description of a brutalized robot society of 1984, where dehumanized masses are supervised by concealed microphones, and helicoptered police-patrols are snooping into people's windows.

This kind of antheap society, serving the ambitions of political slave masters, would be as inhumane as the mass society of the old East ever was with its dead weight of hungry illiterates. Even though the dogmatism and despotism of traditional theocratic rule will then have disappeared, they will have merely yielded place to new forms of dogmatism and despotism, having at their disposal incomparably more effective means to suppress and pattern individuals for ulterior purposes unrelated to human self-fulfilment and happiness. If this were to happen 'westernization', instead of closing the gap between oriental and occidental cultures

would have disastrously widened it, barring, of course, the possibility that the West would fall into the same trap of technological inhumaneness as its eastern counterpart.

Therefore, the problem before the modern East, as we see it, is to clear away what is useless and obsolete in its tradition and stands in the way of wholesome development in an intellectually and geographically expanding world, but at the same time to preserve the wisdom and spirituality which even under the most trying material conditions made human lives tolerable and meaningful in the East through thirty centuries.

THE CHANGING WEST AND ITS MODERN PROBLEMS

The drastic changes which now occur in the life of over a billion people of the East are bound to confront the West with an unprecedented challenge imposing on it fundamental adjustments and many new responsibilities. It would seem to be the primary responsibility of the industrially advanced West now to make sense of the machine age by giving it human content, and to show worth-while ends beyond the proliferation of technical means. However, to date, the West has not fully grasped that problem. No longer strongly bound by family, custom, history, or religion, the westerner's life has become foot-loose, atomized, and denaturalized. Mechanized means crowd out human ends, and, in an era of material abundance and feverish activities, the wise selection of goals and the exercise of mental concentration and self-discipline become insoluble problems. If the West does not soon stop idolizing its mechanical creations, the finest and most distinctive trait of western culture—individualism may be jeopardized. True individualism is a function of the creative and unique human mind. But with the bureaucratization and mechanization of western gadget-loving society, it is exactly this type of individualism which is

disappearing. It is in that dilemma that we see the crucial problem of the West in the contemporary world.

While the East has shown that people cannot be happy without being properly fed and clad, the West now demonstrates that food and gadgets, even if plentiful, cannot make people really happy. Man does not live by bread alone, nor is it good for him to stand alone. On this shrunken globe, where all peoples are neighbours, cultures can best maintain and restore their mutual balance by supplementing each other. The opportunity for cultural cross-fertilization is the potentially greatest boon in our contemporary situation. Even those few in the West who live what they believe to be the fullest possible life, may have hardly more than bits and pieces of it in their hands. There is a great deal in the wisdom of the ancient and even of the modern East—where it has not blindly cut its own cultural roots—that can give us clues to the neglected art of joyful living, and may inspire us to bring more sense into the restlessness of our feverishly active hustle-bustle business world. How much have we westerners still to learn from the meditative qualities of Indian culture, from the courtesy and tranquillity of Buddhist countries, from the respect for teachers and elders in the Islamic world, from Japan's aesthetic culture of refined art and nature appreciation. And, above all, by knowing about the many faiths and many gods of our fellow-men in the East, we in the West can cultivate in western gardens the precious flower of religious tolerance. In a time like ours, believing Christians, Moslems, and Jews should, in the name of love and brotherhood, make efforts to winnow the non-essential chaff, mostly theology, from the wheat of their tradition and abandon the 'chosen people' claim to the uniqueness of their revelations.

Arnold Toynbee has expressed his conviction that the world's great religions now in

existence are mere variations on a single theme. Toynbee quotes Symmachus as saying that the heart of so great a mystery can never be reached by following one road alone. Each of us has only a few rays of the divine light, but it takes the depth and breadth of all the human traditions to encompass the entire spectrum of spiritual insight possible to human beings.

Religious self-sufficiency overlooks the quality of religion as a spiritual adventure on which we have just started out. Real religion should teach a reverent faith in a lovingly creative power transcending the pettiness of local human affairs. If boys and girls everywhere were taught that God is one for all men and that all the prophets taught fundamentally the same truth, we would have arrived at the foundation-stone of an integrated world religion and thus at the religious base of world unity. The revival of the Hindu religion, which sees in every sincere faith a path to divinity, may hold out the hope that in some distant future the religious integration of men will become a reality.

In *My India, My America*, Krishnalal Shridharani wrote : 'I feel that all the great religions of the world have one thing to learn from Hinduism : a humility born of a profound philosophic insight into the relativity of knowledge and ideals. . . . I think that, in this, Hinduism is more in harmony with the spirit of modern science than almost any other great religion.'

Today's world is groping not for the narrow, stunted religions of the dogmatic type ; it has no use for a fanaticism that is afraid of the divine light which may have fallen on others ; it rather needs the vitality of a creative religion, chastened and open-minded, which has the vigour and the courage of deepening and reforming itself in the process of human history and daily living, a religion which is ready and eager to make its peace also with modern science.

Many of our contemporary religions now

suffer from the clash of their revealed truth with the empirical truth of modern science. This clash weakens both science and religion ; for science, too, is an enlightening force now accepted everywhere in the world and, therefore, equally qualified as is religion to assist in the formation of world culture. Our time seems to be ripe for a universalistic reinterpretation of science and religion to make them both more truly unifying forces in human affairs.

Today, contemporary science is looked upon in East and West mainly from a utilitarian point of view, thus debasing it to a begetter of material and military power. Science is being taught more with an eye to its application and the training of specialists for industry and army than with any idea of its moral, cultural, and spiritual value. Yet in its superficial technical aspects, it is all too often a dividing force.

Religion, too, broken up into innumerable sects and sectors, has become a divisive force. Its failure to be effective as a peacemaker, the spread of atheism among the educated, sectarian disunity, and communist secularism are all warning pointers toward the direction which man must follow : the direction of larger loyalties.

The socially fusing powers inherent in science and religion are potentially far greater than those of language, race, or government. They seem basic to a modern ideological synthesis and to the building of a humanistic world philosophy.

Science is, or at any rate soon will be, the common possession of all peoples. By the same token, the great religions contain a nucleus of moral ideas which are underlying civilized life everywhere on earth. Science and religion, therefore, are destined to become the main supporting pillars of a humanistic world philosophy, broad enough to bridge the present cleavages between East and West.

Of scientific matters it has been said that

'the only dogma regarding them is that there is no dogma'. Only by allying itself with science can religion overcome the doctrinaire limitations and superstitions which now divide humanity. On the other hand, only by allying itself with religion can science become a human benefactor instead of a begetter of murderous power, enslaving dictatorships, and fiercely competing militarisms. The scientific attitude requires neither moral indifference nor religious apathy ; it rather demands loyalty to and insistence on truth alone, thus confirming the teachings of all prophets and sages. Disinterested science stands on essentially moral grounds, lifting men above the prejudices of clan, class, and nation. For both halves of the world, religion can set a moral purpose, with science finding effective means for attaining it.

As common acceptance of religious and scientific truth spreads to all parts of the globe, men, instead of remaining creatures of their local cultures, can now become the conscious creators of a universal culture of the race. And surely this objective can best be attained not by sacrificing what is valuable and distinctive in each culture, but by cultivating and by sharing it. To become the true master of his environment, man must turn the same zeal for discovery on himself as he applied to the exploration of the subhuman nature surrounding him. The most urgent problem of our times is the foundation of a science of a more perfect man, whose rational, aesthetic, intuitive, and meditative faculties are equally developed and evenly balanced. The goal should be not the mass production of mass men and robot men, but the cultivation of quality men capable of making living an art rather than a job.

For this purpose, the earnest study and application of the sciences of human relations are required. Obsolete moral and polit-

ical ideas must make place for clearer and simpler conceptions of the common origins and destinies of our kind. The problem is a universal one. East and West must take the same road in the direction opposite from their particular errors.

The epoch which Kipling so aptly described and about which he so falsely prophesied is over. East and West have met : they are meeting daily.

The world has become one stage, and all its peoples act in the same drama. Prosperity and depression, war and peace, survival and doom, can no longer be kept in separate departments. The great nations of East and West are now partners in scientific and industrial advance. The issues of democracy and communism, of freedom and equality, are world problems. For the first time in history, East and West are in a single world movement and struggle, as equals, for the soul of all mankind. A world-wide revaluation is upon us, taking place not only on the political surface, but penetrating to the very depth of culture and religion.

But 'one world' is not here yet. For modern living, each civilization must evolve with great labour a new ingredient : compatibility. Compatibility in this context can mean only one thing : learning from other civilizations to repair the errors and imperfections of our own. Civilizations are, only partial aspects of the human mind and of its endless possibilities. They are one-sided aspects of truth. History warns that refusal to learn from other value systems and to change accordingly brought death to scores of once flourishing cultures. Our era denotes the end of separate civilizations, yet impresses on all of us a common responsibility. It is the responsibility of uniting our intellectual and spiritual resources in the building of 'one world' for the truly superior man of tomorrow.

DEVI SYMBOLISM IN THE TANTRAS

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IN this discussion of Devī symbolism in the Tantras and of its historical background, I presuppose some knowledge of the goddess and the philosophical concepts she symbolizes. The general imagery of the great goddess as partner of the supreme God is such a common theme in Indian literature and plastic art, that I do not have to cite examples to an Indian audience, and certainly not in Bengal. The most characteristic feature of the Tantras is the emphasis on the devotee's or *yogin's* concrete experience. The great goddess and her relation to the supreme God are not abstract ideas, but are truths to be realized by the worshipper. Words for 'to realize' abound in the Tantras. Whether these words refer to ritualistic enactments or to mental realizations, in both cases the concrete experience is paramount. Another well-known philosophical concept expounded in the Tāntric texts is the equation of microcosm and macrocosm in the subtle physiology. The course followed by the *sādhaka*, or the seeker, on his way to the great liberation is described in terms of the cosmic process. For a description of this I recommend Sir John Woodroffe's book *The Serpent Power* (*Ṣaṭ-cakra-nirūpaṇa*).

CONCRETENESS AND EXPANSION

Descriptions of the Tāntric subtle physiology should never lead us to a mere systematization of concepts; the secrets with which the texts deal are to be applied actively in

rituals and techniques. In general, the Tantras extend, elaborate, and above all, concretize the already existing elements of the subtle physiology, as in the theory of the *prāṇas*. That is to say, the value of this physiology is greatly increased.

Some texts mention the heart-lotus as the seat of the *jīva* or *hamsa*, the individual ego, and sometimes describe this place as a paradise. There is a picturesque description of this in *The Serpent Power* (p. 378). The importance that is here attributed to the individual ego underlines again what is typically Tāntric, the concrete experience. The word 'individual' should not be misunderstood, however: the concrete experience of the individual does not expand at the expense of the overall cosmic symbolism. On the contrary, it is related to it, inserted in it. In this way the individual and his experience are given ontological status. Everywhere, and at every stage, the goddess is present in the *sādhaka's* experience; and both aspects, the Devī and the individual experience, are real.

Even when in later texts the, for us, confusing unification and equation process grows, the basic theme of the goddess's presence does not wane. The *Varivasyārahasya* of Bhāskara-rāya, an eighteenth century commentator, shows a great genius for baffling analyses of *cakras* and *mantras*, respectively the body centres of occult force and the mystic syllables, which have been the indispensable means of realization since the earliest

times. In stanza 94 the *śrī-cakra* is said to have the form of *yoginī*, a manifestation of the goddess, when, in the process of penetrating the centres, certain geometrical designs, each with their own significance, are added. In stanza 101, guru, godhead, *mantra* and *cakra* are capable of being equated thus: 'One's guru is identical with these three, *devatā*, *vidyā*, and *cakra*; by the strength of his power to realize such identity the guru himself becomes Gaṇeśa, etc.; similarly, with the grace of the guru, the pupil attains identity therewith.' Bhāskara-rāya's commentary clarifies these ideas by saying, 'The body of the guru is declared to be just like the body of the goddess' (*Taduktam—devyā deho yathā prokto guru-dehastathāivaca*).

The seemingly strange analyses and equations of syllables, *mantras*, *cakras*, etc., from the oldest texts onward, should be understood as endeavours to see everywhere the presence of the divine reality which is capable of being experienced. A distinction is made between the *bāhya*, outer, and *āntara*, inner, worship. But neither can be thought of without the other. This is in line with the starting point; the unmanifest state of the Devī, clearly expressed in the symbolism of the *mūlādhāracakra*—the lowest centre of occult force together with her manifestation in the subtle physiology. The continuous differentiation and equation of symbols is not just a matter of historical development; it is inherent in the very structure of the symbolism with its urge for a beyond, beyond the beyond. This is to be kept in mind when in the course of time we find increasing reference to *nāḍīs*, or channels of occult force, and to *cakras* below the lowest and above the highest previously realized centres. As to equations, we find that the most fundamental opposites, *samsāra*, the world, and its transcendence, are equated in the yogic process. By the grace of the Devī—synonymous with the guru, the most worldly things

take on a transcendent reality; they are ritualized, that is they become a means to liberation; the impossible becomes possible.

When the ultimate union is achieved it is not limited to one *cakra*. The experienced *sādhaka* is able to lower his *jīvātman*, or individual soul, in union with his chosen goddess, to the *mūlādhāra*, and again raise it to the highest *cakra*, or project it at will on a *yantra*, which is a diagram of occult power. The complete identification of the *sādhaka* with Śiva, and hence with the goddess, is reached. The cosmological symbolism continues, for this identification means a complete control of the divine acts of creating, sustaining, and destroying. For a fuller examination of this see P. H. Pott's, *Yoga en Yantra* (Leiden 1946, p. 21 f). We may add that among the *yantras* an important place is given to the pot, that ancient symbol of that which contains all.

Last, but not least, the necessity for concrete experience is underlined by the precise descriptions given of the goddess as she is to be meditated on. The *Kulacūdāmanī-tantra* (7,12,14) describes Malasānardinī, the goddess, as holding in her right hands a discus, a sword, an arrow, and a trident, and in her left hands another sword, a shield, and a bow. Her eighth hand, with raised forefinger, is in the threatening position. Dressed in yellow, she is trampling on the body of a big, black, and terrible buffalo. The implements and other details vary from text to text. Sometimes she is pictured as trampling the head of a buffalo, but the point is that precise descriptions of the images are always given. If not given in the texts, they are supplied by the commentators. They are indispensable for the *sādhaka's* progress.

THE PROCESS OF AMALGAMATION AND CHANGE

Tāntric texts are the residues of a continuing process of adaptation and substitu-

tion, in which local colouring has been, from time to time, of considerable importance. The study of this sort of process is worth while, even if it is only to check our pre-occupation with the study of schools, sects, ideas, and doctrines. To understand the general principle of the origin of the world in and through a feminine power, is one thing; to follow the endless accumulation and assimilation of forms of a different order, as in *māyikā*, letter or syllable, *mantra*, *yantra*, guru, and a minutely described figure of the goddess, is quite another thing. The texts leave no doubt, however, that such a process of ritual development did take place in history.

The type of the Great Goddess related to agriculture and vegetation is widespread. For comparative information on this subject read Eliade's *Patterns of Comparative Religion*, (p. 280 ff). Whether or not the archaeological findings at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa are historically linked with later developments, it is certain that this type of goddess has an extremely ancient and powerful influence. Wording and tone in many a Tāntric hymn are reminiscent of her. As Sir John Woodroffe described her in his *Hymns to the Goddess, Bhairavīstōtra* 13, she is 'the origin of all prosperity'; and in *Tārāstokam* 1, she is the 'giver of prosperity and wealth'. The awareness of the divine source of food and well-being is reflected especially in hymns to Annapūrṇā. In a hymn (*Annapūrṇāstotra* 11) to her it is said, 'whoever having recited the *mantra* daily, reads this hymn at dawn of day, obtains wealth of rice and prosperity'.

It is clear that with the great vegetation goddess we are still far away from the complexity of the Tāntric Mahādevī. Yet, at least in one respect, the ancient female deity is very important for later developments; she acts as a focus for a whole community's sense of mystery and need for worship. The goddess is the guardian of the products of

the field, of that which sustains the common life of the whole village. She is often represented by heaps of unthreshed grain. This wealth arising from the earth is not thought of as mere capital, but is believed to be the vehicle of her sacredness.

Hand in hand with the sacred significance of the commonweal, we find, from the earliest times, mysterious rites in which women play an important part. We read in J. J. Meyer's *Trilogie Altindischer Vegetationsmächte* (I, p. 179), that during long droughts in Mirtapur district, naked women pull a plough through the fields while praying to Mother Earth, on which occasion men are not allowed to be present. With agricultural rituals we are at the root of all later ritualization of woman. More than that, with early agricultural symbolism, itself already complex, we are at the root of a development in which mysteries take an increasing part. It is necessary to know and enact the secrets of the goddess. In this development there is the beginning of individual as against communal devotion, and wealth becomes inseparably connected with the mystery of the origin and renewal of life. This is the mystery that needs an appropriation on the part of the devotee. According to long-established conviction and practice, those houses in the village which do not contribute to the ceremonies and festivals of the goddess, are excluded from her protection.

An example of the common essence and origin of the two aspects of devotion, public and mystic, to the divinities connected with the life of the earth, is given by Professor W. B. Kristensen in his *De Rijkdom der Aarde in Mythe en Cultus*. Speaking of Dis Pater's cult, he says, 'the secular festivity (was) a mystery festivity of the same character as the festivity in Eleusis, devoted to Demeter, also the goddess of the life of the earth. Characteristic of both festivities was the mood of anxiety and hope in which the holy acts were done, whose purpose was the

victory over death and finiteness, the mood which dominates all forms of mystery-cult'.

The two aspects of devotion develop side by side, without being separated. The concluding verse of the hymn to Annapūrṇā which we have quoted previously, runs :

Not to all and any should this hymn be
revealed,
For be it made known to one who is
unworthy,
Then ills fall upon him,
Therefore should it be carefully concealed.

Looking at the process of ritual development, the historical stream in which symbols are carried and transformed, the questions whether and to what extent the Śākta literature influenced the esoteric Tantras, or vice versa, and which of the two came first, lose much of their point. It is certain that the goddess-mother-woman mystery, requiring special instruction and initiation, existed long before the systematic religious philosophies of release, as exemplified in the Upaniṣads, in Buddhism, and in classical *yoga*, made their influence felt. When these influences came, for instance, to out-of-the-way places in South India in and with the process of Brāhminization, they met a well-developed and complex symbolism already in existence.

Some Tantras bear in their titles the marks of such meetings. The *Śābaratantra* owes its name to the Śābaras, an Indian tribe belonging to the Australoid group. Bengal has its *Śābarotsava*, a Durgā festival in the autumn, in which some features still tell of its origin. Like the Śābaras, the participants used to daub their bodies with mud and cover them with leaves and flowers. Licentious songs and the practice of uttering the names of the organs of generation before Śākta-initiates were included in the ceremonies, according to Eliade, in *Yoga, Immortality and Freedom*, p. 342 f. In this case we can see three distinct layers or

stages of development : a primitive cult, its incorporation as a vegetation festival within the stream of Hinduism, and finally an esoteric, Tāntric transformation.

Another example of a Tāntric text owing its origin to a group or caste at the edge of the mainstream of Hinduism is the *Kubjikātānta*. Kubjikā was one of the names given to the girl who in rituals represented the goddess. This text is identified as the Tantra of the potters, *kulālāmnāya*, in V. Raghavan's 'Variety and Integration in the Pattern of Indian Culture', an article in *The Far Eastern Quarterly* (Volume XV, No. 4, August 1956, p. 501).

The Tāntrika has, for the purpose of his rituals, an outspoken preference for low-caste women as partners. Washerwomen, and the women of the cobbler and barber castes are often mentioned explicitly. Of course, systematically, such preference, opposed as it is to all traditional ideas of purity, can be interpreted as a concrete expression of the transcendent state, a state beyond purity and impurity. But historically, such a precisely outlined preference shows also something else: the incorporation, at the same time a transformation, of border regions into the Hindu world. This process can also be traced in some names of the goddess which occur in the Tantras. Vinḍhyavāsini, Koṭṭavī and others have their origin in local cults (*ibid.*). Many details point to the same development: buffalo sacrifices at which the head is presented to the goddess, and the custom of all present, including the Devī, to be dressed in yellow at *utsavas* of the village deities, resemble too closely the Tāntric descriptions to be unrelated to them.

The great absorption and assimilation process did not wipe out the local cults of gods and goddesses ; nor was there any calculated endeavour to maintain and protect local cults. Of course not, for it was on neither side an affair of doctrines or ideologies. The

movement did not destroy, but continued, local practices. This happened first and foremost through Sanskritization, which opened the way for all sorts of identifications and systematizations of deities, and for the influences of the great *darśanas*: Yoga, Sāṃkhya, Advaita, etc. It cannot sufficiently be emphasized in our time that all this had next to nothing to do with political calculations on the part of the leaders (in this case the Brāhmaṇas) of the great Hindu tradition, which after all is a matter as unorganized as it is multifarious. Sanskritization did not mean a violent transfer of power to another group, but was itself an instrument in the process of amalgamation. The faulty grammar and the many non-Sanskritisms in the Tantras show that the authors were working on a popular and practical level.

When we speak here of local deities we should not think of them as merely village deities, on which the educated Indian now looks with a certain contempt; the power and radiance of such deities at the time of their entry into Hinduism must have been quite impressive. Two examples may illustrate this.

The popular Tamil poem *Śilappadigāram*, dated between the third and seventh centuries, has in the twelfth chapter a description of an elaborate Devī ceremony. For the following data I am indebted to my friend and teacher V. S. Ranganathan of the Madras Christian College. The poem is already Hinduized to a great extent; nevertheless it gives a vivid picture of an early south-Indian religious expression. A girl of a forest-dwellers' community declares through divine inspiration why the villagers are in a miserable condition and suffer great poverty. The reason is the failure to worship the goddess Korṇavai. Naturally, the villagers accept her words; sudden inspirations and prophecies of villagers, particularly of women, are not uncommon even in modern India. A great feast is prepared to honour Korṇavai, who

is a truly central divinity, mighty, militant. A little girl is appointed to represent the goddess. She must be from a family in which no one should have died of sickness or old age but only as a warrior. Among her ornaments and implements we find the teeth of a tiger, or some other ferocious animal, tied around her neck, a tigerskin round her waist, a bow, a parrot, a cock of the forest, and a blue peacock. She is seated on a deer. Several of these elements are no doubt very archaic; fowls are important in many primitive tribal cults. Very interesting are the head ornaments. Her hair is tied up in a tuft. She should wear a serpent, made of silver or gold, coiled around this tuft. A pig's tooth should be on the tuft, like the crescent moon. The men of the village go in front of her with music. She is followed by the women, carrying vessels with sandal paste, flowers, seeds, etc. Korṇavai is loudly praised:

You covered your body with elephant skin,

You wore the skin of a tiger,

You stood on the black head of a forest buffalo,

And at that time the *devas* came and worshipped you,

Then you killed the Mahiṣāsura,

After slaying him you stood on a deer
With black, spiral horns,

You are the flame, giving light

To the hearts of the three gods,

You have in one hand the conch

And in another the discus,

In your lotus-hands you have these,

You were standing on a lion with
burning eyes,

You were standing at the side of the god
Who is wearing the Ganges on his head,
The three-eyed one,

At that time the Vedas were praising
you.

The second example, illustrating the signif-

importance of the goddess Mahiṣamardini, is of much later date. The Portuguese, Domingos Paes, visited and described the Vijayanagar kingdom at the time of its cultural climax in 1522. During the *navarātri*, the autumnal nine-nights' worship, the king was present at the sacrifice of 250 buffaloes. Both the blood and the heads of the animals were offered to the goddess.

It is well known that Devī-worship was widespread over India even at an early date; it is attested by many temples and sculptures. Buffalo sacrifices still occur in the villages. But it is important to realize that such elaborate ceremonies formed an important part of the religious life in highly developed Indian civilizations. In symbolism the Devī-tāntric circles were never separated from the mainstream. We noticed how, in the quotation from the Tamil *Śilappadigāram*, orthodox elements, such as the three gods, allusions to Śiva, the Vedas, etc., were incorporated at an early time. In all these changes and cultural amalgamations the esoteric imagery went hand in hand with the general communal Devī-worship, as in fact it had from the beginning.

RITUAL TRANSFORMATION AND MYTHO- SYMBOLICAL ACCUMULATION

We shall not dwell here on the influence of the great Indian scriptures on the Tantras. But, to avoid any misunderstanding that would attribute all Tāntricism to non-Aryan sources without qualification, we should at least note in passing that without these roots the Tantras would be unthinkable. Several elements of the subtle physiology playing a role in *Kundalini's* voyage are known from the Upaniṣads. Identification of microcosm and macrocosm is attested by the *Rg-Veda*. Similarly the Devī of the Tantras is closely linked, for example, with the oldest texts dealing with speech: the hymn on Vāc or Ambhṛṇī in the *Rg-Veda*, 10, 125.

We should remind ourselves here also of the process that Eliade terms the ritual interiorization, in his *Yoga*, p. 112. Vedic rituals become reinterpreted in terms of human mind and physiology. Not only should a sacrificer realize, mentally, what he is doing, but he should also, for example, offer his vital breaths to the god whom he worships, or, even, these vital breaths should take the place of the sacrifice. In the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* and *Chāndogya Upaniṣads* this interiorization becomes perfectly clear with respect to the *āśvamedha* sacrifice and the *sāman*-chanting, to which a wholly cosmic and inward meaning is given.

Once firmly rooted, the Yoga philosophy must have stimulated a similar process in later encounters between Hinduism and local cults. Here we are in the midst of materials that are hard to pin down historiographically and textually. But we are sure of the pervasive influence of Yoga- and Sāṃkhya-related ideas concerning the origin of the world and the closest inter-relatedness of macrocosm and microcosm, of the nature of the world, and man's physical and mental structure. Hence, even though lacking details, we can see how those who carried on the great tradition may have understood some local practices, and how, through this understanding, they preserved rather than destroyed. Most remarkable, no doubt, was the very capacity for interiorizing, the capacity to see an external cult *together with* its cosmic-inward reality. This active understanding was supported by the innate duality of agricultural religious practices, public and mystic.

In most cases we see only the results of such cultural encounters, and these results are always symbolically complex. Selayur, a village in the Chingleput district, has a curious slab of stone. It stands erect and shows on one side some concentric circles with some trident motifs in them. On the other side is a carving that suggests the form of a human body in *āsana*, or yogic posture, but the de-

sign is geometrical and abstract. Within it, Tamil letters are carved, which are for the most part illegible, and in and around the design several tridents are placed. In the centre, which, in the case of the human body, would correspond to the *mūlādhārācakra*, a little snake is carved. The slab plays a role only at ceremonies carried out when cattle diseases plague the village. The designs on the stone are certainly not older than two or three centuries, but it is noteworthy that the *pūjārī*, or priest, officiating at the ceremonies, belongs to one of the low caste families who by caste name are hunters (Vettaikaran). The whole design is, of course, too recent to presume any unchanged *nāga* symbolism from early times. What we see is a late symbolism, important for a whole community and mysterious in its efficacy, built on and transforming some older tradition. There are many examples comparable to the Selayur stone, with which stories are connected of wandering ascetics giving precise descriptions of how to overcome certain diseases and disasters. In the most peaceful way most diverse traditions have met and intermingled and renewed each other in concrete instances.

Nāga symbolism originated in a very ancient stratum of society, as can be learned from Eliade's *Patterns of Comparative Religion* (p. 207 ff) and *Yoga* (p. 351 f). Serpent worship is always connected with water symbolism: the origin of all things. Similarly, the snake did not have to wait for Śāktic and Tāntric developments to be associated with the Devī. Some tribal religions in south India still show the archaic structure. The Irula fortune-teller, for example, is consulted by people in case of sickness. His activities are known as the *Kannimar unittal*, that is, the telling of the story of the Kannimar, the seven goddesses for whom the Irulas have a special preference. The number of which expresses rather the totality of the divine presence than distinct per-

sonal characters. The magician worships the Kannimar. He beats a drum, and, assisted by his wife with the necessary paraphernalia, he reaches a state of ecstasy. He is possessed by the goddess Kanniamman. The whole occasion is described in E. Thurston's *Castes and Tribes of Southern India* (Volume II, Madras, 1909, p. 390 f), as follows: 'His wife unties his *kudumi* (tuft of hair), the shaking of the head becomes more violent, he breathes rapidly and hisses like a snake. His wife in the meantime praises the Kannimar. Then the goddess speaks through him, "O children, I have come down on my car, which is decorated with mango flowers, margosa and jasmine. You need fear nothing so long as I exist and you worship me. This country will be prosperous and the people will continue to be happy. I've long my precious car, immersed in the tank on the hill, will be taken out and after that the country will become more prosperous . . ." Then the goddess answers the questions of the supplicants. These questions are put not directly to the inspired man, but, according to Thurston in the same reference, through his wife. In the practices of this tribal community (originally hunters and food-gatherers) the inter-relationship of archaic symbolic features is clear: the snake (the hissing introducing the goddess's words), the goddess associated with the water from which all prosperity and life comes, and the important function of women (the inspired man's wife). Finally there is the *sāman*-like technique of ecstasy of the performer who is able to enter into contact with the sacred reality; in him the goddess is present.

We may safely presume that such Devī-snake symbolism in ancient days was widespread. It illustrates how the great tradition met with some elements that, speaking in terms of cultural history, were older than the agricultural Devī-symbolism. But this great tradition was well-equipped to meet the situation at the time of these later ex-

pansions. In its at least half-Tāntrized forms and transforming power, it had room for the local agricultural goddesses, the bloody sacrifices with their cosmogonic, world-renewing significance, as well as for the oldest aquatic and serpent symbolisms. Here again, however, we should add that, at least in the late stage of history with which we are occupied here, we should not try to find any symbol in a pure form. No hunters' tribe like the Irulas was then totally secluded from contact with agricultural life, as witness their traditional worship of the seven goddesses.

The great tradition, a phrase to which we have had to resort quite often, is not to be understood as a finished thing in itself. Not only is it complex but, above all, it is fluent, moving. The peaceful way in which, usually, Hinduization has taken place, should not lead us to characterize the leaders of the great tradition as tolerant. A denotation like that may be close to the heart of a modern, secularized man—it seems to be very close to the heart of political leaders—but it does not bring us closer to an understanding of Hinduism. The great tradition was, like the local cults that it met, open by nature to new symbolic and mythical elements and consequently it is not in need of our moral approval or disapproval. If we may cite an example from a different field, we can point to a curious feature in the mythology of central Flores, in Indonesia. We find there Adang and Ewang, the names of the first people, Adam and Eve. These remains of the contact with the Portuguese are now totally incorporated in the creation myths, according to P. P. Prndt, in his *Mythologie, Religion und Magie im Sikagebiet* (pp. 16, 19, 24, and 67). Is this tolerance? I would suggest that every living religion has to provide a place for the new religious elements that it meets. This is the stream of ritual development itself. No religious reality that presents itself as such can be ignored. Thus,

in the Hinduization process, India created mythological narratives for newly encountered tribes. This and similar mythical incorporations and transformations were not pragmatic, as in political acts or noble deeds, but were much more a religious or metaphysical necessity.

THE GODDESS AND THE GREAT TRADITION

The absorption of the goddess is the most remarkable feature of this constantly moving tradition. It was prepared for and supported by some elements in the oldest texts. In the *Devīupanīṣad*, as given in the *Śākta Upanīṣads* (Adyar, 1950), the goddess says to the assembled gods:

It is I who move in the Rudras and Vasus,
In the Ādityas and Viśvedevas,

I sustain both Mitra and Varuṇa, I sustain
Indra and Agni and I sustain the two

Āsvins.

I hold the Soma, Tvastṛ, Puṣan and Bhaga,
I hold Viṣṇu who makes his wide strides and
Brahmā the creator.

What is required for the sacrifice I hold for
The sacrificer who carries the oblation.

Who gratifies (the gods) and who presses
• (the soma).

I am the queen gathering together (all)
wealth.

I, the head, bring forth the Lord of the
world;

My birthplace is in the waters in the depth
of the ocean;

He who knows this obtains the place (or the
feet) of the goddess.

The substance of the text is old. All lines quoted here appear almost literally in the *Devī-sūkta* (*R̥g-Veda* 10, 125). The Goddess of Speech bearing the *soma* juice shows a line of development proper to the great tradition itself. Likewise other divinities have been elevated and praised because of their relationship to the *soma*-ritualism; for example, and for obvious

reasons, Agni, the sacrificial fire, and also Vāyu, who is the first one to drink the *soma* and is the god of the middle region, the air, through which the *soma* passes first on its way up, as described by H. Luders in *Varuṇa I* (Göttingen, 1951, pp. 213 ff). It is understandable that speech, indispensable and powerfully effective, was elevated in the same ritualistic context.

But we can also readily understand now how this old symbolism presented itself with great strength in later Śāktic development. The goddess is indeed the original and all-pervasive power, and the commentator, Upaniṣadbrahmayogin, resumes the line of interiorization by interpreting the place of the goddess as 'in the depth of the ocean' (*antahsamudra*), 'in the heart-lotus of all living beings' (*sarvaḥprāṇantarhytkamale*). A ritualistic element is transformed, recreated, into a wider ritual context which constantly gains in incorporated power.

We cannot too much emphasize the transformation that we have found in all the examples given. Hinduism may seem like a jigsaw puzzle, in which the separate pieces are distinct, separable from the whole. But for an understanding of the pattern of ritual movement, the precise, cultural origin of the separate pieces is secondary. First in importance is the baffling power of transformation itself. The movement took place in two directions : from the great tradition towards the geographical and cultural outskirts, and vice versa. But doubtless the former, with all its own transformations and incorporations, was the stronger one. The first characteristic of Brahmanization—the strong influence of Sanskrit—proves that.

In the *Devīmāhātmya* (*Mārkandeḥya purāṇa* 81-93) we find a concentration of this creative, transforming power. The three narratives which form the main substance of this song are devoted to the heroic deeds of the goddess. These stories are told by the sage, Medhas, to two grief-stricken men, a

king and a merchant, both of whom, because of enmity, have lost everything they had. Thus being instructed, the two men take refuge in the goddess, going through the required austerities and rituals, of which the constant repetition of the *Devī-sūkta* is an integral part. After three years the Devī appears to them. The king is restored to power and is promised a rebirth as Manu Savarni, and as such he will be the father of the human race in a whole cycle of time. The merchant, in agreement with his wish, is granted *jñāna*, knowledge that leads to the supreme realization, *saṁsiddhi*. The wishes that are asked are at first sight mutually contradictory, but in the Devī-symbolism they belong together and can be granted in one breath. The urge for emancipation is said to be typically Indian. But in this symbolism it is co-extensive with the measures of space and time. This became and is the great tradition. Without it the exuberant and vital art of India, such as the many sublime love-scenes at Konarak, would be incomprehensible. The great tradition developed an openness into which the Tāntric teachings about the identity of *saṁsāra* and *nirvāṇa*, of *yoga* and *bhoga*, fitted quite well. We may see some attestation of such openness in the *Devīmāhātmya* also on the cultural level, in the references made to the Vindhya mountains where the Devī will destroy two monsters at some future time, and under the name Gāmuṇḍā, striking because of its non-Sanskrit appearance, she kills the monsters Caṇḍa and Muṇḍa.

The Devī's deeds, extolled in the *Devīmāhātmya*, are, above all, deeds for the world. She slays the primordial monsters and the rebellious *asuras*, who are threatening the gods and the universe. One of them is Mahiṣāsura, the monster in a terrible buffalo form. His slaying, like the others, amounts to an establishment of the world. That stories with this same theme are repeatedly told is not strange : what is told is

always true, just as much as it is always true. The slaying of 'Mahiṣāsura is in symbolism quite naturally connected with the persisting local buffalo sacrifices. What the author of a text like the *Devīmāhātmya* did is not sufficiently indicated by the word 'openness'. We should rather say that in many encounters of the great and the lesser traditions his account meant a *return with force* of the same revitalizing, world-establishing symbolism.

In this mythical narrative we find almost all the elements that we have touched on in this paper. We recognize the Vedic, sacrificial overtones as in the story of the two monsters Śumbha and Niśumbha. Their dangerous, chaotic power came about by their usurpation of Vāyu's authority and Agni's duty (ibid. 5, 4) as when the order of sacrifice, on which the world depends, was disrupted. The order is restored by the goddess. Further, the goddess holds the power of the earth's wealth. In fact, the products of the fields come forth from her own body (ibid. 11, 48). Only through her, Viṣṇu wakes up from his precosmic slumber and the cosmos comes into existence (ibid. Chapter I). *Devīmāhātmya* (11, 32) indicates her dwelling place with lines suggesting chaos: a place of *rākṣasas* and poisonous snakes, of foxes and robbers, and of forest fires. Should we see here also a religious and cultural openness? After all, the Devī-devotees in the *Śilappadigāram* were also forest dwellers and were living on robbery. As in so many cases, chaos is not just something negative; it is that which existed before the cosmos was created. It conforms to the *mūlādhāra*-symbolism; the place of the fullest possibility. In the same stanza the goddess is said to be in the depth of the sea, *abdhimadhya*, the place of pre-cosmic chaos *par excellence*. 'Standing there you save the world' (*tatra sthita tvam paripaśye viśvam*), sing the gods. It is true, there is no *Kuṇḍalinī* imagery proper; but the

step from here to the typically Tāntric interiorization is certainly small. The gods praise her as the Devī who is in all beings as *iṣṇumāyā* (ibid. 5, 14-16), as consciousness, *cetanā* and *citi* (ibid. 17-19 and 78-80), as intelligence, *buddhi* (ibid. 20-22), and also as error, *bhrānta* (ibid. 74-76).

The *Devīmāhātmya* being a mythical narrative, it is much more inspiring than the Tantras whose techniques are meant for a chosen few. The concrete application of *yoga* and *bhoga*, *nirvāṇa* and *mahāsukha*, could not alter that. The mythical narration is the more basic of the two. Only through its symbolism could the esoteric practices come to life. It is not by coincidence that the *Devīmāhātmya* is highly esteemed by all Tāntrikas.

A RECREATIVE FORCE

We have tried to show some occasions in the history of the great tradition in which the Tāntric goddess-imagery occurred. In this ritual movement many elements contributed, but a decisive role was played by the Brāhmanic visionary power. This is said not to glorify one social group, but to indicate the spirit in which Indian religious expansion took place. The 'return with force', or recreative force of the symbolic imagery, would be comparable only to the work of Tibetan and Chinese scholars whose translations of Indian Mahāyānic and Vajrayānic texts were not just translations but ritual-inspiring creations. If, guided by the Devī symbolism, we have succeeded in showing something of that ritual pattern which comprises much more than the development of philosophical concepts, our task is fulfilled.

But what about our own time and the future? It needs no proof that India is entering modern history. On the one hand, pandits who have a first hand knowledge of Tāntric liberation techniques are coming in contact with modern research institutes. On the other hand, we think of a little shrine

to Marianman, built in the quarters of some railway employees, where a Catholic convert justifies its presence by saying, '... but this goddess is good for smallpox'. The man is right, for Marianman has indeed much to do with smallpox. But the functionalization implied here illustrates also the transition to a modern simplification of symbols; Marianman is assigned, rather pragmatically, only this one task: to take care of smallpox. Both the esoteric Tāntrika and general, Tāntrized Hinduism, are subject to the course of history.

Recently Professor P. J. Bouman, the historian and sociologist of Groningen, in his book, *Vijfstromenland, Balans der Werelddeelen*, (Assen, 1958, p. 269), expressed a concern that is shared by many of his contemporaries. He writes of the specialists who are agitated by the generalizations and incorrect use of sources made by Professor Toynbee, one of the few historians who relates recent crisis-phenomena to religio-historical data. Professor Bouman writes: 'But what did they themselves (the specialists in religio-historical data) contribute to our knowledge of secularization as a sociological and religio-historical phenomenon in the general *problematique* of cultural history?'

The reproach contains too much truth to be blotted out by listing some authors who have contributed substantially. For the reproach is genuinely related to the whole question of our modern spiritual impasse, which is not merely a western phenomenon any more. What it brings to mind is an awareness of limitations and a need for modesty, and something that may be termed an immoderate requirement.

On the one hand, what is demanded is essentially impossible for a human being. The task of the historian of religions, although dealing with the humanly impossible, is in all its profundity, limited and modest. It is not his task, for example, to give a prognosis of what a certain primitive group

will do when moving to a modern city. The historian of religions endeavours to understand what ultimately moves people, and he sees that the pattern of ritual movement involves a study dealing not with years but with epochs. Hence, most histories of religions deal with ancient cultures, or with primitive cultures that could be associated with them. No practical advice for practical planners can be expected from such an historian.

On the other hand, the impracticability of the situation is by no means irrelevant. Indeed, the impracticability exists only for our sociologically and psychologically preoccupied minds. Could we imagine an historian of religions advising the planners of a communist country that it would be wise to have people dance around the 'tree of life' every first day of May? Of course, such advice would be considered impracticable. The point is that the stream of symbolism in which we are living creates its own way, everywhere. We can understand it, but only to the extent that we are living in it, even if only in a distant tradition. Consequently, the study of it is of the utmost practical importance. But this requires little less than a spiritual rebirth. We are in most places only beginning to meet the cultures of the so-called underdeveloped countries in this profound sense. And any understanding of a religion that does not at least aspire to appropriation must fail in the face of an increasing secularization.

The immoderate requirement of rebirth concerns not just the specialists, but the world. It is a pity that, thus far, the experts in technical assistance programmes are as a rule spiritually ignorant. Too many practical planners see in the religion of people with whom they are confronted, little more than ideas, and erroneous ideas at that. Such planners are wrong. In fact, we can learn much from the process of transformation and openness, and the re-creative force of life.

THE CHRISTMAS STORY IN PROSE AND POETRY

EVERY year the Institute holds a special meeting to commemorate the birth of Jesus. Last Christmas, the meeting was planned as an act of homage and devotion. The lecture hall was transformed. The speaker's platform became a high dais covered with white cloth, upon which the main participants sat; low tables beside them each carried a candle. In front of the dais, a portion of the floor was also covered in white cloth, and hanging from the front of the dais was a reproduction of an old painting of the Madonna and Child. This picture, now garlanded, had kindly been lent by the Baptist Mission Press. Garlands of orange, yellow, and burnt sienna marigolds were arranged partly to outline the main shapes and partly to indicate rays of light emanating from the position of the Madonna and Child. Each 'ray' terminating on the white cloth on the floor, led the eye to a *pradip*, a boat-shaped lamp of clay with wick lying in oil. This is one of the oldest forms of lighting in the life of man and is common to all festivals in India. Colour, flowers, fragrance, and soft lighting led the audience into an atmosphere of stillness and devotion.

Those who contributed to the programme were Miss Winifred H. Dawes, who is staying at the Institute, and has come from England to deliver a course of seven lectures on 'Spiritual Foundations of Western Culture'; Sri Radhamohan Bhattacharya, a distinguished actor, writer, art critic, and translator; Sirdar Mohan Singh Kalra, a leader of the religious life of the Sikh community in Calcutta; and Sri Amiya Kumar Mazumdar, Principal of the Hooghly Mohsin College, and Professor of Philosophy at the Calcutta University College of Arts.

Miss Dawes, introducing the programme, explained that the story of Christmas would

be told through readings from the Gospels of the New Testament, given by Sri Radhamohan Bhattacharya; that the meaning of the story would be explored by the other two participants; and that Sri Radhamohan Bhattacharya would conclude the programme by reading *The Journey of the Magi* by T. S. Eliot, followed by Rabindranath Tagore's version of this poem in Bengali.

The readings from the Gospels were taken from the 1952 translation by J. B. Phillips, published by Geoffrey Bles, London. The particular interest of this translation is that, for the first time, the English rendering is as near as possible to the original Greek *koine*, the colloquial speech of the time when the Gospels were written, that is, between A.D. 60 and 110.

A CHILD IS BORN

Sri Radhamohan Bhattacharya's first reading described the feelings of Mary, Jesus's mother, when she knew that she was to have a son, a holy child, the Son of God:

'Then Mary said, "My heart is overflowing with praise of my Lord, my soul is full of joy in God my Saviour. For He has deigned to notice me, His humble servant and, after this, all the people who ever shall be will call me the happiest of women! The One Who can do all things has done great things for me—oh, Holy is His Name! Truly His mercy rests on those who fear Him in every generation. He has shown the strength of His arm, He has swept away the high and mighty. He has set kings down from their thrones and lifted up the humble. He has satisfied the hungry with good things and sent the rich away with empty hands. Yes, He has helped Israel, His child; He has remembered the mercy that He promised to our forefathers, to Abraham and his sons for evermore!"'

Then followed the account of how the

angel of the Lord appeared to the shepherds, and how after they had been reassured and instructed, they 'came as fast as they could and they found Mary and Joseph—and the baby lying in the manger. And when they had seen this sight, they told everybody what had been said to them about the little child. And those who heard them were amazed at what the shepherds said. But Mary treasured all these things and turned them over in her mind.'

A MESSAGE OF UNIVERSAL LOVE

Sirdar Mohan Singh Kalra spoke next, giving his thoughts about Christmas :

The birth of Jesus, this important event in the history of mankind, took place in extremely humble surroundings, shorn of all comforts. It was the limit of simplicity and humility that the advent of Christ should be associated with a manger in a cattle-shed on a cold winter night. Born in a cattle-shed, He lived as a carpenter, and died as a common criminal on a cross.

Christ preached that we cannot expect the forgiveness of God unless we practise the same quality ourselves. He washed the feet of His followers including those of the one He knew would betray Him. Even of the worst sinners He said, 'Forgive them, Lord, for they know not what they do'.

The Holy Spirit which inspired Christ with the Grace of God also illumined the souls of Sri Ramakrishna, the Lord Buddha, and other great messengers of God. I find the same spirit glorifying the hearts of prophets like Guru Nanak who said : 'Where the humble are taken care of, there showers the grace and forgiveness of the Lord.' And Kabir said :

Where there is knowledge there is *dharma*,
Where there is falsehood there is sin,
Where there is greed there is famine,
Where there is forgiveness,
there is God Himself.

God who fashioned time and space and all that is therein, accepted the bondage of human flesh to relieve the misery and sin of all mankind. The message of His birth is a message of universal and unifying appeal, of simplicity, forgiveness, humility, and faith.

THREE WISE MEN

Sri Radhamohan Bhattacharya then resumed reading from the Gospels, taking up the story again at the Gospel of St. Matthew. With the coming of the three wise men from the East, the story moves into a different atmosphere. We leave the everyday familiarity of the shepherds, the immediate atmosphere of the cattle shed, the background of crowded Bethlehem, and Roman administration, and move into a realm of ideas best understood in symbols. We realize that the wise men are indeed wise with an inner knowledge. They had known for a long time that they were travelling to witness a birth which signified for them the limitations of their esoteric powers, the transitoriness of their sovereignty, the frailty of their hard-won wisdom. And, in their understanding, they offered as symbols of their knowledge, in submission and worship, gold—for youth, power, and kingship ; incense—for maturity, divinity, and sacrifice ; and myrrh, a bitter substance—for old age, and the agony and suffering of life.

It then became the task of Sri Amiya Kumar Mazumdar to prepare the minds of the audience for an understanding of the inner reality and meaning of Christ's advent :

The Magi came to Bethlehem from the East and offered to the young child, in His rude and humble resting place, a reverence which they had not perhaps paid to any monarch in a glittering palace. In each of their gifts we see a special significance, and myrrh has a particular significance as it is also used for the embalming of dead bodies. The birth of Jesus marked the death of the

old order, and, in His birth, Birth and Death were united, in a spiritual sense. Jesus was born for us and he died for us. Death by crucifixion is indeed horrible and ghastly, but we do not hear the natural cry of agony when Jesus was faced with such a death. The Son of Man calmly prayed for his brutal and pitiless murderers, and for all those who in their sinful ignorance still crucify Him afresh.

The effect of the work of Christ was indeed abiding in the true sense of the term. It expelled cruelty; it curbed passion. The slave was freed; the status of women elevated; the orphan was sheltered and the captive protected. It changed pity from a vice to a virtue. It elevated poverty from a curse into a beatitude. A new connotation was given to the concept of charity. In a word, it evolved the idea of humanity as a common brotherhood. It is this aspect of Christianity which appeals to me most. The idea of humanity as a common brotherhood is linked up with the concept of God as Father. It is because the Christians believe in God as Father that the responsibility for children is safeguarded. Because we are children of God the Father, we are not mere puppets in his hands. Like a child, man can say 'yes' or 'no' to the Father. He can follow the Father's instructions, or persuade Him to accept his own point of view. To call God 'Father' means to be a man—a man who is fully conscious of his status, obligations, and responsibilities in the world. There is another side to the shield. Although God creates man with freedom and responsibility, He does not rob him of these qualities when man goes astray. God exercises not force, but infinite love. Love and love alone is the predominant note in God's action; it is the controlling power which draws the son home when he is lost. It is interesting to notice that the Upaniṣads also speak of God as the Father—'You are our Father. We should realize that you are

our Father'. Also we read, 'The son is the manifestation of the self of the father'. The relation of the father to the son is not a causal relation, it is a relation of love. The father and the son act in unison because they are spiritually identical.

Jesus died for our sins, because of his infinite love for his children. He could have averted evil by a miraculous power, but he did not do that. He deliberately waged war against sin and evil. His life and his death mark a battle against hatred, cruelty, greed, fear, indifference, and treachery. The message of Christianity is the establishment of the Kingdom of God on earth, the attainment of victory over sin and death.

We find in Jesus's life a perfect example of love and charity, of purity and sacrifice, and, in His Death, infinite redemption. His birth was indeed a sign of the passing away of the old order; His death marked the beginning of an age of new values. We are apt to look upon birth and death as two separate events, sharply sundered. In fact, life and death are but complementary half truths. Those who look upon birth as the only reality are like men who deny all that exists behind them because they see only what exists in front of them. In our daily life also we suffer the experience of birth and death. In a moment of heart-searching I may discover the utter sinfulness of an action of mine and I may say to myself: 'I am ashamed to death of what I have done'. I want to die so that my true self may live and endure. The death of the lower, brutish, and sinful self is not, however, the last word. This death leads one on to higher and richer life. It is like the death of the seed so that the tree may live. The tree blossoms forth in grandeur and majesty out of the death of the seed. The seed dies a noble death so that it may reach a life, richer, nobler, and more elevating in every respect. Let me conclude with a hymn from the Upaniṣads which expresses this sense of

the fulness of experience in life and death :

Lead me on from untruth to Truth
Lead me on from darkness to Light
Lead me on from death to Immortality.

These words of Sri Amiya Kumar Mazumdar were also a preparation for the reading, by Sri Radhamohan Bhattacharya, of *The Journey of the Magi* by 'T. S. Eliot. This poem contains, in powerful concentration, the essential mystery of Christ's birth. One of the three wise men, now grown old, remembers the journey, and in the last part of the poem reflects :

All this was a long time ago, I remember,
And I would do it again, but set down
This set down
This : were we led all that way for
Birth or Death ? There was a
Birth, certainly,
We had evidence and no doubt. I had
seen birth and death,

But had thought they were different ;
this birth was
Hard and bitter agony for us, like Death,
our death,
We returned to our places, these
Kingdoms,
But no longer at ease here, in the old
dispensation,
With an alien people clutching their Gods
I should be glad of another death.

The sensitive, expressive reading of this poem was rendered all the more meaningful for most of the audience by the fact that on reaching the end, Sri Radhamohan Bhattacharya paused, then gave Rabindranath Tagore's version of *The Journey of the Magi* in Bengali. The rounded charm of the Bengali sounds, the strong rhythm and the rich cadences of Sri Bhattacharya's style, made a firm, resolute, and moving ending to an evening of shared reflection and devotion.

A western member of the audience on Christmas Eve made the following comment :

Christmas in India is particularly meaningful because, if we wish, we may experience something of what it must have been like that first Christmas-time. Clothes, gesture, speech, and the physical setting, especially in village-India, are often redolent of an atmosphere which reminds westerners of their early Bible stories, those who were lucky enough to have had their childhood imaginations stirred and stocked with the drama and colour of Bible times.

Perhaps the most touching, the most profoundly satisfying, and inspiring part of this experience of Christmas-time in India is the Indian's sincere and, as yet, largely uninhibited capacity for simple and direct devotion to an idea of spiritual truth and human appeal, irrespective of its particular religious setting. And this sensitive response may come as easily from the most sophisticated as from the lowly and simple ; a personal quality of approach still flourishes unhindered by the strange self-consciousness of the West.

It was appropriate to find the Institute commemorating the birth of Christ on Christmas Eve. The Institute, with its foundations solidly built on the living experience of Sri Ramakrishna, on his realization of the inherent spiritual unity of mankind, makes a point of commemorating whenever possible the anniversaries of all the leaders of the great religions of the world.

BOOK REVIEW

HINDI VIŠVAKOŚA. VOL. I. Edited by Dr. Dharendra Varma, Dr. Bhagawata Sharan Upadhyaya, and Dr. Gorakha Prasad. (Kāśīnāgarī Pracārīnī Sabhā, Varanasi. 1960. 504 pp. Rs. 12.50)

The publication of a new encyclopaedia is welcome, and the *Hindi Viśvakośa* fulfils a long-felt need. Happily, the project has been undertaken by one of the most well-known institutions publishing Hindi literature, and it has been sponsored and financed by the Government of India. The editors are scholars of authority, experience, and ability; well acquainted with the task and well equipped in their work. Of the ten volumes to be published, the first contains nearly 1,009 entries and has 201 contributors from various fields of knowledge.

The first encyclopaedia in Hindi was Nagendra Nath Basu's *Encyclopaedia Indica*, first published in 1915. It was, as is generally and wrongly understood, neither an edition nor a translation of his Bengali *Viśvakośa*. It was both a dictionary and an encyclopaedia. Its range of topics was very wide but unsystematic, and the balance between the ancient and the modern was not perfectly held. But Sri Basu adhered to his professed aim to give 'a good quality and quantity of information', and to a large extent succeeded.

Times, since then, are completely changed. As Collier's *Encyclopaedia* put it, 'to create an encyclopaedia at a time when history is being made and knowledge is being modified ... presents a challenging problem'. The present *Viśvakośa* aims at a broader approach and a wider canvas. To give Hindi terms for use in the fields of modern scientific and technical knowledge, and to present that knowledge in readily readable form are stupendous tasks. As clearly stated in the editorial preface, 'this encyclopaedia is purposed to convey in Hindi the vast and ever

expanding knowledge of the different spheres of life, to the literate and eager public in a simple and concise style'. It is, therefore, a popular encyclopaedia. The editors seem to have kept before them the idea that utility is the principal intention of such a publication.

The selection of topics and subjects in an encyclopaedia is a formidable problem, and the present editors seem to have been beset by difficulties in judging and sifting the important and the permanent from the unimportant and the transitory. The scope of their selections mainly lies in the humanities, the sciences, languages, and literatures. It would have been better if the editors had explained their basic method of construction. It is not clear whether their idea was to have many short articles under detailed headings, and guide the reader to related subjects by the use of cross references, or to have long articles with detailed headings synthesized within the general study and indicated by an index, as is done in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. In the absence of a clear picture, the selection of topics has not been even. It is difficult to understand why so much importance has been given to certain uncommon, exotic subjects and writers, and too little to indigenous ones. The principal idea seems to have been to present complete modernity, and not comprehensiveness, even in regard to certain very important Indian subjects. It might have been better to follow Collier's pattern: 'modernity with the virtue of comprehensive coverage'. A few instances will testify. There is no mention of important subjects like *indrajāla*, *adhikaraṇa* and *anadhyāya*. Many important historical and mythological figures have been left out. For example Ajita who is the second *trīthai-kara* of the Jains, and Ajit Singh and Amara Singh, of the seventeenth century. On the other hand, Roman poets like Afranius Lu-

cius, Anurin Abbsolome and others have been dealt with. In many cases, the treatment of important subjects is poor, and coverage is one-sided, as in the articles on *agnihotra*, *agniṣṭoma*, and *Anekāntarāda*. The first two are important Indian rituals of the Vedic and post-Vedic ages, and their coverage should have been more scholarly, vivid, complete, and comprehensive. *Anekāntarāda* is the most important philosophical contribution of the Jains, and its influence on other philosophical thought has been clearly discernible. Eight lines to deal with such an important theory can hardly be justified. The atom has been covered by western theories, but there is no mention of the Indian concept as used in music and in some philosophical theories. The great sage Atri has been allotted four lines, which are surely insufficient to cover the life and legends of this important person.

Some subjects have not been dilated upon fully in regard to their content, usage, and function. *Aṅga*, has been explained in three aspects, etymological, philosophical, and historical, but its fourth aspect as a human limb gets no share. The same is the case with *vikā*, which has not been described in its dramaturgical context and meaning. Some reference to the concept of *itihāsa-purāṇa* would have been of great value in the article on *itihāsa*, which also lacks modern philosophical interpretations and theories. Aphrodite, the Greek goddess of love, has rightly been assigned a place, but her son, Eros, a parallel to the Indian Kama, has been overlooked.

The *Hindi Viśvakośa* does not deal with each letter of the Nāgarī alphabet separately, and does not describe them in detail. In almost all other dictionaries and encyclopaedias, modern or medieval, the letters of the alphabet are treated at length. It is all the more necessary in this case, since Nāgarī letters have borne not only a linguistic and grammatical meaning, but also a

deeper philosophical and even metaphysical significance throughout their long tradition. Etymological and genealogical indications of certain words and their pronunciation add greatly to the value of this volume.

Despite some shortcomings, the *Hindi Viśvakośa* clearly displays adept handling in its execution, and the stupendous labour of the editors. Biographies of many important contemporaries have been included; highly technical and scientific theories have been well and fully dealt with. It is well-balanced in style, and bibliographies have been added to the articles, though the references given in some cases need improvement and the further addition of many important works. For example, under *Avadhūta*, the *Avadhūta Gītā* has not been mentioned.

What impresses one most in this encyclopaedia is the style: simple and popular, clear and concise. Articles on subjects like *Ārjya*, *alanikara*, the history of the English language and literature, the history of Arabia and Arabic literature, and Italian literature, are very well balanced and comprehensive. Readability, accuracy, and objectivity have been successfully achieved. Unfamiliar and technical subjects like adulteration, cosmetics, arithmetic, and abnormal psychology are treated so as to give a clear understanding of the subject. A very high degree of objectivity has been maintained in dealing with many controversial topics and literary movements. Individual views have not usurped editorial rights.

An encyclopaedia is an ever-developing institution, a massive structure and organization which is never complete. It is hoped and believed that from the academic and the technical aspects of a well-knit living organization, the *Hindi Viśvakośa* will gradually develop into a comprehensive and ever fresh repository of knowledge with complete modernity and fullness of coverage.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

Study of World Religions at Harvard

On the campus of Harvard University, near the Divinity School, a new building is now functioning which represents another step toward the goal of closer understanding among followers of the world's major religions.

The modern two-storey structure houses a centre for the study of world religions. Dr. Robert H. I. Slater, who is directing the new centre, says he hopes and believes that 'Hindu, Buddhist, Muslim, and other students from the Orient coming to live in this centre with our students from North America, will find here an atmosphere in which they will feel encouraged to explain and articulate their own beliefs and follow their own religious disciplines. At the same time, they will have special opportunity to become better acquainted with Christian thought and western institutions in relation to questions they may raise themselves.'

The new centre is representative of a development in American universities generally—the intensified study of religion *per se*. It also is indicative of American Christians' interest in and respect for other major religions.

At Harvard, the study of world religions is not a new interest, but the centre is expected to add a new dimension. As Dr. Slater puts it: 'Across the world today there is a growing appreciation of what may be gained if classroom and library studies of other faiths can be supplemented by opportunity for more personal discussion. This is felt to be necessary not only in order to understand other faiths better, but also in order to communicate our own views more effectively. It is an opportunity of this kind which the centre aims to provide.'

The new programme is closely related to courses of study previously established at Harvard under various departments, including courses leading to the doctorate degree in the history and philosophy of religion. The

programme is being planned to provide for advanced study of the great religions in general, together with special study of a specific religion and the discussion of questions that are of interest to all students of religion.

Dr. Slater noted that residents in the new centre would include students from the Harvard Divinity School and elsewhere seeking to prepare themselves to teach courses dealing with the great religions of the world. Such courses, he pointed out, are being introduced in an increasing number of American colleges. He also expected students of other faiths from eastern countries who have a similar interest in the study of religions beside their own. And to add to the element of personal contact, Dr. Slater said, the centre hopes to invite visiting scholars to participate in the programme, and observed that there may be a number of post-doctoral and special students who, while pursuing their own particular studies at Harvard, 'may wish to share the life of the centre and contribute to our discussions'.

The University already maintains a residence for scholars of different religions of the world, but the new centre provides both permanent facilities and a meeting place for students and visitors concerned with the study of religions. Designed to allow for flexibility in its use, it includes apartments for eleven married students and visiting scholars with families, eight apartments for unmarried students, and apartments for a visiting professor and for a faculty member and his family. Each apartment has a small kitchen so that residents may prepare food to conform to the dietary regulations of their faiths.

The central building includes a lecture room, a library, a seminar room, a common room, and offices for faculty members, and a small chapel or meditation room.

Funds for the centre were provided by

the same anonymous donors who last year endowed the first professorship in world religions at Harvard. Dr. Slater, who also holds that chair, says, 'Establishment of the professorship and now the attractive facilities of the new centre are intended by the donors to encourage communication between men of differing religious faiths'.

Last November, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan opened the new centre. In his speech he said, 'A study of the different forms of religion may give us some idea of the deep significance of religion for the life of man. It is my hope and prayer that in this centre for the study of world religions unbelief shall disappear and superstition shall not enslave the mind, and all those who meet here shall recognize that they are brothers, one in spirit and one in fellowship.' 'A university', he pointed out, 'is a seat of learning, not a centre of worship. It believes in the pursuit of knowledge and not in the establishment of a cult. As university men it is our privilege and honour to seek for the truth and in this pursuit we should not be deterred by fear of what we might find. In many theological institutions, both in the East and in the West, students grow up in profound ignorance of other religions, which if they are presented to them, are done only in gross caricature. By such a treatment the secret of an alien religion is missed and its genius outraged. By getting adherents of different religions to work together in a spirit of co-operation and mutual respect we will promote appreciation of religions at their best.'

Books for Indian Students

On behalf of the Norrington Advisory Committee, eight British publishers (Collins, Heinemann, Hutchinson, Hodder and Stoughton, Longmans, Macmillan, Pitman, and Oxford University Press) have formed themselves into a group with the specific purpose of pooling their knowledge of export markets

and their distribution facilities overseas to promote the sale of British books in India.

First copies of twenty-three low-priced books in the new series, published under British Government auspices, will be on sale this year. The books, which are mainly scientific and technical university text-books, are presented with a uniform cover design, coloured blue, orange, or green to indicate the prices, nine shillings, twelve shillings, or fifteen shillings, and bearing a symbol lettered E. L. B. S. English Language Books Society. The next category to be published in the series is to be one of aids to learning English: dictionaries, grammars, and text-books. This will be followed by other low-priced books dealing with English literature, including the works of Shakespeare, Bernard Shaw, Jane Austen, Hilaire Belloc, G. K. Chesterton, and H. G. Wells.

Tagore Centenary News

A Tagore Centenary meeting at the famous St. Paul's Church in Frankfurt, under the patronage of the Federal President, Dr. Heinrich Lübke, exhibitions of paintings by Tagore, lectures on the poet and his works and the staging of some of his plays, will be the highlights of the Tagore Centenary celebrations to be held all over the Federal Republic of Germany next year. Substantial preparations for the purpose have been made already in nearly twenty important cities, including Bonn, Berlin, Frankfurt, Stuttgart, Munich, Hanover, Goettingen, and Kiel.

In addition to the celebrations, the *Indo-Asia*, a well-known periodical in Germany, is bringing out a special Tagore number. The Hyperion-Verlag, a prominent publishing house in Freiburg (Breisgau), which has already published a series of works on Tagore, is bringing out a two-volume Tagore Anthology in collaboration with Professor Amiya Chakravarty, now in Boston, who had been secretary to the poet.

INSTITUTE NEWS

AN OUTLINE REPORT OF WORK FOR THE YEAR 1960

THE Institute completed its twenty-third year in 1960. A brief outline of the outstanding features of work done during the year is given below :

Membership

There were 1,453 ordinary members and 19 life members. Membership of the Institute is open to all in sympathy with its aims. An annual subscription of Rs. 24 entitles members to use the library and reading room, to receive the Institute's monthly *Bulletin*, and to purchase the Institute's other publications at a concession of twenty per cent. Life membership is accorded to those who make a donation of Rs. 500 or more.

It is to be noted that the weekly lectures, classes, and study circles held at the Institute are open to the public.

New Building

The Institute's new building at Gol Park, Calcutta, was in full use during the year, with the exception of the Auditorium Section which is due to be completed early in 1961.

A complete description of the new building and an outline of the various activities for which the building has been designed, were given in the February 1960, issue of the *Bulletin*.

International Scholars' Residence

This section of the new building was increasingly made use of by students, graduates, research scholars, tourists, official delegations and lecturers, from India and abroad. A total of 113 persons were accommodated in the International Scholars' Residence, of whom 39 were long-term residents undertaking university or research studies in Calcutta. Of the remaining number, 1 was invited for the purpose of giving lectures at the Institute.

International Guest House

The International Guest House remained incompletely equipped, but was able to accommodate 6 guests throughout the year, of whom 2 were visitors who were invited to give lectures at the Institute.

Library and Reading Room

Throughout 1960 the Library and Reading Room have played an increasingly important part in the life of the Institute, under the guidance of the librarian, Sri Binulendu Majumdar, M.A., I.L.B., Dip.Lib.

At the end of 1960 there were 31,054 volumes in the library, of which 3,716 were added during the year, 3,158 having been purchased, 456 being presentations, and 102 being bound volumes of journals. The number of books lent was 10,878, and 7,055 were issued for reference.

The reading room contained 321 Indian and foreign journals, and there was an average daily attendance of 74 readers.

Childrens' Library

The children's library was opened in May and has proved to be a considerable source of attraction. It is open daily, except for Sundays, from 3 to 7 p.m. and is free to all children between 6 and 14 years of age. The books have been classified and catalogued in a simplified form, and are issued according to the Browne system which the children follow very easily.

At the end of 1960 there were 2,001 volumes in the library, in Bengali, English, Hindi, Marathi, Malayalam, Tamil, and Telegu. Out of the total number of books, 1,918 were purchased, and 44 were presentations. The number of books issued was 7,195. Membership of the library numbered 330, and the average daily attendance was 64.

Students' Day Home

The total number of enrolled students for 1960 was 800. On an average, 350 students spent some time in study every day in the Home, while about 300 daily took advantage of the subsidized meals. There is a text-book library of 4,705 volumes.

Amongst the various activities which took place in the Home outside the study periods, mention should be made of a musical soirée, and a function to celebrate the ninety-eighth birth anniversary of Swami Vivekananda ; a programme to celebrate the ninety-ninth anniversary of the birth of Rabindranath Tagore which included the staging of Tagore's play, *Baikunther Khata* ; the presentation of a dramatized version of Tagore's *Sampatti-Samarpan* ; and a talk by Professor Parimal Kar, M.A., of Asutosh College, on 'The Curse of Abundance'.

Weekly Lectures

Weekly lectures given at the Institute during the year numbered 46. The lectures were on social, religious, and cultural subjects and were given by Indian and foreign scholars. Christmas Eve 1960, being the weekly lecture night—Saturday, a special programme was arranged to commemorate the birthday of the Lord Jesus Christ. Attendance throughout the year averaged 250.

Cultural Relations

As part of its work to promote mutual knowledge and understanding between India and other countries the Institute (a) organized special meetings and discussions ; (b) received visitors and guests at the Institute ; (c) maintained contacts with individuals and organizations, both locally and abroad ; (d) exchanged publications ; and (e) gave receptions to eminent visitors and held discussions with them.

Special Meetings.

12 special meetings were arranged to take

advantage of the presence in the city of scholars on a short visit to Calcutta. In January, Professor A. L. Basham, Professor of South-East Asian History at London University, lectured on 'Religion in England Today'. In February, V. K. R. V. Rao, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt., Vice-Chancellor, Delhi University, lectured on 'Swami Vivekananda and India's Present Problems'. A reception was accorded to Dr. Rao. Sri R. Panikkar, Ph.D., D.Sc., Th.L., engaged in research work on Indian and western philosophy at the Banaras Hindu University, lectured on 'The Philosophy of Science'. Also in February, Miss Winifred H. Dawes, from England, lectured on 'Hamlet as the Symbol of Modern Man'. In March, Georg Olden, Director of Graphic Art, C.B.S. Television Network, New York, lectured on 'Television and American Culture'. Later in March, Professor Niharranjan Ray, M.A., D.Phil., et Lett., M.P., lectured on 'A Basic Approach to the Study of Indian History'. In April, Kees W. Bolle, Theol. Cand. (Leiden), Rockefeller Fellow at the University of Madras, lectured on 'Devī Symbolism in the Tantras'. In September, a lecture on 'Morals, Materialism, and Religion' was delivered by Ninian Smart, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon), lecturer in the History and Philosophy of Religion at London University. On 24 October, United Nations Day, Arthur C. Bartlett, Director of the United States Information Service, Calcutta, spoke on 'Human Relations and International Obligations', and a reception was accorded to him. At the end of October, Dr. Oliver C. Carmichael, Educational Consultant to the Ford Foundation, spoke on 'The University and the Community in American Society'. A reception for Dr. Carmichael was also held. At the conclusion of the All-India Tamil Writers' Conference, organized by the Tamil Writers' Association of Calcutta, in November, Professor A. Srinivasa Raghavan, Principal of the V.O. Chidambaram College,

- Tuticorin, delivered an address at the Institute on 'Alwars', the Vaisṇava saint-poets. The last special meeting of the year was the occasion for Miss Winifred H. Dawes to give the first of her course of seven lectures on 'Spiritual Foundations of Western Culture'.

Other special events at the Institute were : the celebration of Rabindra Jayanti Utsab, under the auspices of the Bangiya Sahitya Sammelan ; the All-India Tamil Writers' Conference, organized by the Tamil Writers' Association in Calcutta ; the annual meeting of Sarada Sangha ; and a meeting of the Standing Committee of the All-India Women's Conference.

Visitors and Guests

The following persons visited the Institute ; His Excellency Mr. Ellsworth Bunker, Ambassador for the United States of America in India ; His Excellency Count Stanislas Ostorog, the French Ambassador to India ; Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-President of India and President of the Institute's Managing Committee ; Chester R. Chartrand, former Director of the United States Information Service, Calcutta.

The following stayed at the Institute : Swami Vishuddhananda, Vice-President of the Ramakrishna Mission ; Dr. Malcolm Adiseshiah, Assistant Director-General of UNESCO ; Sri Manubhai Shah, Minister for Industries, Government of India ; Dr. B. V. Keskar, Minister for Information and Broadcasting, Government of India.

Mr. Sulwyn Lewis, a teacher from South Wales, U.K., on a study tour sponsored by UNESCO ; Dr. Konrad Meingast, a lawyer from Austria, on a tour under the auspices of UNESCO and representing the Austrian Youth Federation ; and Professor F. Vreede, M.A., F.A. & B., Emeritus Director of the Dutch Centre of Studies at the University of Paris. During his stay at the Institute Professor Vreede gave one of the weekly

lectures, his subject being 'Modern Scientific Humanism'.

Other visitors to the Institute during the year included the following : Swami Madhavananda, General Secretary of the Ramakrishna Mission ; Dr. Helmut G. Callis, Professor of History at the University of Utah, and Mrs. Callis ; Dr. T. M. P. Mahadevan, Professor and Head of the Department of Philosophy at the University of Madras, and Secretary to the Indian Branch of the Union for the Study of the Great Religions ; Swami Gambhirananda, President of the Advaita Ashrama ; Professor Masakiyo Miyamoto, Dean of the Faculty of Letters at the Municipal University of Osaka ; Mr. B. Cockram, Director of Information Services at the Commonwealth Relations Office, London ; Mr. J. D. K. Argles, Regional Representative of the British Council ; Mr. W. K. Bunce, Counsellor for Public Affairs at the American Embassy, New Delhi ; the Hon. Mr. B. P. Sinha, Chief Justice of India ; three members of the Ohio State University Education Team in India, working through the United States Technical Co-operation Mission, New Delhi : Dr. (Miss) Inez Ray Wells, Mr. Chester L. Sterling, Mr. Merrill K. Luther, and the team's executive secretary, Sri D. N. Nangia ; Professor U. G. Papi, Rector of the University of Rome ; Sri Uday Shankar and his wife, Srimati Anala Shankar, the well known Indian dancers ; Mr. Masamichi Royama, a member of the Commission on the Constitution of Japan ; Rev. Clifton L. Monk, Executive Secretary to the Canadian Lutheran World Relief, and Mr. W. G. Steinhoff, Representative in India of the Lutheran World Federation ; Dr. Ernest Dale of Cornell University, New York ; Mr. J. D. K. Brown, President of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce and Industry, and of the Associated Chambers of Commerce and Industry ; Sri Bejoy Singh Nahar, M.L.C. ; Sri N. Roy, Chief Inspector of

Social Education, Government of West Bengal.

Amongst those who have also stayed at the Institute during the year for the purpose of study or research, or for taking up academic posts, are 27 students, 9 research scholars, 2 lectures and 1 professor, coming from Thailand, Burma, Nepal, South Africa, Poland, the United States, Great Britain, and India.

Seminars

Three seminars were held at the Institute. On 19 February a seminar was held on the subject of 'The Organization of Leisure Activities for Students between the Ages of 15 and 22'. The Chairman was Professor P. K. Guha, M.A., Professor of English at the University of Jadavpur, and the principal speaker was Mr. R. W. J. Keeble, Head of the Youth Department of the National Council of Social Service, Great Britain, and Secretary of the Standing Conference of the National Voluntary Youth Organizations of the United Kingdom. On 23 April, the subject of another seminar was, 'The Impact of Religions on the Modern World'. The participants were, Dr. M. Z. Siddiqi, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., Father Pierre Fallon, S.J., Jinaratana Thera, and Dr. Shashi Bhusan Das Gupta, M.A., Ph.D. On 18 December, a seminar on 'Leadership for International Understanding' was organized by a student group, The Seminarian. Amongst those who took part were Miss W. H. Dawes, Professor Amlan Dutta, of Jadavpur University, and Father Pierre Fallon, of St. Xavier's College.

Music Recitals

On 29 April, Gerd Kaemper, the well known German pianist, gave a short recital of works by Dussek, Mendelssohn, Scarlatti, Debussy, and Chopin. Before the recital, a reception was accorded to Mr. and Mrs. Kaemper in the Institute's quadrangle. A programme of Indian classical music and

dance, and of Tagore's music, was presented at the Institute on 17 August by the State Academy of Dance, Drama, and Music, and was sponsored by the German-Indian Association in collaboration with the Institute.

Bulletin

The *Bulletin* completed its eleventh volume in 1960. It carried lectures given at the Institute, book reviews, and news of Institute activities. It was sent to universities, libraries, and individuals throughout India, and to Indian embassies, universities, libraries, and learned societies in about fifty other countries.

The Cultural Heritage of India

Volume II of the second edition of *The Cultural Heritage of India* was prepared and sent to the press during the year; about half of the contents have been printed. This volume falls into six sections. Part I covers the Epics, Part II the *Gītā* literature, Part III the *Purāṇas*, Part IV the *Dharma-sāstras*, Part V *Artha* and *Nīti-sāstras*, and Part VI socio-economic organization. This will be the fourth volume in the second edition of this work to be published, for it was preceded by Volume III (1953), Volume IV (1956), and Volume I (1958). The remaining volumes of the series are under preparation.

Scripture Classes

(a) The *Śrīmad Bhāgavatam*: Swami Omkarananda gave 35 weekly discourses on this subject to an audience which averaged 450.

(b) The *Bhagavad-Gītā*: Swami Mahananda gave 26 weekly discourses to an audience which averaged 550. His discourses comprised a critical review of the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, based on almost all the commentaries on it, old and new.

(c) The *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*: Swami Omkarananda also gave three discourses on

this subject to an audience which averaged 350.

Sanskrit Catuspathi

7 students enrolled for the study of *Pañcadāsī* and *Gitābhāṣya*, under the guidance of Pandit Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya.

Hindi Class

52 students attended the Prārambhika (beginners) classes, and 15 attended the Praveśa (intermediate) classes. 44 classes in

each grade were held, and they were conducted by Pandit Bhubaneswar Jha. In the examinations held by the West Bengal Rashtra Bhasha Prachar Samiti, 29 students out of 35 passed the Prārambhika Section, and in the Praveśa Section all of the 5 entrants passed.

Bengali Class

Professor Saurindra Kumar De conducted a Bengali course, in which 38 classes were held ; 22 students enrolled.

FEBRUARY LECTURES

At 5.30 p.m.

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|-------------|--|
| February 2 | Tagore
<i>Speaker :</i> Richard Church
<i>President :</i> Dr. Kalidas Nag, M.A., D.Litt. |
| February 4 | The Role of the Liberal in American Life
<i>Speaker :</i> Dr. F. A. Logan, A.D., M.A., Ph.D.
<i>President :</i> Dr. Kalidas Nag, M.A., D.Litt. |
| February 11 | Impressions of Vocational Guidance in India
<i>Speaker :</i> Miss Maria Ruthquist, M.A. (Hons.) (Swed.)
<i>President :</i> Srimati Sujata Roy, M.A., M.Ed. (Leeds) |
| February 18 | The Discovery and Significance of the Dead Sea Scrolls
<i>Speaker :</i> Professor H. Wright Baker, D.Sc., M.I.Mech.E., M.I.Prod.E.
<i>President :</i> Dr. J. N. Banerjee, M.A., Ph.D., F.A.S. |
| February 25 | The Liberal Mind of the Buddhist Emperor Asoka
<i>Speaker :</i> Dr. Radhagovinda Basak, M.A., Ph.D.
<i>President :</i> Professor Tripurari Chakravarti, M.A., M.L.C. |

CONCLUDING LECTURE

of

The Course of Lectures on
Spiritual Foundations of Western Culture

by

Winifred H. Dawes

Tuesday, 7 February, at 6-30 p.m.

BULLETIN OF THE RAMAKRISHNA MISSION INSTITUTE OF CULTURE

VOL. XII

No. 3

OBSERVATIONS

CAMPAIGN FOR THE NATIONAL IDEAL

SINCE the turn of this century sweeping changes have occurred throughout the world : within the short span of sixty years or so man has achieved what he could not achieve in the preceding four thousand years : he has converted into actuality ideas that, if they existed previously at all, were scarcely more than the product of imagination. This tidal wave of change is rapidly engulfing the whole world. Some call it progress, although it has yet to be proved to be progress, for progress lies not primarily in invention and discovery, but in man's attitude to them which governs the uses to which he puts them.

From one point of view, the problems that face modern India are thus not peculiarly her own : they are part of the general world situation. The way in which India deals with her own problems will, for this reason, ultimately influence the course of developments in relation to those problems throughout the world.

From another point of view, however, India's problems are her own. From the historical viewpoint India is in a position

not to be found elsewhere. For historically India developed along certain lines peculiarly her own. These were strong lines of thought which, as we have already discussed in great detail in these columns, constituted the national ideal, the enduring motivating force that has been the mainstay of the nation, the means of continuity, for countless centuries. According to the national ideal, the greatest value is attached to the development of the inner life and the establishment of the supremacy of the Self, the inner spirit in which man and all his world have being. With the passing of time, however, the national ideal has been covered up. Although it is still living, it now appears to be lost.

How, then, is India's national spiritual heritage to be given back to the people ? Existing now subconsciously, how is it to be brought up once more into conscious thought and practice ? How is it to be harnessed to the everyday life of the whole nation so that the social changes of the present age, new ways of life brought about by urbanization and industrialization, new

ways of thinking brought about by scientific knowledge, new responsibilities following independence, the whole new outlook, may be assimilated into the national bloodstream? A 'foreign body' in the flesh is a source of trouble and danger, but new blood assimilated is therapeutic and health-giving. How, then, is the 'foreign body' of modern social change to be transmuted into new blood, to invigorate, strengthen, and preserve the life of the nation?

These questions are fundamental to all other problems now facing modern India. Their solution is the particular task of the present generation which thus finds itself in a position of vital importance to the continuity of national life, a position which involves much more than the usual role of every generation as a link between past and future.

THE INDIAN STANDPOINT

In assessing the trend of events in modern India, it is useless merely to decry industrialization and all its associated evils; it is useless merely to decry modern innovations as materialistic and soul-killing. The world must be accepted as it is, for the clock cannot be put back. No amount of pining for a lost way of life can reinstate it. What is necessary, therefore, is to look at modern life, industrialization, westernization, call it what you will, and to look at it through our own eyes, and through no other. 'We must grow according to our nature', said Swami Vivekananda. Vain is it to attempt the lines of action that foreign societies have engrafted upon us; it is impossible. 'Glory unto God that it is impossible, that we cannot be twisted and tortured into the shape of other nations. I do not condemn the institutions of other races; they are good for them, but not for us. What is meat for them may be poison for us. This is the first lesson to learn. With other sciences, other institutions, and other traditions be-

hind them, they have got their present system. We, with our traditions, with thousands of years of Karma, behind us, naturally can only follow our own bent, run in our own grooves, and that we shall have to do.' (From 'My Plan of Campaign')

What is required, then, is to begin now to study modern conditions in India, and to see them from the Indian standpoint. This standpoint has first to be consciously cultivated, however, for the major defect of education as it now exists in this country is that it has largely destroyed the Indian standpoint and has replaced it by a mentality that can only be described as superficial, for it has no true foundations whatsoever, neither western nor Indian.

This is not to say that western education has not been of immense benefit to India. Indeed, it has. In a sense it has been the salvation of India, for it has provided the inspiration, the enthusiasm, needed to convert lethargy into healthy activity. Lethargy had seized the country, and unless that spirit of activity had been generated, India would not, even now, be awake to the possibilities that lie before her if only she will reassert her own national ideal. However, we now have to beware of clinging too long to something that has been of benefit, but that now threatens to become a curse. It is like the raft in the Buddhist parable. A man who has used a raft to cross a river, if he is wise he will leave the raft behind. The foolish man, thinking of what great use the raft has been, will try to carry it with him as he continues on his journey. But then the raft will weigh him down; it will be a burden and prevent his progress.

India, as she travels forward, must leave behind the raft that has been her salvation. Westernization, however, cannot be left behind in the sense in which a raft can. The analogy must be applied in a more subtle sense. What must be left behind now is the idea of westernization as an end in itself.

and as a way of life which usurps the national way of life. All that the West has given us, we shall keep by assimilation. By cultivating the Indian national viewpoint as our dominating influence, and as our only true way of life, we shall assimilate by natural growth all that we recognize as good and desirable in western civilization.

This process of assimilation will also remedy another grave defect in modern India, a defect which may be viewed as the opposite pole of westernization. This is narrow, sectarian orthodoxy, which has tried to convert the Indian way of life into something that merely centres round food and touchability. Swami Vivekananda gave this way of life the name of 'Don't-touchism', and had much to say about those who debated 'whether we should drink a glass of water with the right hand or the left', and 'whether the hand should be washed three times or four times'. 'What can you expect from men who pass their lives in discussing such momentous questions as these, and writing most learned philosophies on them ?

... We are neither Vedāntists, most of us low, nor Paurāṇics, nor Tāntrics. We are just "Don't-touchists". Our religion is in the kitchen. Our God is the cooking-pot, and our religion is "Don't touch me, I am holy". If this goes on for another century, every one of us will be in a lunatic asylum. It is a sure sign of softening of the brain when the mind cannot grasp the higher problems of life ; all originality is lost, the mind has lost all its strength, its activity, and its power of thought, and just tries to go round and round the smallest curve it can find. This state of things has first to be thrown overboard, and then we must stand up, be active and strong, and then we shall recognize our heritage to that infinite treasure, the treasure that the whole world requires today.' (From 'Reply to Manamadura Address')

COMMON GROUND

Thus it becomes clear, from these two opposing viewpoints, that India's most urgent need today is the cultivation of her own national ideal. The tragedy that has allowed generations to grow up in ignorance of their own culture must now be remedied. How is it to be done ?

The first step will be the recognition of the basic principles of Indian culture which underlie all the various schools of thought and the different social practices. Swami Vivekananda pointed out that while social practices may, and must, change, the basic principles cannot change : 'The principles of religion that are in the Vedānta are unchangeable. Why ? Because they are all built upon the eternal principles that are in man and nature ; they can never change. ... But those religious practices which are based entirely upon our social position and correlation must change with the changes in society. Such an order, therefore, would be good and true at a certain period and not at another. ... Thus it naturally follows that if, in modern times, our society requires changes to be made, they must be met, and sages will come and show us the way how to meet them ; but not one jot of the principles of our religion will be changed ; they will remain intact.' (From 'Vedāntism')

Seen in this light, social change, instead of being feared and resented, may be welcomed as a new and exciting adventure. But first it is essential to see and cultivate and make known the basic principles that are the common ground to the whole of India, and that provide the solution to the problems arising from differences in race, religion, language, and government. However varying the conclusions and the claims of different groups or sects, there are certain grounds common to them all, and these grounds admit of endless variation, and grant infinite liberty to the individual to

think and live in the way that to him seems best. So it becomes essential that every man, woman, and child throughout the length and breadth of the country should know and understand these basic principles, and try to give expression to them in their lives.

Swami Vivekananda again and again emphasized that these basic principles constitute the life-force of the nation, and must be carried forward if the nation is to live : 'We see how in Asia, and especially in India, race difficulties, linguistic difficulties, social difficulties, national difficulties, all melt away before this unifying power of religion. We know that to the Indian mind there is nothing higher than religious ideals, that this is the key-note of Indian life, and we can only work in the line of least resistance. It is not only true that the ideal of religion is the highest ideal ; in the case of India it is the only possible means of work ; work in any other line, without first strengthening this, would be disastrous. Therefore, the first plank in the making of a future India, the first step that is to be hewn out of that rock of ages, is this unification of religion. All of us have to be taught that we ... have certain common ideas behind us, and that the time has come when for the well-being of ourselves, for the well-being of our race, we must give up all our little quarrels and differences. ... With the giving up of quarrels, all other improvements will come.' (From 'The Future of India')

To many minds at the present time, the idea of the unification of religion may seem remote and impracticable because no-one wants religion. It may even be claimed that unification has already been achieved to some extent through irreligion ! For to vast numbers of India's educated, industrialized, commercialized population the religious practices of their forefathers no longer have any appeal, nor any meaning. Like Christmas for many in the West, to them the annual *pujahs* are a time for re-

laxation and merriment, while the daily *pujahs* may safely be left to mothers and aunts. These same people, however, will talk wistfully of their lack of 'faith', they will be filled with nostalgia at the thought of the spiritual values that might have been theirs, but which now only exist for them in mythological stories that seem far removed from the daily grind of the modern world.

This open longing for faith, this yearning for spiritual values, however, are the insignia of the true Indian. No Indian can avoid them because they are in his blood as a national characteristic. Just as there is an individuality in every man, so there is a national individuality ; just as an individual has certain characteristics, so has a nation its own characteristics. Moreover, just as each individual has to fulfil a certain purpose in the economy of nature, like a mission which must be performed and which springs from his own past, so a nation, too, has a role to play, a destiny to fulfil, a mission to accomplish. To know and understand this fact of national and international life is of the utmost importance today. It provides the key to the modern world situation in which, for the first time, all the nations of the world are endeavouring to stand together as equals, each one with its own individual contribution to make towards the welfare of the whole. And for modern India to know and understand her own mission, her own contribution to the sum total of the world's progress will be the greatest stabilizing influence the nation can have. For India's contribution lies in the field of thought and ideology ; it is a statement of the eternal principles that are in man and nature, basic principles that lend themselves to endless variety and, at the same time, grant complete freedom of expression in the fulfilment of individual needs.

THE BASIC PRINCIPLES

It was in this sense that Swami Viveka-

nanda used the word 'religion', in the sense not of outward forms, beliefs, or practices, but of inner, basic principles. It was in this sense also that he spoke of religion as the life-force of the nation, the life-force that must be carried forward if the nation is to live. It was in this sense that he spoke of the ideal of religion as, in the case of India, the only possible means of work, adding the grave warning that, for India, 'work in any other line without first strengthening this, would be disastrous'.

The inner, basic principles which thus form the very foundation of Indian life are contained in the Vedas. By 'Vedas', however, no mere books are meant. The Vedas were not written or composed in the sense that a book is written by one who wishes to set out a particular point of view. The Vedas represent the knowledge of God that was directly perceived by the *Rishis*, the seers of thought. The long line of saints and sages India has produced since then have repeated the experience, but none has ever added anything new to it. The Vedas, therefore, are the eternal knowledge of God, and the *Rishis* were the seers of thought that already existed in the universe. The essence of the knowledge contained in the Vedas was called by the name of 'Vedānta', which comprises the Upaniṣads, and it is the Upaniṣads which form the foundation of all schools of Indian thought. 'So deeply have these Upaniṣads sunk into our race', said Swami Vivekananda, 'that those of you who study the symbology of the crudest religion of the Hindus will be astonished to find sometimes figurative expressions of the Upaniṣads—the Upaniṣads become symbolized after a time into figures and so forth. Great spiritual and philosophical ideas in the Upaniṣads are today with us, converted into household worship in the form of symbols. Thus the various symbols now used by us all come from the Vedānta, because in the Vedānta they are used as

figures, and these ideas spread among the nation and permeated it throughout, until they became part of their everyday life as symbols.' (From 'Vedāntism')

Fundamental to these symbols and to the teaching contained in the Vedānta is the conception of an infinite Power in the universe, from which everything has come, in which everything lives, and to which everything must in the end return. Individual conceptions of this Power may vary; some call it God, others deny the existence of God; others again vary in their ideas of the relation between the individual and that Power. Nonetheless, all give recognition to that Power as that in which man lives and moves and has his being.

The recognition of this Power as the great Source of all things colours the Indian view of the nature of the universe. No Indian can regard the universe as having been created out of nothing. To him, the universe has been not created, but projected. Creative energy is working all around us, day and night, and it works according to the principle of cycles. After projection, the gross material of the outer universe goes back to its finer state, completing a cycle, and is then projected once more. To the Indian mind, therefore, life is eternal; death is only of the body.

For this reason the Indian believes that man is not only a gross, material body and an ever-changing mind, but that there is something greater than body and mind. This is *Ātman* which has neither beginning nor end, but is one with the Power behind the universe. This *Ātman* is by its nature pure and perfect, infinite in power, and ever blessed. Man's task in life is to manifest that power, that perfection. It is this belief in the power and perfection of his own soul that can be of the utmost help to every Indian today, to every human being who has the capacity to grasp it. For the man who can grasp it has faith in himself, and from

that faith must spring strength to do good and be good, strength to be great. The fundamental doctrine of religion in India is evolution—that the soul is going towards the highest goal, to manifest its own perfection, in spite of all that appears to hold it down. To parents and teachers Swami Vivekananda made this special appeal: 'Teach this life-saving, great, ennobling, grand doctrine to your children, even from their very birth. You need not teach them Advaitism; teach them Dvaitism, or any 'ism' you please, but we have seen that this is the common 'ism' all through India; this marvellous doctrine of the soul, the perfection of the soul, is commonly believed in by all sects. As says our great philosopher, Kapila, if purity has not been the nature of the soul, it can never attain purity afterwards, for anything that was not perfect by nature even if it attained to perfection, that perfection would go away again. If impurity is the nature of man, then man will have to remain impure, even though he may be pure for five minutes. . . . Therefore, say all our philosophers, good is our nature, perfection is our nature, not imperfection, not impurity—and we should remember that. . . . Follies there are, weakness there must be, but remember your real nature always, that is the only way to cure the weakness, that is the only way to cure the follies.' (From 'The Common Bases of Hinduism')

PRACTICAL STEPS

These basic principles of Indian thought are contained in works written in Sanskrit. More and more of these works are being translated into English and other languages, and the strength-giving ideas they contain are thus being set free to travel throughout the world. Paradoxically, however, there is no parallel movement to set them free to travel the length and breadth of India, to give them to those who read neither Sanskrit nor English who, perhaps, do not read at all.

Those who do not read at all are of two kinds. There are those who do not read because they have never had the opportunity to learn; they are uneducated. There are others who do not read because they are educated. Their education has given them false values and, leaving them entirely ignorant of their own traditional values, has closed their minds and left them bewildered and helpless.

The first practical step towards the strengthening of the Indian nation should therefore be a campaign to carry to the educated and the uneducated alike, knowledge of the basic principles of Indian culture. This should be done at all possible levels. Those who are ready to study Sanskrit must be encouraged and helped to study it; to others, the knowledge must be imparted through their own language, through the written word, through the spoken word, and through films and drama. The Government of India, instead of attempting to take refuge in the purely negative conception of a 'secular' State, should take its stand upon the basic principles of Indian thought which are common to all sections of the people and form the national ideal. Thus would the way be open to the establishment of a national service corps which could be used as a nationwide organization to spread knowledge of the Indian view of life throughout the land. The high prestige of Sanskrit is based upon the fact that it embodies Indian culture. Long-term plans for the wide cultivation of Sanskrit should now be taken up, for care must be taken to spread not merely knowledge, but culture. Knowledge, like civilization, is only skin deep; it does not necessarily affect the real, the deepest thought of the people, their basic attitude to life, the motives that lie behind their behaviour. It is culture, not knowledge, that gives a people the inner calmness and strength to withstand the shocks and vicissitudes of life, both personal and national. Culture, not knowledge, has

the power to assimilate and develop along natural lines of growth, finding new ways of giving expression to basic principles when the old forms of expression have lost their significance.

Let modern India now find unity by giving recognition to the basic principles of her culture, principles that are acceptable to every Indian. From that standpoint of true unity, the various problems and fissiparous tendencies that now beset the country will find solution. A resolution adopted by the Congress Working Committee at Sardarnagar last January called for greater stress to be laid on the emotional integration of the country as a means of overcoming communalism, casteism, provincialism, and linguism. The resolution, however, made no constructive suggestion regarding the proper basis of that emotional integration. The Congress would do well now to give as much importance to this question as to the questions of education, agricultural progress, and industrialization which the same resolution regarded as the means to progress. Emotional integration in India must rest upon the prin-

ciples of traditional culture. By understanding the basic principles of their culture, modern Indians will quickly discover ways of giving those principles modern expression suited to the conditions and spirit of the age. Thus will come also true assimilation of the 'foreign body' of social change, and the new way of life, that now threatens to disrupt, will be found to be a source of new strength.

Unless India takes these practical steps towards her own salvation, she cannot remain a nation. Spiritual power, not social, not political power, is the strength of India. The emotional integration of the country will be achieved when all hearts beat to the same tune of spiritual oneness. National union in India must therefore be a pattering up of her spiritual forces. When the word 'India' becomes synonymous with the idea of the manifestation of spiritual power as the basic aim in life, then the very thought of being an Indian will send through the veins of every individual a galvanic shock of strength, and this will also generate the spirit of oneness required as the basis of national unity.

Under cover of political and social activities, the old evils of communalism, casteism, provincialism and linguism have appeared again in some measure. These evils come in the way of the progress of integration, which is essential for the building up of this great country, and encourage certain fissiparous tendencies. Economic progress is hindered and the sense of unity is lessened.

The Congress views with great concern these unhealthy tendencies and is firmly of opinion that they must be combated in every way. Communalism, which has in the past done so much injury to the nation, is again coming into evidence and taking advantage of the democratic apparatus to undermine this unity and to encourage reactionary tendencies. Provincialism and linguism have also injured the cause for which the Congress stands. Caste, although losing its basic force, is beginning to function in a new political garb.

If these tendencies are allowed to flourish, then India's progress will be gravely retarded and even freedom will be imperilled. It is therefore of the utmost importance that every effort should be made to remove these evils and always to keep in view the unity and integrity of the nation. Adequate progress can only be based on a national scale, embracing all communities and states.

(Extract from the Congress Working Committee's resolution January 1961)

SEEKING THE SOUL OF A PEOPLE

W. H. DAWES

This is the first of a series of seven lectures on 'Spiritual Foundations of Western Culture' given by Miss Winifred H. Dawes at the Institute early this year, and sponsored by the Spalding Trust of Oxford, England. The lectures are designed to promote a true understanding of western culture which, widely thought of as materialistic, has roots that go deep into spiritual experience, the common heritage of mankind. Miss Dawes, a retired Civil Servant, studied English literature and philosophy at Oxford. This lecture was given on 27 December 1960.

THE aim of these lectures is to fill a need for reflection upon the motives which inspire human beings, and which in the course of time cause invisible lines of sympathy to develop which give a group a distinctive character of its own which may be called a culture, and which, further, distinguish this movement from those which draw people together by some utilitarian aim, industry, or calling, which marks a civilization. These two activities of society are the facets of its life, and although they serve quite different purposes, which we shall attempt to assess, they are nevertheless complementary to each other.

This subject, applied to western culture, is much too vast for one person to attempt to review, so I shall confine my contribution chiefly to English life and literature. Even within this limit I shall be trying to communicate to you something which is almost incommunicable. A culture, as distinct from a civilization, is the very soul of a people. It is what makes it unique : something which is perhaps partly unconscious. Because of this, it needs ideals to sustain it. It cannot do without these ideals, though, indeed, sometimes they are lost, and sometimes they reappear in different forms, which can, however, always be recognized by the people

themselves. It is easier, perhaps, to say, as Saint Augustine replied when he was once asked What is time ?, 'I know it when you do not ask me'.

These lectures therefore will not be an investigation into social science, nor a noting of outward customs, fêtes, habits, and so on. These any casual visitor may note or read about, and still misinterpret, because the secret of interpretation, which is only gained by the gift of sympathetic insight, may have been missed. What I seek to reveal is the very personality of a people : something very precious, distilled from their experience from the past, which forms their hopes for the future and which sustains them wherever they are. This personality does not depend upon worldly success, high standards of living, or the gadgets and gifts of civilization, but is rather the memory of shared sorrows and of difficulties overcome together, which has knit in bonds of deeper knowing, more certain sharing, a beauty and a humour of thought which can only be communicated to those who have the same experience, or the sensitivity to feel actively with this experience. This sensitivity is the true brotherhood. It is a quality which we must all do our best to cultivate, for it is the only true bond which will make our world one. It is so often

said that science has done this unifying already, and we are asked to marvel almost *ad nauseum* at the speed of the machines which link us, obliterating distance. We have contacts, but not communication, until we are 'cultured' by sorrows and sympathy to understand each other as brothers in a common endeavour. The ideal of this, in Christian terms, may be described as the Person of Christ seen through the prism of nationality. In this Institute of Culture, it is expressed as 'mankind-as-a-whole'. But these are words not wholly understood because they are not yet common property, and cannot be until we build between us the links which fulfil their meaning. These lectures are intended to uncover the living soul which is striving, and ever must strive, towards fuller expression, until our world is linked not only by the sameness of a machine, but by the unity and yet multitudinous variety of its living members.

I have thought long how I may communicate to you the living soul of western culture, and I feel that the best way is to interpret to you some of our great works of literature. These have become great for the very reason that they strike chords of music, evocative of common experience for English people everywhere. That some are known to you already is sufficient reason to believe that they strike chords of universality of human experience beyond our shores. A culture is, in itself, a work of art, and like all true works of art speaks of things beyond itself. With this study of literature we shall note some of the movements and the history of which the literature is the counterpart and the expression.

At the same time, we shall endeavour to separate in our minds this cultural development, this growing brotherhood, from the tools and methods which science has given us for our use. These I shall call the fabric of civilization. They are certainly marvelous, but they are tending to become an ob-

session; tools are becoming aims as well as objects of utility. But the dignity and brotherhood of man is something greater still. The establishment of this fine Institute of Culture is for the purpose of fostering this spirit. More and more will it become a meeting place for the many expressions of this brotherhood of man, and I am deeply conscious of the honour that you and the Spalding Trust of Oxford have paid me by inviting me to give this series of lectures in this magnificent building.

The first lecture will mainly be devoted to clearing the field of enquiry by explaining scientific method. Having estimated its undoubted advantages as well as its limitations, in subsequent lectures we shall consider those productions of man's endeavour which might reveal the aims and ideals towards which we must strive, and strive together or for ever lose our status as reasoning human beings.

The second lecture will examine the growth of language and the way abstract concepts are tried out in action by means of the drama, so that all may understand the meaning, and communication may deepen, and culture grow.

The third and fourth lectures will particularize our findings from examples drawn from English literature. The only reason why I select English literature from among the many languages and literatures of the West is the reason of my own limitations. It is the one I know best. I hope that other speakers will come later to fill the gaps which I must perforce leave, and interpret the soul of western culture through other literatures and languages of that vast collection of cultures which we vaguely know as the West.

The fifth lecture will deal with an aspect of culture which is often missed in discussion of this sort. This is woman's place in the forming of the links of sympathy from which a culture stems, and her part in inspiring its manifestations.

The sixth lecture deals with the need for unity within a culture, and will be an attempt to find wherein it lies. We shall seek here the foundation-stone of culture, and shall, I believe, discover it to be a key-stone which the builder may have thrown away. For, as in mathematics we cannot start to formulate a science until we have a concept of the number one, and as in geometry we cannot start without a point which is without breadth or extension in space, neither can a culture grow without an invisible, timeless idea which acts as a focal point for memory. The sixth lecture, then, will deal with the idea of sovereignty and will trace the development of this idea in the English culture where it has been subject to a long process of refinement.

The seventh lecture will attempt the summary of our whole findings and will attempt also to establish something which we might recognize as a spiritual foundation of western culture, which, again, I must perforce illustrate by reference to English achievements. In one sense I do this without apology, for we are dealing here with things of the spirit whose foundations are in no particular place or time, but which from their point of no-place infect the whole. What, therefore, applies to England will, I am sure, apply to the whole of the West, for the foundations which I seek to elucidate, although spoken in English, lie in 'the prophetic soul of the wide world dreaming of things to come'.

WHAT IS CULTURE ?

Throughout the whole world today we find an almost feverish preoccupation with the idea of freedom. We seem to be at the end, or chaotic frayed ends, of that great quest for Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity which inspired the first great impulse of the French Revolution, but which is now spreading in ever more diverse waves over the whole world, carrying much of the debris

of broken cultures, the mistakes and aberrations of aim. We are unbalanced in our preoccupation with freedom, and time is ripe for a restatement of ideals. This great gift of ours—life—is a force of energy we may not dissipate even if we would, and our whole nature demands of us that we make of it something purposive and harmonious. We need freedom, of course, but freedom to find wholeness. We seek the right form or mould into which we may voluntarily pour our freedom, apparently losing it, but strangely to find it again in harmonious, creative living with our fellows. Life then becomes like a poem. A good poem has form and content, and the two are so finely woven together that they are inseparable. That is why it is so difficult adequately to translate a poem. But it is this very marriage of vitality and form that constitutes its uniqueness and its sensitivity as an instrument to express experience which is universal. Our lives and our energies are the content that would flow freely, and we seek the restraining form which, in its very restraint, makes us conscious of our powers, makes us able to communicate freely with our fellows, and so experience and give the joy which is the reward of heightened consciousness. For consciousness is growth, the achievement of spirit. Here, then, in this harmony of content and form lies the secret working of a culture.

We cannot break into another's culture by means of war. How foolish to range one against another and hope by force to attain any of the precious honey of its hive. But we may, by submitting ourselves to the experience which has made a culture what it is, gain some of its insights and then help to forge the links of communication with our own so that we may grow to the ultimate unity of the whole world. Thus the counterpart of freedom is wholeness. From small successes we move to more comprehensive ones by ascending degrees, bringing

more and more within our awareness ; for the aim of culture is increased sympathetic and intelligent awareness, not greedy, material grasping. By our animal nature we may be tempted to the latter, but by our power of reasonableness alone are we human.

I have perhaps already given you some idea of my own lines of thought towards the definition of culture, but before asking you to accept it, I shall point to some other attempts which have been made. These attempts seem to differ, I think, according to where one places the point of unity of a culture or a civilization. In other words, that which is its motivating power, that is, its conscious aim, its unconscious desire, and its gradual increasing awareness of the idea which is its guiding principle.

Arnold Toynbee has said that a State is a theory society is reality. Thus societies are the social atoms for historians to study. He notes the rise and fall of civilizations and seeks, as indeed many before him have done, the cause of their break-up. During 'the time of troubles', he says, the bones of the old civilization fossilize and seeds, which 'lie like those in Egyptian tombs ready to sprout', are struggling into life. The seeds are ideas from the universal church, and from them grow the form of the new church which will inspire the new civilization. From this theory Toynbee finds that the Hellenic civilization produced the Aegean and the Roman civilizations which are respectively allied to the Orthodox Litany and the Roman Catholic Church. All three however were apparented from the Minoan civilization which had evolved an alphabet. Similarly, Islam, the Perso-Turkish civilization allied to the Zoroastrian religion, and the Arabic civilization allied to Israel and Judah, were both apparented from the Syriac of the time of Solomon which had also evolved an alphabet. From this, I think, we may deduce that Toynbee would agree that the main requirements of

a culture are a body of beliefs and a means of communication. These requirements Toynbee designates as universal church and alphabet. They are two, so I cannot help feeling that the theory does not explain the ultimate union point of a culture. Here, nevertheless, is the view of an historian surveying the evidence of the poet.

Recently at Oxford we had a study conference on the Human Problems of Industrial Communities. The conference was presided over by the Duke of Edinburgh and attended by people with first-hand knowledge of current affairs of industrial groups. It is worth while to take a look at the opinions of these workers in the field. We are today in an age of industrial expansion all over the world, and the problem of agreeing upon beliefs concerning aim and medium of communication is as acute as in any 'time of troubles' of the past. As the Duke himself expressed it, we seek some guiding principle which is something between deliberate planning and something that, like Topsy, 'just grow'd'. He found this middle way in good spirit and civic pride ; 'community is more important than industry', he said.

Sir John Maud was keenly aware of the spiritual suffering in these industrial communities, the loneliness of the aged, the congregation of strangers in a strange place, impersonal relationships where the only fellowship is found in the work. Here the experience of the work is the only medium by which to govern these people in order to direct their energies to the general good. He sought, he said, the prophets to 'show us the relevance to these changes of truth about men that no answer of industrialization can ever change'.

Lord Citrine saw industrial change as evolutionary and it could be changed by man. It is evident that Lord Citrine intends something other than the 'deliberate planning' which the Duke also did not like, for he was against the welfare state because it

might become too efficient, 'like intensive culture of chickens'. His ire was aroused, he said, when he heard people talk of 'selling an idea to the workman' who must, he thought, develop as a human being.

In the main, I think, we must say that these discussions were about associated groups of human beings who were making the best of an uncomfortable spiritual environment. There was no real focal point of growth, other than Topsy's, among them, and they lacked also real lines of communication between each other. There was no confidence in an ultimate meaning of life to give purpose and dignity to it, and the inherited mother tongue lost its cutting edge of refinement to convey this meaning.

Incidentally, among the fifty or sixty delegates to the conference there were only two women and even these failed to justify a true woman's place in these groups. They agreed in the main on the findings of the members on the need for higher human values, and tried to find them in home life. Although giving this verbal agreement to the need of home as a centre of permanence and serenity, they could, however, only advocate more education among industrial women as a means to attain it. Yet a glance at the curriculum of studies offered at evening schools available to these women indicates that more of the disintegrating influences of modern society might thereby enter the home. We need, I believe, a contrary movement—prophets who will bring the ideals of tranquillity and serenity, which a real home as the creative centre stands for, into the councils of the world.

It is easy enough to point to inadequacies, for we are dealing with a subject that has baffled mankind since time immemorial. What is it that holds free peoples together? Some have answered, as in feudal times, the authority of a liege-lord who acted as father to his people in his amiable phases, or as stern dictator in his forbidding ones. Then

there is the idea of the acceptance of a contract of law, as the statutes of Moses; God's finger, writing upon the stones of the world, commanding obedience, a veritable foundation-stone of spirituality, balanced between heaven and earth. Then, as men became mature enough to look for God in their own hearts, we find them evolving, after painful experiment, a body of laws, based upon the principles of Christianity and decided upon after free association and discussion, a three-fold scheme involving principle, material life, and mankind as free agent.

As this is not, however, immune from the corruptive influences of men without principle, social pressure as the convention of the gentleman comes to the rescue to preserve the chivalric ideal of fair-play, honourable dealing, fortitude, resourcefulness, respect for the individual, and civic sense. The word of a gentleman is his bond. He must not take advantage of an enemy when he is down, even if the law is on his side. But then, as the chance of commercial enterprise often throws its prizes into the hands of those who wish to appear to be gentlemen but remain exempt from a gentleman's loyalty to honour, or, perhaps, drawn by the necessity of their business or calling into loyalty to others in the trade for the good of trade, we get the fossilized gentleman with rolled umbrella, exaggerated politeness and perhaps snobbish hauteur. Economic necessity becomes the god. This now is the bond which holds the society together and accounts for many of the dreary dissertations on economics and sociology which fill our library shelves today. From this impasse we are promised that technology will free us. Scientific progress will give us more machines, more cars, greater speed, more gadgets, perhaps more food, possibly more houses if they are not required for the increasing number of offices and administrative buildings which the system demands.

We should not forget to note that in the

course of this 'Rake's Progress' of the society, there are, from time to time, indignant ones who spring up to stir men into consciousness of their peril and inspire society into the formation of ethical codes for its own preservation. The history of the Reformation and the industrial revolution tells of these, and they need a lecture to themselves. But last of all, alone, obscure, some quiet worker among the changing order finds some seed of an idea which is eternal in his own heart; and out of his own suffering, perhaps for a loved one who is victim of the time's events, to save or to comfort, he forgets all in some dedicated task which is simple and profound enough to become an ark to carry the grain of new community upon the troubled waters of the world. It may be a sixteenth century Justice of the Peace coping without fee with the multitudinous needs of a changing community, the administrative details of poor law and apprenticeship law, striving to perfect these in the name of true justice for free men, and establishing the foundations of a society where 'twelve just men and true' may grow in responsibility to be able to judge their equals. It may be an artist engaged upon a task which may give us a novel like *A Passage to India*, *Dr. Zhivago*, or a play like *King Lear*. Or it may be a life itself which is a continuous act of benediction upon a community by its example of unselfish devotion. It may be just the cry of someone in agony, whose chance phrase in an old document, ages after, reaches the eye of a young Toynbee and thrills him with the integrated memory of the times. These solitary ones are the bricks the builders of their day throw away to become the corner-stones, the spiritual foundations, of time to come.

We may now perhaps attempt a definition of culture. I should call it the growth of consciousness in community. To render this more clear we need to reassess, I think, what we mean by civilization.

WHAT IS CIVILIZATION?

The languages of mediæval Europe had no word for 'civilization', but Marco Polo came near to conveying the notion by his use of the word *domesce*, and he had a clear enough appreciation of its blessings. His good men were hard-working, law-abiding folk who lived by trade and industry, his bad men were the indolent or unruly, the stuff that brigands and corsairs were made of. Boswell tried to persuade Johnson to insert the word 'civilization' in his dictionary, but Johnson refused, preferring the older word 'civility'. Only where cities have grown up have men developed intricate civilizations, and the first quality the inhabitants develop is courtesy, civic sense, or civility.

Today, civilization and scientific development are almost synonymous. We are told that science is capable of making the whole world one, thus making it civilized. Why is it, then, that it seems to us a 'time of troubles'? We already have splendid means of communication, such as the past has never known, aeroplanes, radio, television, and so on, and yet less and less can we communicate from one soul to another. Why does most of our contemporary drama deal with the lonely soul frustrated, as in *Huit Clos* or *Waiting for Godot*? Science, with all its power, cannot make for us one word that is evocative of the memory of experience which is universally recognized as a symbol of communication to thrill us as brothers. Is there not something significant in the fact that we are now reduced to clumsy strings of initial letters for words standing for functions we scarcely understand? Philosophy was related to theology, the 'queen of the sciences'. All that was known by empirical observation was related to her to receive her benediction on a way of life which would give sane moral judgement and relate all to the judgement seat of God. Science is now hypothesis based upon observation

to establish a general law which is unrelated to moral judgements. The bifurcation of science and philosophy seems to have come about after the appearance of Bacon's *Novum Organum*. This was not because of Bacon himself, whose genius could encompass the vision of the 'New Atlantis' in its entirety, but because succeeding seekers for knowledge concentrated upon the exciting new physical sciences which it opened up, to the neglect of the metaphysical science which Bacon considered too well established already to need his detailed comment. He certainly did not neglect its importance himself. Today scientific method neglects it altogether.

A cautious modern scientist, Henry Smith, Vice-Principal of Ruskin College, Oxford, has said that 'science makes no claims; it is only a method'. If this is so, can a method exist without an aim? The average man is not content with this explanation. For him, scientific method is a wonderful, magic tool, which will give him command of the forces of nature and, in good time, control of his own fate as well. Science can show achievement. Men cannot help a feeling of pride in its possession and a sense of superiority, perhaps, towards those who do not possess it. The cautious research scientist, who knows that this view presents danger, makes his aim the perfection of the method itself. But even he is inevitably brought up against irrational forces within himself or in society, and he stands perplexed. He hopes, also irrationally, that in time all will be sanely controlled.

Machiavelli said that 'a prince ought to have no other aim or thought, nor select anything else for his study, than war and its rule and discipline'. Here is the dangerous example of the method becoming the aim. Julian Huxley says that science claims 'to forward the application of scientific methods to investigate all the problems of life'. But we need here some distinction

concerning what sort of problems. Another view is that it is 'to direct and control speculative adventures of philosophy by keeping as close as possible to actual experience'. Hence, it is claimed, there is agreement among scientists at all times in contrast with what is prevailing among philosophers and theologians. Philosophic speculation is dubious.' (Abraham Wolf)

It is obvious that before we can accept the validity of these two last statements we must know what are the 'problems of life' of the one, and what is the 'actual experience' of the other. If by actual experience is meant the stubbing of one's toe against a stone in the Johnsonian sense, then there is unanimous agreement between scientists, theologians, and philosophers that it hurts, and the scientific method of control would be to remove the obstacle. But if actual experience is meant in a broader sense, as Huxley's 'problems of life' implies, then one man's problem is another's joy. There are some who might even enjoy stubbing their toe if by doing so they felt they were submitting to a discipline which gave them a greater sense of control over their own psyche. A young student of philosophy may find the understanding of the mathematical continuum one of the gravest problems, while to the scientific specialist it gives an aesthetic joy of the highest exultation. On the other hand, this same scientist may meet *his* problem in trying to judge a poem by the light of Dr. Bradley's method, of referring it to the inward vision. Whose speculative adventure therefore should be controlled, the philosopher's or the scientist's?

In Aristotle's day science was knowledge in the broad, all-embracing sense. More precisely it was theoretical science or contemplation which was divided into two divisions, physics and metaphysics. These were branches of universal knowledge, that is, knowledge that is independent of human volition, but capable of being used by man

for the purpose of practical science and productive science. It was practical science when it was used for the purposes of right conduct and included the sciences of politics and ethics. It was productive science when it was used for the making of useful and beautiful objects, and it included rhetoric and poetics in its scope. The practical and productive sciences were under the control of human volition and refer to the particular knowledge in contrast to the universal. The harmony and beauty of a work of man was judged to have been attained when the 'universal shone through the particular'. The table given below makes this hierarchy of the sciences clearer.

In modern days we find a much more elaborate and detailed method developed with regard to the particular sciences but, with the exception of physics, the universal

sciences tend to drop out of the picture. Thus not harmony but utility becomes the standard of value. The laws of nature are sought not as ends to satisfy man's reason, but rather as means to satisfy his bodily wants. Modern deductive method is not from 'ideas' known intuitively by an integrated personality combining both objective and moral truth, that is, ideas which are seminal principles, but from a general law which has been established inductively by observation of sense-data and general agreement. The moral aspect does not enter into the scheme. Science now is only concerned with supplying the tools and the goods, whilst individual man, in a society growing ever more organized in accordance with this unmoral general law, must decide for himself, and often without guidance, what use he makes of them. He is rather

TABLE OF ANCIENT SCIENCE

SCIENCE - to know

THEORETICAL SCIENCE OR CONTEMPLATION (Knowledge for its own sake)

PHYSICS (Form and matter)

METAPHYSICS (Pure form)

• PRACTICAL SCIENCE

(Knowledge as a guide to conduct)

PRODUCTIVE SCIENCE

(Knowledge to be used in making useful and beautiful objects)

POLITICS

ETHICS

RHETORIC

POETICS

like a beast of burden of all these good things, let loose for a short while, until he finds that he is still tethered to the machine that produces them.

Modern scientific methods consist broadly of three stages : observation of facts ; conformity with the cognitive processes of mind, as at present understood ; and classification. Observation of facts is further divided into three stages : critical discrimination to get at the bare facts, uninfluenced by mere appearances ; generalities and system, that is, grouping into types (science is not interested in individual objects as such) ; and empirical verification. Critical discrimination to penetrate behind mere appearances of the objective world is the mental attitude that is usually meant when one refers to a scientific frame of mind.

The cognitive processes of the mind decide the methods of inference, formation of judgements and beliefs, analysis and synthesis, comparison and perception of analogies : all of which play a part in the formation of hypothesis and theory. Hypothesis and theory are distinctly imaginative processes of the mind and here science is trespassing into the domain of art and philosophy. It must use something that is beyond the bare facts merely to arrive at its own conclusions. However, there is the third stage of empirical verification which acts, in a measure, as a control, and science returns to its own objective side of the fence.

Now this knowledge, so carefully sifted and proved, requires classification and description. The two chief methods of classification are, firstly, according to human need ; and, secondly, according to actual objective relationships, that is, into natural groups. In the classification according to a human need, science breaks the bounds of the definition that it is only a method once again. There must be an aim in that need. The question now presents itself, Who decides the need ? If the scientist or, as is

more likely, the user of the method, decides the need, he comes near to imposing a pattern upon the natural groups under investigation. This leads to situations which might be illustrated by the story of a resident Head of a college whose regulations did not permit him to keep a dog ; but he was permitted to keep his dog, provided he officially called it a cat. In similar ways does scientific classification according to a human need impose its own order upon natural groups, and even upon man's own development.

Having classified the knowledge according to the purpose for which it is required, it now awaits description. This follows two methods, general and statistical. General methods relate to the establishment of types. There are various methods of finding these. They can be discovered by ascertaining the average of a given number of individuals, or, by taking the mode as typical, that is, the largest group is chosen for the type. Or one may find the median, that is, when objects are imagined as placed in an ascending or descending order, and the middle one is taken as the type. Here, again, in ascertaining the type some imaginative processes have been at work which are not strictly 'facts' ; but the method has great advantages when dealing with inanimate objects. Its truth in dealing with living things, especially human, is doubtful. The difference between an inanimate object and a living one is that the latter possesses a quality of uniqueness which the former lacks. In human beings this uniqueness is personality, a quality which is disregarded in these scientific methods. Thus the method becomes the description and the knowledge of mediocrities by whichever of these means it has been arrived at. We are aware, however, that in vital human affairs it is not the mediocre notions which count but the power of one idea in the mind of a genius which, by its own compelling force, guides the medium minds. It must be emphasized that

I am referring here to the compelling power of the super idea of which a man may become the vehicle, not the 'superman' who inflates his own little notion for general acceptance, either by propaganda or force.

From all this classification the aim of the research scientist now becomes one of discovering a general law which will save the necessity of re-thinking on the part of all applied scientists. There is, however, no finality in the establishment of a general natural law, so the research scientist, by the light of that part of the law that he has been able to verify empirically, creates hypothetical formulas which may be subject to later amendment as research proceeds. This is the reasonable and modest way of true research. But notice the dangerous shift of emphasis which a technologist might make who uses the tool of a general law imagining it to be authority. From a report relating to deviations in nature from what had been established as a general law of behaviour it was said: 'They seem to point rather to an element of lawlessness (originality or spontaneity if you like) in the facts of events themselves'. There is a danger of attributing to nature non-conformity with a plan of man's own devising, and such an attitude may easily divert a man away from the truth.

The distinction between research science and applied science cannot be too much emphasized, for it is the latter which is more prone to errors of judgement. We are all applied scientists in a way, these days, for we are all using the tools of scientific thought. Applied scientists rarely have had the training and the austere discipline that the numerous tests and patient trials to establish verification impose upon the research scientist, and they are inclined to make far greater claims for their knowledge than is justified.

Logical positivism in the field of philosophy is such a claim, for it professes to base

a view of life upon scientific knowledge alone. Reality proved by sense-data is to be the only standard. The view leads to scepticism. Lord Bertrand Russell tells us at the end of a lifetime of study that we must 'not be paralysed by this scepticism even if we do not know'. But to advise us to base life upon scientific knowledge, without accepting its ultimate findings, presents a contradiction which only some irrational sense of self-preservation helps us to overcome. The urge to make some kind of sense out of life is human, and the ordinary man who applies the method will take the encyclopaedia of knowledge which science hands him and indulge in his own speculation. The fact is that these sceptics are right in what they accept, but wrong in what they deny.

Science and philosophy deal with different aspects of knowledge today. Science is right when it focusses upon the method, but it needs philosophy to complete its findings and illuminate its aim. Philosophy is concerned with the *meaning* of statements not verifiable by facts. It is concerned with values. As Lord Russell says, 'scepticism is logically impeccable but psychologically impossible'. That is because sceptical science professes to be verified by sense experience only, and life consists of reflective judgements as well which are verifiable in the life experience of each individual. This larger experience we can describe as an inner growth of personality, and reflective judgement rings true if it contributes to this growth. In other words, reflective judgements are verified not materially but spiritually. The normative as well as the factual are aspects of total experience. In trying to avoid the spiritual in the search for facts, there is a kind of anthropomorphism which creeps into science with such expressions as 'cause', 'law', 'energy', 'routine', which, applied to nature, calls up the idea of an agent which uses these for its own purposes. There is even this tendency in the expression of 'conquering Nature'. This

shows how, in order to avoid a belief in divine purpose, or in miracles, the scientist has to invent a causal relationship which he cannot prove scientifically. It is these 'causes' and 'relationships', by whatever name they are called, which constitute the domain of philosophy which, whilst admitting that they cannot be subjected to proof by sense-data, would nevertheless insist that they do respond to the test of meaningfulness and sane procedure in the larger experience of life.

There was a revolt in the sixteenth century against the extensive preponderance of speculative theory over actual observation. Science, it was urged, must rest upon facts and not upon the theories of authorities; the authorities being, in those days, the scholars of the medieval schools. These theories, exploited as they probably were, did, however, have in them some spiritual truth which could not be wholly discredited. Science now tends to take upon itself a theory of authority which is subject to like exploitation in certain departments of contemporary life and a counter-revolution to restore the spiritual values seems due. The principle of the law of statistical regularity, for example, is open to question. It consists in taking random samples to form an estimate of laws governing the whole. It may give a basis for estimating a law of uniformity, but it often loses sight of the dynamic principle which comes into human affairs. As an example of how this law might work, take the random sample of a person who, carrying a weight in one hand, concludes it is heavy. Taking samples of other such persons carrying similar weights from among a group of people, we might arrive at a calculation establishing a law that a certain weight when it is carried results in a certain calculable loss of energy. But amongst the group there might be one person (the lawless one) who would discover that

by carrying two such weights, one in each hand, they felt considerably less heavy because well-balanced. He has, in fact, found a synthesis which would completely upset the nice calculations establishing a law considered adequately proved by reference to sense-data.

Science claims to examine facts only but, as Abraham Wolf in his book *Scientific Method* points out, it is almost impossible to separate the 'sense elements and the interpretation which coalesce in one experience'. We cannot check the process without paralyzing our intellectual and practical life. No one can dispense with interpretation, and interpretation involves values which are more than the strict observation of facts. The lawless one here discovered a new interpretive value based on his experience of life.

Modern science claims only to discover order in the world. Aristotelian science was 'to know' and the feeling for balance and harmony which characterized the interpretation of the Greeks took into account the speculations of metaphysics as well. Modern scientists cannot avoid these speculations. Explanations will creep surreptitiously into their descriptions and speculations into their facts, and the tendency only shows the need for a restatement of the value of the other branches of knowledge.

It has been necessary to go in some detail into the claims and the methods of science in view of its importance today as a mark of our civilization. This summary is a drastic reduction from *Scientific Method* by Abraham Wolf, whose book should be read for the fuller exposition. But the review is necessary because we are so often urged these days to be scientific and objective in our approach. Let us see clearly what these objects are, and, above all, let us be clear in our aims, so that we are not immersed in the objects and eventually enslaved by them,

OLD NORSE LITERATURE

SIGURDUR A. MAGNUSSON, B.A., Cand. Phil.

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HISTORY has a capricious way of preserving and destroying the records of her dealings with humanity. Had it not been for a series of apparent accidents, the whole pre-Christian history of the Germanic peoples, that is to say the Scandinavian, the German-speaking, and the Anglo-Saxon world, would be almost totally shrouded in prehistoric mists. We would know next to nothing of the daily life of those ancient people, their religion and outlook on life, their customs, preoccupations, and values. A whole world of myth, legend, and great historical events would have been hopelessly lost.

The first of these 'accidents' was the settlement of Vikings in Iceland in the late ninth century A.D. The settlers were mostly pagans from Norway, bringing with them an ancient social order and a religion which were in a process of disintegration in the rest of northern and western Europe. Along with the Norwegian Vikings came a great number of slaves, mostly from the British Isles and of Celtic origin, who were very soon assimilated into the free population of Iceland. Some scholars have found in this Celtic element in Iceland the reason for the literary excellence which set the Icelanders apart from the other Scandinavians during the Middle Ages.

The second 'accident' was the adoption of Christianity in Iceland in the year 1000.

This was a remarkable event which had far-reaching consequences. The issue was a heated one, and the two conflicting parties were on the point of armed clash, when the moderate leader of the Christian party, which was much the smaller one, asked the pagan leader to decide the issue. The latter retired to his tent for three days and three nights to think the matter over. His answer was a sensible one: Christianity should be adopted, but those who wished to worship the old gods privately in their homes were free to do so. Unity had been gained without hardship to tender consciences. This wise compromise proved extremely beneficial to the fate of Icelandic literature. The pagan chieftains, who had also served as priests, were anxious not to lose their old powers. They themselves built new churches and provided them with priests of their own choice, either their sons or bright young men who were their dependents. From the point of view of the Christian Church this might not be a very healthy development, but it led to amazing results in the literary field, giving the ruling class extensive education which in turn led to a very lively literary activity. Had the Church been stronger, as it was in the rest of Europe, it would probably have produced Latin writers, and the native literary growth would have been killed. As it was, it gave rise to a vernacular literature of the highest order, one that

takes its place among the great literatures of the world.

There can be little doubt that one of the principal reasons for this literary activity was the wish of the noble chieftains to preserve their family traditions and keep a record of the deeds of their ancestors. These people had been uprooted from their old country and had settled in a new and in many ways strange environment. They were bent on preserving in poems and in prose their links with a glorious past.

As time passed the literature was further embellished by stories and poems from foreign parts, for the settlers and their descendants were Vikings and great globe-trotters. They travelled far and wide, to Scandinavia and the British Isles, to Russia where a Viking kingdom was founded (the very name 'Russia' is of Scandinavian origin), to Byzantium where they served as Varangian guards, the bodyguards of the East-Roman emperors. They settled in Greenland in the western hemisphere and made several trips to the North American mainland five centuries before Columbus appeared on the scene. Many of the Icelanders were famous court poets who made a point of visiting kings and getting acquainted with the official history of foreign countries. Thus they acquired vast knowledge of men and events in various parts of the world. On their return to Iceland they would tell their stories at the Althing, the annual general assembly, where a great part of the population gathered for two weeks during the month of June. The story-telling was a feature of these meetings from the very beginning in the early tenth century. The tales were recited before a highly critical audience, and so the story-tellers reached a very high standard long before the stories came to be written down. When they were written down during the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, they formed a body

of literature quite unlike anything else in the rest of Europe.

Still, we might know very little about this unique literature had it not been for a third significant 'accident', which occurred much later. During the centuries after the collapse of the Icelandic Commonwealth in the years 1262-4, there was a general decline in the life of the nation, both culturally and economically. The literary output became markedly inferior in quality as well as in quantity. During these centuries, however, the Icelanders performed an important work for themselves and for other countries. They were untiring in copying the manuscripts of the best works from the golden age. These became the possession of all the people, of the poor as well as of the rich, and they were instrumental in preserving the language in scattered communities century after century. These works actually became the life-nerve of the race in the dark days of foreign oppression. Nevertheless, as the lot of the people deteriorated progressively generation after generation, many of the precious old manuscripts, written as they were mostly on the hides of cows or calves, were taken and used for other purposes, such as clothing and shoes. Some of the works were saved for time on paper-copies which in turn would be damaged or destroyed by damp, fire, or other calamities. At the present moment it is impossible to guess how much of the old literary treasures perished in this way, but the quantity is certainly enormous. At the crucial moment, however, when much had been lost, but much was still to be rescued, there appeared on the scene a devoted man who may properly be called the 'saviour' of Old Norse literature, even if many other devoted men took part in the work of rescue. His name was Arni Magnússon (1663-1730). He was a gifted scholar with an acute critical mind and, at an early age, had been appointed professor at the University of Copenhagen. He made it his life's

task to save what was still extant of the old literary treasures of his country and bring them to safety in the University of Copenhagen, which was at the time also the Icelandic University, Iceland having come under Danish rule along with Norway in the year 1380. For ten years he travelled all around Iceland collecting manuscripts, buying them from anyone and at any price. In 1720, fifty-five cases of manuscripts were taken to Copenhagen, and Arnri Magnússon set up a special collection to which he gradually added manuscripts acquired from other collectors. There were a number of them at the time, and there are records of large collections sinking to the bottom of the ocean when the ships carrying them to Copenhagen perished in the storms of the North Atlantic. The collection of Arnri Magnússon in Copenhagen was enormous and must have contained a large number of very valuable manuscripts. But on 20 October, 1728, Copenhagen caught fire. Arnri Magnússon thought his collection would be safe, but eleven days later the fire reached it. Heroic efforts could save none of his printed books, but perhaps one third of his manuscripts survived, according to the estimate of a contemporary who helped to rescue them. These were the oldest manuscripts, fortunately. 'Here go writings nowhere to be found in the wide world', was the collector's sad comment on his misfortune. He is the hero of Halldor Laxness's great historical novel, *The Bell of Iceland*.

Despite this immense misfortune, much of what we now call Old Norse literature was preserved in the manuscripts collected by Arnri Magnússon. During the last two centuries scholars all over northern and western Europe and North America have been busy studying them, editing them, and translating them. In Iceland these works can still be read in the original by every child who has learned to read, so little has the language changed during the last one

thousand years. It is the oldest living literary language in Europe.

THE OLDEST LITERATURE OF THE GERMANIC RACE

I have briefly recorded three accidents, if accidents they can be called, which led to the preservation of the earliest literature of northern Europe. We may now briefly take a look at the literature itself and the world it presents to us.

Old Norse literature falls into two main streams, poetry and prose. The poetry is divided into two categories, so-called Eddic poetry and Skaldic poetry. The latter need not detain us much, even if its bulk is considerable. Its main interest lies in the intricate form and in the historical events described by contemporary court poets, most of whom are known to us by name. They made a profession of visiting kings and princes, reciting to them fine-sounding poems in praise of their virtues and valour in battle, and receiving precious rewards in gold and arms. Skaldic poetry is highly complicated, making use of intricate rhyme-patterns and symbols, the so-called *kennings*, based mostly on the mythology. The poems are descriptive, elaborate, and artificial, driving home their points in images or sound-sketches of concentrated force. The theme is almost invariably the king's sailings and battles, his glorious deeds and great virtues.

In contrast, Eddic poetry is direct, dramatic and impersonal. It avoids descriptions of battles or other events, but makes extensive use of dialogue. None of the poets is known by name.

Eddic poetry derives its name from the collection in which most of it was found, the *Edda*, the meaning of which is not quite clear, but probably the name is derived from a famous centre of learning in Iceland, the farmstead, *oddi*. There are two *Eddas*, one, the *Poetic Edda*, the other, the *Prose Edda*. The latter is a text-book in poetics written

by Iceland's most versatile scholar and writer, Snorri Sturluson (1178-1241).

The *Poetic Edda*, on the other hand, contains the oldest literature of the Germanic race and is the sole source of ancient Germanic mythology. No other Icelandic book has been so extensively edited, translated, and commented on. Richard Wagner found in it the material for his famous operatic cycle about the *Nibelungen*. The poems in the collection fall into three distinct categories, mythical poetry, didactic or gnomic poetry, and heroic poetry.

Scholars have not reached a final conclusion as to how much of this poetry was actually composed in Iceland. Some of the poems deal with historical events in Central Europe as far back as the fourth century, for example, the invasion of the Huns (there are two poems on Attila, king of the Huns), and it seems probable that they were composed in one form or another before the Norwegian settlement in Iceland, and then preserved orally until they were finally written down in the twelfth or the thirteenth century.

The striking thing about these poems is their purely pagan quality, although they were first written down long after Christianity had been established in Iceland. In most of them there is not even a hint of Christian influence. The variety in form, content, and approach is also striking. There are poems dealing with the gods and their doings in deadly serious manner, interspersed with biting satires about the immoral and inefficient ways of the deities. There are magnificent visionary poems, like the *Prophecy of the Witch*, revealing in a series of swiftly changing scenes the course of the world from its chaotic beginnings out of the empty gap of the giants, through the creation of the gods, earth, and men, to its and their ultimate doom and destruction in fire and water. The doom is inevitable, but out of the waves a new world will arise, to

which gods and men will return to live in family solidarity and happiness. This poem, the greatest in the *Edda*, was probably composed around the year 1000, when the pagan religion was threatened by the advent of Christianity and the reign of the old gods was coming to a close. The final vision of a new earth where peace and harmony will prevail may well have been inspired by the new religion.

There are also in the *Edda* a number of humorous poems about the frivolities of the gods, calling to mind some of the Vedic hymns in the same vein. There are down-to-earth, didactic poems dealing with the everyday life of the poor and wretched farmer. They reveal a great deal of common sense and psychological insight, as the following examples may illustrate:

A silly man lies awake all night,
Thinking of many things.
When the morning comes he is worn with
care,
And the trouble is just as it was.

A paltry man and poor of mind
Is he who mocks at all things.

Tell one your thoughts, but beware of
two.
All know what is known to three.

Moderately wise each one should be,
Not otherwise, for a wise man's heart
Is seldom glad.

It is better to have a hovel and two goats
Than to go begging.
And it is better to be alive, even maimed,
Than to be dead.
A lame man can ride a horse,
A deaf man may kill,
Alive, one can somehow get a cow.

This is, of course, far removed from the

proud philosophy of the Vikings, who look with disdain at death, striving only for that which will survive man's death : his fame.

Their philosophy is also expressed in the poem from which I have just quoted :

Cattle die, kinsmen die,
Oneself dies the same,
But Fame alone will never die
For him who gains it well.

The heroic poems in the *Edda* are completely divorced from the mythological poems, and deal with more or less historical events. They can be divided into three main groups. The oldest one has as subject matter events as far back as the migration period in Europe (c. 300-500). There are poems about two historical kings, the Gothic king, Ermanricus, who died in the year 375 when the Huns were threatening his kingdom, and the Burgundian king, Gundaharicus (Gunnar) who was defeated by Attila's Huns c. 437. The second group deals with two famous heroes, Helgi and Sigurd (Siegfried). There are three poems devoted to each of them, profoundly tragic poems. The third group consists of heroic elegies dealing with the death of Sigurd and the fates of the two women who loved him, Brynhild and Gudrun. Both are heroic women of the highest order who face their grim destiny with a tragic majesty which has no counterpart in world literature, except possibly in Greek tragedy.

Both the mythological and the heroic poems in the *Edda* reflect an intensely tragic outlook on life. There is a sense of imminent doom about these poems, and the only sustaining hope is heroism. *Asgard*, the home of the gods, is unlike any other heaven men have ever imagined. It is a grave and sombre place, threatened by inevitable destruction. The gods know that one day they will all be destroyed. They will be defeated in a final battle with their enemies, the

giants. But even if their cause is a lost one, they will fight for it to the very end.

The same is true of humanity. If the gods are utterly helpless before the forces of evil, men and women must be more so. The heroes and heroines of the Eddic poems face disaster. They know that they cannot save themselves, not by any courage or heroic deed, but they will never yield. They die fighting. A brave death entitles the heroes to a place in *Valhalla*, the Hall of the Slain, but there also they must look forward to final destruction. In the last battle between the gods and the forces of evil they will fight on the side of the gods and die with them.

This is the conception of life which underlies the Old Norse religion, as sombre a conception as the human mind has ever given birth to. The only pure good man can ever hope to attain is heroism ; and heroism depends on lost causes. The hero can prove what he is only by dying. The power of good is shown not by triumphantly conquering evil, but by continuing to resist evil while facing certain death.

Still, this apparently fatalistic concept of life did not leave man utterly at the mercy of fate. Although a hero was doomed if he did not yield, he could choose between yielding and dying. The decision was in his own hands. Even more than that : heroic death was not a defeat, but a triumph. One of the heroes, who laughs aloud while his enemies cut his heart out of his living flesh, shows himself superior to his conquerors. He shows them that they can do nothing to him, because he does not care what they do. He is killed, but dies unconquered.

From the mythological poems we are able to piece together the cosmology of the old religion, the gaps being filled by the *Prose Edda* of Snorri Sturluson. In the first poem of the *Edda*, the Witch describes the beginning of the world as follows :

Of old there was nothing,
Nor sand, nor sea, nor cool waves ;
No earth, no heaven above,
Only the yawning chasm.
'The sun knew not her dwelling,
Nor the moon his realm.
The stars had not their places.

But even if the chasm was tremendous, it did not extend everywhere. Far to the north was *Niflheim*, the cold realm of death, and far to the south was *Muspellheim*, the land of fire. From *Niflheim* twelve rivers flowed into the chasm, and, freezing there, filled it with ice. From *Muspellheim* came fiery clouds that turned the ice into mist. Drops of water fell from the mist, and out of them were formed the frost maidens and Ymir, the first giant. His son was the father of Odinn, leader of the gods, whose mother was a frost maiden.

Odinn and his two brothers killed Ymir, their grandfather. They made the earth and the sky from him, the sea from his blood, the earth from his body, the heavens from his skull. They took sparks from *Muspellheim* and placed them in the sky as the sun, moon, and stars. The earth was round and encircled by the sea. A great wall, which the gods built out of Ymir's eyebrows, defended the place where mankind was to live. The space within was called *Midgard* (Central Abode). Here the first man and woman were created from trees : the man from an ash, the woman from an elm. They were the parents of all mankind. In the world were also dwarfs, ugly creatures, but masterly craftsmen, who lived under the earth ; and elves, lovely spirits who tended the flowers and streams.

A wondrous ash-tree, *Yggdrasil*, supported the universe, striking its roots through the worlds :

Three roots there are to *Yggdrasil*,
Hel lives beneath the first,

Beneath the second the frost-giants,
And men beneath the third.

It is also said that 'one of the roots goes up to *Asgard*'. Beside this root was a well of white water, *Urda's Well*, which was so holy that none might drink of it. It was guarded by the three *Norns* who

Allot their lives to the sons of men,
And assign to them their fate.

The three were *Urda*, the past, *Verdandi*, the present, and *Skuld*, the future. Every day the gods came, passing over the quivering rainbow bridge, to sit beside the well and pass judgement on the deeds of men. Another well beneath another root was the Well of Knowledge, guarded by the giant, Mimir the Wise.

Over *Yggdrasil*, as over *Asgard*, hung the threat of destruction. Like the gods it was doomed to die. A serpent and his brood gnawed continually at the root beside *Niflheim*, the home of the goddess Hel. One day they would succeed in killing the tree, and the universe would come crashing down.

The Frost Giants and the Mountain Giants, who lived in *Jötunheim*, were the enemies of all that was good. They were the brutal powers of earth, and in the inevitable contest between them and the divine powers, brute force would conquer. In that final contest, *Ragnarök* (fate of the gods), all the powers of evil would be let loose : the sun would be swallowed by the wolf ; the great serpent, encircling the earth, would kill Thor, the defender of the gods ; and finally the earth would sink into the ocean. The *Prophecy of the Witch* gives a promise of a new heaven and a new earth where peace will reign, but this vision was probably not part of the old religion.

Among the gods in *Asgard*, six stand out, and of these Odinn, the skyfather, is by far the most conspicuous. He is a strange and solemn figure, always aloof, and the inev-

table fate of the gods weighs heavy on him. Even when he sits at the feasts of the gods in his golden palace, *Gladheim*, or with the heroes in *Valhalla*, he eats nothing. The food set before him he gives to the two wolves crouching at his feet. On his shoulders perch two ravens, who fly each day through the world and bring him back news of all that men do. Their names are *Huginn*, Thought, and *Muninn*, Memory. While the other gods feast, Odinn ponders over what Thought and Memory teach him.

Odinn had the responsibility, more than all the other gods together, of postponing as long as possible the inevitable doom. He was the All-father, supreme among gods and men, yet even so he constantly sought for more wisdom. He went down to the Well of Wisdom, guarded by Mimir the Wise, to beg for a draught from it, and when Mimir told him that he must pay for it with one of his eyes, he consented to lose his eye. He won the knowledge of the Runes, too, by suffering. The Runes were magical inscriptions, immensely powerful for him who could inscribe them on anything, wood, metal, stone. Odinn learned them at the cost of mysterious pain, as he describes it in one of the Eddic poems :

Nine whole nights on a wind-rocked
tree,
Wounded with a spear,
I was offered to Odinn, myself to
myself,
On that tree of which no man knows.

He passed the hard-won knowledge on to men. They too were able to use the Runes to protect themselves. He imperilled his life again to take away from the giants the skaldic mead, which made anyone who tasted it a poet. This good gift he bestowed upon men as well as upon the gods. In all ways he was mankind's benefactor.

Maidens, the *Valkyries*, were Odinn's

attendants. They waited at the table in *Asgard* and kept the drinking horns full ; but their chief task was to go to the battle-field and decide at Odinn's bidding who should win and who should die, and carry the brave dead to Odinn. *Val* means 'slain', and the *Valkyries* were the 'Choosers of the Slain', and the dead heroes were taken to the 'Hall of the Slain', *Valhalla*.

Balder, the son of Odinn and his wife Frigg, was the most beloved of all the gods, on earth as well as in heaven. He was the pure and white god, the symbol of innocence. His death was the first of the disasters which fell upon the gods. The story of his death is exceedingly moving and tragic, and it gives us, perhaps, the best example of the inability of the heavenly powers to avert fate. Frazer has devoted a whole volume to Balder in his monumental work, *The Golden Bough*.

The black antagonist in the story of Balder is Loki, the Satan of Norse mythology. He was the son of a giant, but was allowed free entrance to *Asgard*, because, for some reason, never explained, Odinn had sworn brotherhood to him. He continually involved the gods in difficulties and dangers, and was one of their fatal opponents in the great final battle.

Of the other great gods, Thor, the thunder-god, was most conspicuous. He was strength incarnate and performed many a mighty deed to save the gods from disasters, but he was, on the other hand, lamentably slow-witted. Freyr was the god of fertility and more popular in eastern Scandinavia than in Iceland. Heimdall was the warder of *Bifrost*, the rainbow bridge which led to *Asgard*, and had a great horn which he blew whenever danger was imminent. His hearing was so good that he heard grass grow. Tyr was the god of war, and once sacrificed his arm to prevent an imminent disaster.

Goddesses are not very prominent in Norse mythology. Frigg, Odinn's wife, was

reputed to be very wise, but she was also very silent and told no-one, not even Odinn, what she knew. She is a rather vague figure, usually sitting at the spinning-wheel, where the threads she spins are of gold, but what she spins them for is a secret.

Freya was the goddess of love and beauty, but, strangely, half of those slain in battle were hers. Odinn's *Valkyries* could carry only half to *Valhalla*. Freya herself rode to the battlefield and claimed her share of the dead, and to the Norse poets that seems to have been a perfectly natural office for the goddess of beauty.

But there was one realm which was handed over exclusively to a goddess. The Kingdom of Death was ruled over by Hel. No god had any authority there, not even Odinn. *Asgard* belonged to the gods, glorious *Valhalla* to the heroes, *Midgard* was the battlefield for men, but the pale world of the shadowy dead was woman's sphere.

In English the names of some of the Norse gods are still preserved in the names of the weekdays. Tuesday is named after Tyr, Wednesday after Odinn (the southern form of his name was Woden), Thursday after Thor, and Friday after Freya.

THE SAGAS : A UNIQUE LITERATURE

We turn now to the prose branch of Old Norse literature, which is much more voluminous than the poetic one, but it can only be dealt with here quite briefly. This branch is generally known under the name of *sagas*, an Icelandic word which has been adopted by English and other European languages during the last two centuries. In Icelandic the word '*saga*' has a much wider meaning than the one given to it in English. It means something said or told, a tale, a story or narrative in prose, and it can also mean history. Thus it covers both fact and fiction. A *saga* may be a historical work, a biography, or a novel. In most of the *sagas* these elements are blended in various proportions.

The Icelandic *sagas* most widely known are the so-called family *sagas*, written during the thirteenth century which is usually referred to as the classical age of Old Norse literature. They all deal with people who lived in Iceland in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and they constitute a unique form of medieval literature in Europe, as we shall see later.

Actually Icelandic prose writing started early in the twelfth century with a codification of the laws. Then came various translations of religious works and some remarkable scholarly books on Icelandic grammar and phonetics. There were also several biographies of missionary kings and bishops, highly influenced by ecclesiastical style and far from realistic in tone or treatment of subject matter.

But with the historical works of Ari Thorgilsson, the Learned, (1068-1148) who is usually called the father of Icelandic history, a new age set in. Ari was a great scholar endowed with a highly critical mind. He wrote a short history of the Icelanders, *Islendingabok*, where he dealt with the main events in an admirable fashion and laid the foundation of Icelandic and Norwegian chronology. His other known work, *The Book of Settlements*, is probably unique in world literature, for it records the lives of all the leading settlers, about four hundred in number, traces their origin in Norway, and enumerates their descendants in Iceland. So far as I know, no other country possesses such a record of its very first settlers and their descendants. *The Book of Settlements* also contains an astoundingly precise historical topography of Iceland, and some of the sketches of characters and incidents are admirably done. It is quite obvious that the seeds of many of the family *sagas* are already in this book.

* In the wake of Ari's pioneering work came a number of quite interesting historical works, mainly dealing with the kings of Norway.

the so-called *Kings' Sagas*. The names of some of the authors are known, and among them one stands out in bold relief, the author of the *Prose Edda*, already mentioned, Snorri Sturluson, who raised the *sagas* about the kings of Norway to their ultimate perfection. Snorri was a remarkable man, a wealthy chieftain and man of the world, he was at the same time an acute scholar and a superb writer. His great historical work, *Heimskringla*, dealing with the kings of Norway from their beginning in the eighth century down to the author's day, has been a classic in Scandinavia for centuries and a best-seller in Norway as well as in Iceland. No medieval historian can rival him in his hold on the present. Snorri also wrote one of the greatest of the family sagas, *Egils Saga*, a masterpiece of construction and psychological insight.

We have already referred to the tradition of story-telling at the annual general assembly, the *Althing*, in Iceland. The stories most in vogue at the outset seem to have been heroic-mythical tales from foreign lands, but gradually the repertoire of the story-tellers was enlarged to include also native matter, and thus the tradition grew and matured.

This tradition of public story-telling probably has more than one cause, but a powerful incentive was created by the moving of the population from Norway to Iceland. The first Icelanders were emigrants with a good deal of nostalgia for the old country. It has been pointed out in this connection that the authors of the *Iliad-Odyssey* in Greece and *Browulf* in England were also emigrants. The Vikings had a great yearning for fame, as we have seen, and for the Icelanders a great deal of fame was connected with the old country. To be of noble birth was always important, but the best was to be able to trace one's family to the famous royal lines of antiquity. Family ties with the old country were cultivated, and within Iceland these ties were also very

strong due to a strict code of family honour which laid heavy duties on each member of the family.

There were many other factors contributing to the rise of the unique *saga* tradition, for example, the sparsity of the population, about forty to eighty thousand, which saved the individual from being lost in the crowd.

Scholars have been in disagreement about the extent to which oral traditions are preserved in the written *sagas*. Some hold that the written *sagas* are merely more or less faithful copies of the oral tales, while others claim that the very act of writing down the *sagas* forced on the writers new considerations and a fresh approach. The latter theory is now held by most authorities on Old Norse literature. Thus most of the *sagas*, as we know them now, are in fact the creations of the men who wrote them, but obviously they made use of the oral material at hand as well as any written documents which might be of help. The historical exactitude of the *sagas* varies greatly. Most of them are based on fact, some to a very large extent, but others are more or less fictional, some even pure fiction. The guiding principle of the best *saga* writers seems to have been art rather than historical exactitude.

The variety in style and treatment in the family *sagas* speaks well for individual authorship rather than for the copying of oral traditions. There are, indeed, primitive *sagas* which seem to be close to oral tradition, but the bulk of the *sagas* testifies to great literary excellence on the part of their authors. There are well-composed *sagas*, stressing the historical element with magnificent character portrayals, like the already mentioned *Egils Saga* by Snorri Sturluson, the only *saga* of a known author. There are novels, in many cases perfect works of art, either completely heroic-Icelandic in spirit or suffused with the foreign romantic element. Among these are some of the best

sagas, *Hrafnkel's Saga*, *Gisla Saga*, *Gunnlaugs Saga*, *Njals Saga*, and *Laxdaela Saga*. These works are amazingly varied in tone and style, and their length ranges from about one hundred to four hundred printed pages. Then there are *sagas* based on native folklore, like *Grettis Saga*, where folk wisdom and primitive folk beliefs are woven into the story of a tragic individual whose ill luck was greater than his very good endowments. After the classic *saga* period came to an end around 1300, several new kinds of *sagas* came to the fore, such as adventure and 'lying' stories, and *sagas* of romantic chivalry, which tapped foreign sources and treated their subject matter in a fantastic manner, entirely alien to the classical tradition.

The family *sagas* of the thirteenth century, the pride of Icelandic literature, preserve the memories of a heroic heathen society and reflect its spirit, even though they were written by Christian authors. The society of farmers, great and small, which they depict is much closer to the realism of a workaday world than the heroes of the *Edda*, 'who loom oversize through the romantic haze of distance'. But there is a fundamental similarity of outlook. As in the older Viking society, the prime preoccupation of every man in the Icelandic society of the *saga* age was to gain a good name and, having won it, to keep it. The moral code of heathen society was no less strict than that of the Christian. 'In reality heathen society was the main enforcer of the moral code; no-one could with impunity challenge the opinion of the crowd. This seems like a paradox, since the heathen code was individualistic and proudly independent, whereas the Christian code was submissive and humble. But however proudly and independently the heathen individual might act, he could never escape the laws of common heathen decency instilled in him from childhood. The more independent a man

was the more he would have to conform to the conventional code of honour.

'This code of honour had grown out of the tribal clannishness at home in Scandinavia and the freedom of Viking enterprise. A man must defend his family and his dependents and take vengeance, if a member was killed or hurt in any way, bodily or mentally. You could overlook much as long as your opponent did not act out of spite to you and your honour. But once your honour was injured, even to the slightest degree, your sense of dignity would not allow you to rest until restitution was made. A wise man did not have to act at once: "a slave takes vengeance at once, the coward never", was an Icelandic saying. And the punishment did not have to fit the crime, but rather your injured honour: you could let a lesser man personally guilty go scot-free, if your honour was better served by striking a greater man out of the ranks of his kindred. With all the feuds and killings chronicled in the *sagas*—their main subject matter—one might jump to the conclusion that the Icelanders were a bloodthirsty lot. That, however, would be a decided mistake: they were not after blood but after restitution of honour. Hence, as a rule, there was little cruelty connected with these feuds.' (S. Einarsson: *A History of Icelandic Literature*, pp. 131-2)

We have already referred to the fatalism in the heroic and mythological poems of the *Edda*, and the same kind of fatalism prevails in the *sagas*. But the hero will never submit to fate. He will fight to the very end, knowing that he is going to lose. This is true not only of the nobility, but also of the common man. In *Gisla Saga* a chieftain threatens his tenant with death because the tenant had harboured the chieftain's outlaw. The tenant's answer was: 'My clothes are bad, and it is no concern of mine whether I wear them a shorter or longer time—but I would

rather die than fail to help my friend in any way I can.'

The tragic dilemmas in the *sagas* also have much in common with the heroic poems of the *Edda*. A man is given two choices and neither is good, but he has to make a choice. A man must decide between not avenging his wife's brother and killing his sister's husband. He takes the latter choice. The sister then first decides to avenge her husband, outlawing her brother and causing his death, but later she wants her brother's killer destroyed. Such dilemmas are depicted with great tragic force. There is a marked similarity between some of the best Icelandic *sagas* and the classical Greek tragedies, which is obviously due to the similarity between the heroic societies out of which the two literatures grew.

In style, the *sagas* are prose narratives with occasional skaldic verses, and the prose diverges as much as possible from the verse style. 'The prose is so plain, so completely non-lyric, that it does not even allow an occasional ornamental adjective. "He grabbed his fine sword" would not be *saga* style; it should be: "He grasped his sword; it was a fine weapon."' (ibid. p. 133)

The *sagas* are the first secular prose novels in Europe and have much in common with the novel of the last century and a half. The noted English critic W. P. Ker says of them: 'The art of them keeps up with the newest inventions in fiction and is familiar with secrets of workmanship about which Flaubert and Turgenev are still exercised.' It has also been claimed that the famous style of Hemingway must have been derived, directly or indirectly, from the family *sagas*.

One of the most conspicuous characteristics of the *sagas* is the objective point of view

of their authors. This made them especially fine evaluators and describers of character. Still, character is not described in the usual sense of description. The method is always external, dramatic. Thoughts are practically never revealed, except in speeches—and not always then. Mainly the character is described by his acting and interacting upon other characters, sometimes also by comments of others or public opinion, represented by the gossip of the countryside. This calls to mind the role of the chorus in the Greek tragedies. 'In spite of this purely behavioristic method, it is really uncanny how deep a *saga*-writer can dig into the psychology of his subjects, and that as often by reticence as by the spoken or written word. One of the main charms of the *sagas* is precisely how much one can and must read between the lines.' (ibid. p. 135)

You may have noticed that in Old Norse mythology the two outstanding gods were Odinn, the god of wisdom and poetry, and Thor, the slow-witted god of strength. Of the two, Odinn was by far the more beloved and respected, probably due to the fact that his wisdom was considered of greater value than the tremendous strength of Thor. Strangely, we have this same constellation of wisdom and strength in many of the *sagas*, sometimes in the same person, like the hero of *Egils Saga*, sometimes in the two main characters, as in *Njals Saga*. The respect for wisdom and learning seems to have been so deeply ingrained in the warlike Viking society and the feuding society of medieval Iceland, that even the bravest of heroes was less valued and respected than the man of wisdom and learning, the poet and the magician. It would seem natural that in such a soil great literature was bound to flourish.

BOOK REVIEW

SCIENCE AND COSMIC MEANING : STUDIES IN THE METAPHYSICS OF DEPTH PSYCHOLOGY. By George Yeisley Rusk. (Chetana, Bombay. 1960. 185 pp. Rs.12.50)

In this fascinating book the author is facing one of the major problems of our time - the adaptations of the changing outlook of the scientific viewpoint since the advent of Einstein's theory of relativity and the quantum theory, which revealed our most material world to be most abstract. As one reads, bright gleams of illumination lure one on to overcome the exceedingly difficult language and the lack of concrete example which might have helped to clarify. This is obviously one book in a series on related subjects that the author has written, and if one had read them all, doubtless the specific language used would have been learned, and the going would be easier ; but few of us can specialize on one author to this extent these days. The book would have gained much by being more self-contained or by the addition of a glossary of terms.

The author finds that there are two basic intellectual problems facing present-day students of religion. The first is to restate in modern terms the age-old truth of the paradox of philosophy which must express itself in pairs of opposites, Being and Non-Being, for example, and so is always self-contradictory, and yet, as aspects of absolute truth both opposites are necessary. The second is to refute the denial by modern scientific logicians that man can arrive at any absolute truth. Presumably, logical positivism has not yet run its course in America, so the quest for a solution to the second problem would appear to be an admirable one, and probably should come first as a preliminary clearing of the path. The progress of science

itself has transcended the rules of logic in the new conception of space and time as relative to each other.

The title of the first Chapter, 'Methods of Salvaging Theological Truth', is a little odd to one who, like the reviewer, has the 'infant mind' referred to on p. 61, and who does not find the language of mythology, or even of theology, so difficult. There is an unconscious reversal in the metaphor in this title which seems to reveal to what presumption modern 'scientific' jargon has come these days. The aim of theology, once called the queen of the sciences, has always been to set out and explain the process of salvation itself, whereby the mind's limitations are broken through so that the light of truth may penetrate and transform. This is the mystery of the act of Christ, which transformed degradation into glory--a paradox in action, *in excelsis*. That this same 'breaking through' process is widely apparent to-day, and is recognized by many scientists, is all to the good, by whatever name we may call it.

Doubtless, to specialists in depth psychology this book will yield much fruitful knowledge. It is a very thorough enquiry into the relations of modern science to what we once called Absolutes, but which now go by the name of 'Cosmic Meaning'. This is no other than the good old science of metaphysics as the author rightly recognizes.

Modern science would seem to be coming full circle and re-finding the truths which were once expressed by Plato and the medieval philosophers, and this book is a noble effort to come to terms with the new knowledge and the new illumination.

W. H. DAWES

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

Asian Studies in America

Dr. William Norman Brown, an account of whose visit to the Institute is reported in Institute News in this issue, held a press conference when he was in Calcutta in January. On that occasion he gave an outline of the position of Asian studies in America. He described how several universities provided opportunities for the study of the languages, literature, history, sociology, anthropology, economy, and the political institutions of Asian countries. The study of Sanskrit was of great importance to America, he said. Americans had to their credit a number of original research works on Sanskrit. For the study of Sanskrit, however, his country followed a method different from that in India which arose out of the fact that the bulk of those who took up Sanskrit studies in America, did so in the post-graduate stage. Dr. Brown made frank comments on the efforts which he had noticed to coin words from Sanskrit roots for concepts which had come to India from foreign sources, but which were in common use today. He said he could not appreciate such efforts, especially when these concepts did not exist in ancient India and hence there were no Sanskrit words for them. For words like radio, television, railway, and telephone, possibly new words based on Sanskrit roots might be coined, but they would be unintelligible. He pointed out that the English language had assimilated numerous foreign words, made them its own, and was none the worse for that.

The National Museum, Delhi

During the winter months of 1947-8, the new famous exhibition of Indian art was displayed at Burlington House, London. While this exhibition was on view and was creating world-wide interest, the Government of India decided to exhibit the collec-

tion under one roof in Delhi before dispersal on its return to India. The State rooms of Rashtrapati Bhavan were placed at the disposal of the then Director-General, Lord Mountbatten, and the exhibition remained open to the public for the greater part of the year 1949. This exhibition paved the way for the creation of the National Museum.

On 15 August 1949, the National Museum was formally inaugurated by Sri C. Rajagopalachari, the then Governor-General of India. It was announced that till such time as a permanent building could be made ready to house the National Museum, it would function in the State rooms of Rashtrapati Bhavan.

As the years passed, the collection became enriched by loans and gifts, by purchases through the Art Purchase Committee, and through the transfer of the Central Asian Collection. On 12 May 1955, the Prime Minister laid the foundation-stone of the new building to house the National Museum. On 18 December 1960, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, the Vice-President of India, inaugurated the new building which in its present state occupies only forty-five per cent of the total area planned. The rest of the building will proceed in three phases, reaching completion in 1965.

On display in the galleries are 50,000 objects giving a comprehensive picture of the development of Indian civilization from its pre-historic origins. The seventeen galleries, entailing a walk of about one mile, have collections ranging from excavated material from Harappa, Mohenjo-daro, and several other ancient sites, and sculptures in stone, stucco, and terracotta, to bronzes and coins, and examples of the decorative and minor arts.

In addition to a large collection of stone

sculptures, there are about 4,600 paintings, representing all the major schools of Indian art, about 500 bronzes, some of them unique pieces, 4,000 Persian, Arabic, and Sanskrit manuscripts, 7,500 coins and a valuable collection of jade and other jewellery. An Arms Section is also being prepared. Some fine terracottas from Kausambi, Kondapur, Akhuor, Nalanda, and the Indus valley are on view, and the collection of coins includes valuable specimens from the Bayana Hoard of Gupta coins, a large number of coins of the Indo-Islamic period, both the Sultan and the Mughal dynasties.

The first stage of the Department of Cultural and Physical Anthropology (a special feature of the Museum) will be opened in the Spring, showing a collection of costumes representing the various States and regions of India.

Development of Museums in India

At a recent meeting of the Central Advisory Board of Museums, Professor Humayun Kabir, Union Minister for Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, emphasized the need for training personnel to run the museums of the country, and for providing them with better pay and service conditions. He explained in detail the work already done by his Ministry to meet these needs. In addition, Dr. Kabir said that his Ministry had brought out a directory giving particulars of about 174 museums. The directory had already been translated into Gujarati and Marathi, and action was being taken for translations in other languages as well. A documentary film entitled 'Treasure Houses of the Country' had also been produced showing some of India's important museums and their outstanding art acquisitions. He hoped this documentary would be shown in schools and colleges all over the country. There was also a move to 'take museums to the people'. Under this proposal, replicas of sculptures, and other ob-

jects, would be taken for exhibition at educational institutions and rural centres.

Tagore Centenary News

Response to the West Bengal Government's plan to publish and sell a cheap edition of Tagore's works in twelve volumes at Rs. 75 during the Centenary year, has been more than was expected. Instead of 25,000 copies of *Rabindra Rachanavali*, 50,000 copies will be printed. The demand has been not only from West Bengal, but also from many other Indian states and from some foreign countries. Distribution centres will be opened in Bombay, Delhi, Lucknow, Patna, and Madras, and elsewhere if necessary.

* * *

In Hyderabad, the foundation-stone for an auditorium to be named after Rabindranath Tagore was laid on 14 January in the campus of Osmania University. The auditorium is being built as part of the Centenary celebrations. The Pro-Chancellor of the University, Prince Mukram Jha, performed the ceremony and, as Chairman of the Nizam of Hyderabad's Educational Trust, donated Rs. 500,000 for the construction of the auditorium. The building is designed to accommodate about 2,000 people. Two foyers will be provided in which art exhibitions may be held.

Mr. Gopala Reddy, Union Minister for Revenue and Civil Expenditure, who presided at the function, is reported as saying how unfortunate it was that, while people in western countries were studying Bengali in order to read and enjoy Tagore's works, people in India depended largely on English translations. All talk of the nation's oneness would remain futile unless as students we learnt to understand our neighbours by studying one or more regional languages other than our own.

INSTITUTE NEWS

Informal Discussion

Recent issues of the *Bulletin* have carried news of Dr. Helmut G. Callis, Professor of History at the University of Utah, U.S.A., who, with his wife and two sons, visited Calcutta in November and were frequent visitors at the Institute. In January, the Institute was happy to have a return visit from Dr. Callis, who stayed in the International Hostel for almost three weeks. During this period, Dr. Callis continued his consultations concerned with plans for the future development of the Institute.

On 22 January, an informal discussion, led by Dr. Callis, was held at the Institute to enquire into the subject of 'Pathways to One World'. This occasion was a successful example of the value of small, informal, discussions between members of an invited audience. Among the fifteen persons present, mention may be made of Dr. B. D. Nag Chaudhuri, M.Sc., Ph.D. (Calif.), Director of the Saha Institute of Nuclear Physics, Calcutta; Miss Winifred H. Dawes, now a familiar figure at the Institute and a familiar name to readers of the *Bulletin* through her course of lectures, sponsored by the Spalding Trust of Oxford, on 'Spiritual Foundations of Western Culture'; Srimati Bela Datta Gupta, a student of the sociology of religions; Dr. and Mrs. Call, of whom special mention is made later in these columns; and Sri A. K. Mazumdar, M.A., Principal of Hooghly Mohsin College, and Professor of Philosophy at the Calcutta University College of Arts.

Dr. William Norman Brown

On 23 January the Institute had the honour of receiving Dr. William Norman Brown, an eminent American scholar in the field of Indian philosophy and languages, who had come to India as a U.S. delegate

to the Tagore Centenary celebrations of the All-India Bengali Literary Conference. Professor of Sanskrit and Chairman of the South Asia Regional Studies Department at the University of Pennsylvania, Dr. Brown has devoted most of his life to promoting better understanding between India and America. This well-known Indologist has been active in a number of scholastic and cultural groups dealing with South Asia. He is President of the Association of Asian Studies and is a past-President of the American Oriental Society.

The Institute accorded Dr. Brown a reception which was held in the quadrangle. In the evening of the same day he delivered an address on 'Some Ethical Concepts for the Modern World from Hindu and Indian Buddhist Tradition'. In his address Dr. Brown traced the development of three basic ethical concepts which, he said, were dynamic in India today: truth; non-injury of any living creature; and friendly service to others. An appeal to Hindus on the basis of truth—abstract, general, absolute truth, Dr. Brown submitted, would almost invariably get a courteous, attentive, reasonable, open-minded hearing, where often appeal on the basis of 'enlightened self-interest' or 'national security' would fail. One of Mahatma Gandhi's contributions to modern India, he said, was to give a social and political interpretation to this religious and ethical concept that had traditionally applied to the individual.

American Unitarians

During January the Institute was fortunate to have a visit from Dr. and Mrs. Lon Ray Call of Long Island, New York. They subsequently stayed at the Institute for nearly two weeks, and Dr. Call gave an address, on 27 January, on the subject of 'The Unitary

Process'. The visit of Dr. and Mrs. Call was of particular interest as it was connected with the *Maghotsav*, the annual assembly of the Brahmo Samaj, the reformist, religious movement founded in Bengal in the eighteenth century by Raja Rammohan Roy. The connection lay in the fact that the influence of the Unitarian Church movement on the Brahmo Samaj since its foundation continues to this day, and this was reflected in the visit of Dr. Call, who is Minister Emeritus of the South Nassau Unitarian Church, Freeport, Long Island, New York. Before going to Long Island ten years ago to found the church from which he has just retired, he was Minister-at-Large of the American Unitarian Association for a decade, during which time he founded twelve other liberal churches and instituted the movement of lay fellowships which has resulted in the formation of over six hundred chapters throughout the world. The basic principles of the Unitarian movement are : complete freedom of the individual in the quest for truth ; devotion to the advancing nature of truth ; the democratic process in all human relations ; world brotherhood undivided by nation, race, or creed ; and allegiance to the cause of world community.

Soviet Youth Delegation

At the beginning of December a fifteen-member Soviet Youth Delegation visited Calcutta during a five-weeks' tour of India, and stayed at the Institute. The delegation was welcomed to West Bengal by Dr. Sumiti Kumar Chatterji, M.A., D.Lit., Chairman of the West Bengal Legislative Council, a member of the Managing Committee of the Institute, and President of the Indo-Soviet Cultural Society, Calcutta. The delegation included engineers, singers, musicians, a teacher, a dancer, and a scientific research worker, a miner, and an artist. During this visit the attention of the Institute was drawn to the long-standing cultural relations be-

tween Russia and India from the time when Afnasi Nikitin, scholar and traveller, came to India in the fifteenth century. At the conclusion of their visit, all the members of the delegation were presented with some literature published by the Ramakrishna Mission and the Institute.

Seminar on Five-Year Plans

On 16, 19, and 22 January a seminar on India's Five-Year Plans was held in three sessions at the Institute, under the following main headings : 'An Appraisal of the Plans', 'Social Welfare Activities in the Plans', and 'Community Development Programme Under the Plans'. Amongst those who took part either as Presidents or as participants, we may mention the following : Mrs. Renuka Roy, M.P., who presided over the third session, Mrs. Asoka Gupta, formerly Chairman, Social Welfare Board, West Bengal, who spoke on 'Work Among Women in the Five-Year Plans in West Bengal', and Dr. A. Ghose, M.A., Ph.D., Reader in Economics, Jadavpur University, who spoke on 'An Appraisal of the First and the Second Plans and Approach to the Third Plan'.

Library and Children's Library

In January, the library added 92 books to the accession list, of which 85 were purchased and 7 were gifts. During the month, 600 books were classified and catalogued, 1,126 were borrowed, and 711 issued for reference. The reading room contained 322 Indian and foreign periodicals. The average daily attendance in the reading room was 95.

The children's library in January added 124 books to the accession list, making a total of 2,137 books in stock. There were 338 members, and an average daily attendance of 50 readers. During the month, 728 books were borrowed.

Miss Rheda Kellogg, an American specialist in children's art, visited the library and

talked with some child artists, and took some photographs of their drawings.

Visitors

Among those who stayed in the International Hostel during December and January were the following :

Dr. Miss Marie Boehlan, from Berne, Switzerland, a Magistrate for delinquent children, and a member of the Swiss National Commission for UNESCO. Dr. Boehlan was on a study tour sponsored by UNESCO. She is Chairman of the Law Committee of the National Council of Women, and a Council Member of the Social Democratic Party. She has published work on women's problems and on administrative law ;

Dr. C. P. Shukla, M.A., M.A.L.S., Ph.D., Librarian, Baroda University, and Dr. J. S. Sharma, M.A., D.Lib.Sc. (Delhi), Ph.D. (Michigan), Librarian, Panjab University, who were both attending a seminar at Jadavpur University organized by the Indian Social Library Association.

Mr. Gustavo de Nardo, B.A., from Rome, who was making a study of Hinduism ;

Madame and Mademoiselle Lâchaux, from France, who are both teachers touring India ;

Mr. Charles E. Woodson, from the U.S.A., Associate Professor of Psychology at Meiji University, Tokyo, who was on a short visit to Calcutta ;

Dr. and Mrs. David M. Chalmers, from the U.S.A. Dr. Chalmers is a Fulbright Professor of American History at the University of Ceylon. He and his wife stayed at the Institute on their return from the Indian History Congress, in Aligarh ;

Mr. Gunther Wiese and Mr. Werner Pils, both from Germany, who were on a short visit to Calcutta.

Other visitors to the Institute in January included :

Sri S. N. Mishra, Deputy Minister for Planning, Government of India ;

Professor Michael Polanyi, of Oxford University ;

Professor Henry C. Hart, of Wisconsin University, U.S.A. ;

Sri Achintya Sen Gupta, the well-known Bengali writer.

German and French Classes

The Institute is glad to announce a development of its scheme for language studies. Now, in addition to the Hindi and Bengali classes, there are classes for the study of German and French. The German classes are directed by the Goethe-Institute of Calcutta. They are conducted by Countess W. Keyserling and commenced on 2 February. The course consists of Beginners, Intermediate, Advanced, and Diploma classes. There are four classes of one hour each per week, two on Wednesdays and two on Saturdays.

The French classes commenced on 3 February, and are directed by L'Alliance Française, Calcutta. There are two classes of one hour each per week for beginners only, held on Tuesdays and Fridays.

Further information is available from the Institute, but for this term the full number of places in the German classes has been taken.

Students' Day Home Activities

During January the Students' Day Home organized various functions, all of which were well attended. On 6 January, Mr. Ralph Hegnauer, the Swiss International Secretary of Service Civil International, the work-camp movement, spoke to the students about the work of the organization. Mr. Hegnauer was visiting Calcutta in connection with the work of the West Bengal Branch of S.C.I. The Secretary of the West Bengal branch introduced the subject of the lecture, and explained about the work being done in India, and how S.C.I. had come to India through the encouragement and support of

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Mahatma Gandhi, Rabindranath Tagore, and C. F. Andrews. Mr. Hegnauer told the students about the relief work being done by S.C.I. work-camp volunteers in other parts of the world, on an international basis. Mr. Hegnauer mentioned that in many countries S.C.I. was a recognized means of alternative service for conscientious objectors to military service, and he also stressed that the international work-camps were a practical method of promoting the dignity of labour among young people who came from those levels of society which were customarily unassociated with manual work. Two of the Day Home students also spoke on relief work which they had done in village areas in India.

On 7 January, Sri A. K. Roy, Assistant Librarian, India House, London, spoke on 'The Modern Mode of Life in England', with special reference to Indian students living there. He also dealt with library systems in the United Kingdom.

On 14 January, Sri S. N. Mishra, Deputy Minister for Planning, Government of India, addressed the students on 'India's Five-Year Plans—their Objectives, Achievements, and

Targets'. This occasion was organized in connection with the celebration of India Plan Week.

Swami Vivekananda's birthday anniversary fell on 17 January. On this occasion Swami Lokeshwarananda, Secretary of the Ramakrishna Mission Ashrama at Narendrapur, West Bengal, spoke to the students on 'The Life and Teachings of Swami Vivekananda'. Professor S. C. Chatterji, formerly George V Professor of Philosophy at Calcutta University, also spoke a few words. And, on 19 January, Sri Achintya Sen Gupta, a well-known Bengali writer, spoke on the subject of Swami Vivekananda to the students.

Saraswati Puja, the festival of the Goddess of Learning, was an occasion when the students of the Day Home and many of the visitors staying in the International Hostel, were able to share a celebration together. On 21 January, the Puja, with tasteful decorations, was held in the Day Home, and about 500 students and visitors took *prasād*. Some of the visitors accompanied the students when the image was taken to the immersion ceremony.

MARCH LECTURES

At 6 p.m.

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| March | 4 | India's Traditional Values in Rabindranath
<i>Speaker :</i> Batuknath Bhattacharya, M.A., B.L.
<i>President :</i> Suniti Kumar Chatterji, M.A., D.Litt. |
| March | 11 | The Ultimate Reality of Man
<i>Speaker :</i> Ismael Quiles, S.J.
<i>President :</i> Principal Amiya Kumar Mazumdar, M.A. |
| March | 18 | Classical Systems of Indian Philosophy—a Survey and Synthesis (first lecture)
<i>Speaker :</i> S. C. Chatterjee, M.A., Ph.D.
<i>President :</i> J. N. Mohanty, M.A., D.Phil. |
| March | 25 | Education in the Soviet Union
<i>Speaker :</i> E. N. Komarov, Ph.D.
<i>President :</i> Kalidas Nag, M.A., D.Litt. |

BULLETIN OF THE RAMAKRISHNA MISSION INSTITUTE OF CULTURE

VOL. XII

No. 4

OBSERVATIONS

FROM EAST TO WEST

B EING now master of her own destiny, India is placed in a position which demands, and at the same time engenders, an attitude of self-confidence based on inner strength. This implies the cultivation of awareness of her own individuality, of the genuine nature of her own personality, of the unique character of her own culture. Without this inner strength and self-confidence, India cannot stand as one nation among many, as a nation with a role to fulfil in the world, one in a circle of nations, each with its own part to play.

Today, for the first time in history, we see the nations of the world endeavouring to stand together as equals, each accepting the individuality of the others as valid. Now, for the first time, we see fostered on a world scale the idea that the individual characteristics of each nation represent that nation's contribution to the sum total of the world's progress. Whereas, in the past, differences of habit and custom, differences in thought and outlook, have been either resented or regarded as sources of amusement and

wonder, now a changed attitude is discernible in which these differences are regarded as acceptable, as important and significant, and as sources of enrichment for all. The sum total of the world's progress in thought and achievement now assumes a unitary reality of its own as the cultural heritage of mankind.

India today, then, as we have shown in these columns in recent months, has the urgent task of reasserting her own national culture, harnessing that culture to the needs of her society under modern conditions, and conducting a campaign throughout the country to ensure that all, whether educated or uneducated, develop an awareness of national unity rooted in the basic principles of her culture which constitute the foundation of her life. Only when such an awareness of national unity founded on national culture is firmly established, will India be in a position to make her full contribution to the sum total of the world's progressive thought. One of the main signs of health in a nation, as in an individual, is the ability to contribute to the life of society beyond its own

frontiers. An individual must go out of his house, greet his neighbours, exchange thought with them, share their joys and sorrows, and allow them to share his ; he must discover and appreciate the special characteristics, the individuality of each of his neighbours, and he will feel enriched by his contact with them. Above all, taking a firm stand on his own individuality, he must discover just what he can give to each one out of the rich store of his own special gifts. This outline of the role of an individual in society applies equally well to individual nations. Thus it is necessary for India today, as she builds up her national consciousness, her national culture, her individuality based on her national ideal, to be conscious that her national ideal represents also her individual contribution to the sum total of the world's progress, and that in order to be fully alive today, India must make that contribution.

WHAT IS THE WEST WAITING FOR ?

Let it not be thought, however, that in making her contribution to world thought, India will set herself up as teacher to the world. That is not what is called for. If India has something to teach the world, she has also much to learn from the world. Throughout life there is a balance observable. If there is a lack in one direction, it is balanced by an abundance in another direction. This may readily be seen in the talents of individuals ; and it is no less true in the talents of nations. Progress and enrichment lie in the application of these talents in such a way that what is lacking in one place is compensated, complemented, by the abundance found elsewhere. Swami Vivekananda saw very clearly how this balance in nature would have to be worked out as between the West and India : 'Do not think that one alone is to help the world. In this creation of the impartial Lord, He has made equal every particle in the uni-

verse. The worst, most demoniacal man, has some virtues which the greatest saint has not, and the lowest worm may have certain things which the highest man has not. . . . Whether on the ground of materialism, or of intellect, or of spirituality, the compensation that is given by the Lord to every one impartially, is exactly the same. Therefore we must not think that we are the saviours of the world. We can teach the world a good many things, and we can learn a good many things from it too. We can teach the world only what it is waiting for. The whole of western civilization will crumble to pieces in the next fifty years if there is no spiritual foundation. It is hopeless and perfectly useless to attempt to govern mankind with the sword. You will find that the very centres from which such ideas as government by force sprang up, are the very first centres to degrade and degenerate and crumble to pieces. Europe, the centre of the manifestation of material energy, will crumble into dust within fifty years, if she is not mindful to change her position, to shift her ground and make spirituality the basis of her life.' (From 'Reply to the Address at Paranakudi' 1897)

It will be remembered that Swami Vivekananda, in giving this warning to Europe to make spirituality the basis of her life, coupled it with a similar warning to India. She, too, must preserve that spirituality which had always been the basis of her life, if she wished to survive. Both India and the West are therefore, to this extent, in the same position, and one has no reason to feel superior to the other. Once this fact is understood, the way is open to a healthy relationship between the two, a relationship based upon the complementary nature of their ideals. The good that the West has done to India is manifest today in the spirit of activity that abounds, the enthusiasm, the urge for improvement that finds expression in innumerable ways. 'We can teach the

world only what it is waiting for', said the Swami. India was waiting for this stimulation and, having received it, has now to turn it to good account, using her own national genius to convert new ways of life into expressions of spiritual strength, raising them from the mere expressions of material or physical power they might otherwise be.

What, then, is the West waiting for? What help can the West be expected to derive from India? That the West is in need of spiritual help, there can be no doubt. None can deny that a civilization that has brought the whole world to the brink of annihilation stands in need of spiritual light to guide it back into safer, surer paths. This does not necessarily imply, however, that that spiritual light does not already exist within western culture. Western culture has very real spiritual foundations. Those foundations, nevertheless, have fallen into obscurity, covered up by more recent modes of thought which give emphasis to a more material approach to life. The way forward for the West is, therefore, to re-establish her own spiritual foundations, to carry them forward, bring them up to date. What is required is a restatement of the basic principles of her spiritual foundations, a restatement that will render them comprehensible and acceptable to generations that have been brought to the door of metaphysics by the path of physics, a path untrodden by any before.

The West now stands in need of a spiritual approach to life's problems that is fully rational, fully scientific, yet, at the same time, carries the seeker beyond reason and beyond science. While science may be said to be the study of the laws of change, the scientific outlook is nevertheless unable to rest content with that study, but seeks to go beyond it to find that which is beyond change, the background within which changes occur. This desire to carry science beyond change is

the logical fulfilment of the scientific outlook, and it can only occur to minds disciplined in the scientific approach. It therefore becomes another science, a science greater than any other. It is the new science for which the West is waiting.

At the same time, however, it is the old science that has been India's special study for countless centuries. As far back as the Upaniṣads we find expression given to this very idea, for there, in the Upaniṣads, we read: 'That science is the greatest which makes man know That which never changes and by knowing which everything is known.' And from that time onwards India concentrated her thought, her observation and experiment, upon this the greatest of all sciences, the science of the soul. The principles of this science are therefore now India's gift to the world, her contribution to world thought. It is for the West, if she wishes, to take those principles, make them her own, and give them practical expression in her own way of life.

THE SCIENCE OF THE SOUL

The very term 'the science of the soul' will sound to western ears a contradiction in terms. For what the soul is, has not yet been determined! Nevertheless, this expression is one way of describing a field of thought that is wider, more penetrating, than any the West has so far recognized. The name given to that field of thought is, however, not very important and will doubtless be settled in due course. What is important is that recognition should be given to the fact that such a field exists and that, for the West, this has been brought into focus by the culminating findings of scientific research. Broadly and simply stated, this field of thought is opened up by the sudden admission that the universe known so far to man through his five senses is not the whole universe, but is, on the other hand, only a very small part of an existence which

also finds expression on planes other than the sense plane. Hitherto, the mental plane, or that which covers intellectual, moral, even spiritual experience, has been ignored or kept at a safe distance. In the same way the conscious mind, it is now understood, represents only a small part of the mind, and the rest of it consists not only of unplumbed depths of subconsciousness, but also of immeasurable heights of superconsciousness. Thus science is now logically forced into taking cognizance of these other new areas, and into giving them status as valid phenomena. From this it follows that a search must be inaugurated for the common root of existence of all phenomena, all planes of thought. It follows also that knowledge of that common root cannot be obtained only through the world we see and know, for that world gives only a partial view of the whole.

So man is forced to penetrate deeper and deeper into the mystery of life. He knows that somewhere there exists a centre from which all phenomena emanate, as the radii of a circle emanate from a central point which is their common ground. He knows, too, that the centre for which he seeks is not to be found in the outward universe; it is not in the moon or some remote star, nor is it in the depths of the earth, nor under the sea; for all these are places in space, observable only on the sense plane and therefore still partial and incapable of furnishing common ground for all phenomena. The only solution therefore is to seek this centre within the being of man himself. The centre of the whole universe lies in the innermost core of man, and there alone can be found the point towards which all planes of phenomena gravitate, from which they emanate. The voyage of discovery into that centre, the experience which proves it, the factual evidence which establishes it beyond all doubt, is the new science, the science of the soul.

EVERY MAN A SCIENTIST

One result of the new western approach to this central problem of existence is to broaden the meaning of the word 'soul'. Western thought has made no clear distinction between man's mind, which is part of his individual existence, and that other aspect of his being which is universal existence. The word 'soul' refers, for the most part, to the former, but it also has to suffice for the latter, since there is no other term, except, perhaps, the word 'psyche', but there, too, the same confusion exists. 'Psyche' is used to apply equally to mind, spirit, and soul and the 'science of psyche', psychology, which is now given so much importance, reflects this same confusion and therefore remains completely unscientific except where some attempt at a distinction is made.

The fact of this confusion in thought, however, by no means implies that the West has no conception of the universal aspect of man. The West is well aware that there is within man that which never dies, which is eternal and immutable, and is therefore not the body which is ever subject to change. The relation of the body to this 'other' which is eternal and immutable, has not, however, been subjected to study. Man is thought of as primarily body, body which in time 'gives up the ghost', an attitude that gives priority to the body. The word 'ghost' is obviously another attempt to establish the fact of the reality of man's eternal aspect, for here it is equated with the principle of life itself. Theology, too, recognizes the word and equates it with God, as the 'Spirit of God' or the 'Holy Ghost', an equation which suggests a line of thought worth pursuing in establishing the relationship between God and man. But the word 'ghost' has other meanings too, and these reduce its value as a term to be adopted in 'the science of the soul'.

The first requirement for this science is, therefore, the adoption of technical terms

which very clearly define the material and the immaterial aspects of man's make-up. It is at this point that India's scientific study can be of help to the West. Just as India, in spite of her purists, will not be able to divest herself of such untranslatable technical terms as 'railway' or 'radio', but will ever remain indebted to the West for these words as well as for the inventions they stand for, so, too, the West will find that some of the technical terms provided by the Sanskrit language are untranslatable and indispensable in the study of 'the science of the soul'.

'Ātman' and 'Brahman' are two such terms. An attempt has been made in the past by western philosophers to translate these terms and both of them have been translated as 'Self'. This translation, however, merely leads to more confusion, for 'Self' is necessarily associated with ideas of 'selfishness', or the individual ego, neither of which have anything at all to do with Ātman and Brahman. In order to understand the special significance of the word 'Self' it is therefore essential to grasp the conception expressed by 'Brahman' and 'Ātman', so the translation becomes entirely redundant.

The word 'Brahman' stands for eternal Being, the all-pervading formless One, the One in whom reside all powers, blessing, purity, omnipresence, omniscience. The universe and all that it contains is that same Brahman projected into individual form. When it is then described as 'Ātman'.

The terms 'Brahman' and 'Ātman' thus signify that infinite divinity, power, knowledge, purity, are lodged within each individual form. They are, however, manifested in varying degrees, and to manifest more and more of that divinity is the great struggle in life of every individual.

A science must be based upon fact, so the science of the soul, too, must be a question of fact. Poetic imagination, idealism, or

mere wishful thinking will not do. The terms 'Brahman' and 'Ātman' are the result of analysis, the attempt to understand the nature of man and the universe, and to realize what has been understood. These terms represent certain facts, which, as in physical sciences, have first to be perceived and then used as the basic principles upon which the science can be built.

'The science of the soul' thus demands that every individual should be, from this standpoint, a scientist. He must perceive for himself certain basic facts. When he is satisfied that these facts are true, then will he be in a position to translate them into practical effect in his life from every standpoint, religious, psychological, ethical, and moral, in his pursuit of happiness, in his pursuit of freedom, in his search for the best possible patterns of behaviour. The basic facts of 'the science of the soul' provide certain principles which, being universally true, lend themselves to fulfilment in innumerable ways.

To grasp these principles and to build his daily life upon them is the next forward step in the progress of man on earth. Today is the turning point in his career. Faced with annihilation by the work of his own hands, the result of his search into the nature of the universe, he will now be forced to change the direction of that search and divert it to the study of the nature of man himself. Not mere knowledge, but wisdom will be his goal. Thus that basic wisdom which he has always possessed, but which hitherto has been hidden within myth, wrapped up in ritual and preserved in symbols, this wisdom will now be brought out into the light of day and scrutinized under the penetrating rays of reason. Religion and the forms of religion may have lost their appeal, but the soul of man marches on, and must march on. 'The science of the soul', the psychology of the future, is what the world is waiting for.

THE UNITARY PROCESS

ION RAY CALL, A.B., B.D., D.D.

Dr. Ion Ray Call is Minister Emeritus of the South Nassau Unitarian Church, Freeport, Long Island, New York. He and Mrs. Call, on a leisurely tour of the world, came to Calcutta to attend Maghotsav, the annual assembly of the Brahmo Samaj, in January. This lecture was given at the Institute on 27 January.

NO-ONE has ever yet found the truth, and it is doubtful if anyone ever will. There is no book that contains it all. There is no library, no university, no teacher, no missionary, no preacher, no church, no philosopher, no soothsayer, no mystic, no person or institution, however great, where you can expect to find it, complete and absolute. We find bits of truth here and there. As the days and years pass, a man may uncover a fact, make a discovery, or gain some fresh insight and thus arrive at new convictions, clearer understanding and deepened consciousness, but truly no man has looked upon absolute and total truth at any time. This is why one should advocate the spirit of truth rather than attempt to proclaim one's opinions as *the* truth and why one should honour the truthseeker above the soothsayer.

We are all travellers through life as through an unknown country. The roads have not been laid for us, nor even the pathways marked out. A close acquaintance of mine who sells maps tells me that his business has been very good because new roads are being made, new countries carved out with new boundaries, so that maps are being constantly revised, and the maps he sells today will need to be replaced tomorrow. It is impossible to get along in a new world with maps that are outdated or otherwise misleading.

Furthermore, people who grew up as I

did trying to learn about the world geographically by studying flat maps know how sadly they were led astray. One can never understand a round world by studying a flat map. Another difficulty I had in my school-days was that when I studied elementary geography I sat in a school-room facing south and therefore the maps were not only flat but upside down. It has bothered me ever since.

Now I am not speaking about geography only. I am speaking of moral and spiritual values. There are, in religion, many people today who are wandering around this modern world with a false sense of direction because they have put their faith in old roads and old landmarks that are no longer there or in flat maps for a round world, or what is infinitely worse, maps that are upside down.

Dr. Brock Chisholm, formerly head of the World Health Organization and an eminent psychiatrist, has said that it is important that we create new values out of our own experiences and especially that we refrain from giving clear-cut and definite plans for living to our children. 'It is impossible', he said, 'to present our children with maps of reality with any degree of belief that these maps will continue to have validity after the passage of twenty or thirty years. What children need from their parents is not maps of the world as it used to be, nor of the beliefs of their parents or their ancestors, but the great gift of freedom to think.

ability themselves to look clearly at reality, and to make up their own minds how best to arrange their own relationships with the reality they see clearly. To find security, man must learn to live co-operatively, safely and pleasantly with man. To do this effectively he cannot depend on any ideas of his ancestors. His ancestors were almost without exception remarkably unsuccessful in this field. Even the present generation has been quite unsuccessful in this aspect of living.'

ASKING THE RIGHT QUESTIONS

Parents of young children will probably be among those who will agree with Dr. Chisholm, but will recognize the difficulties. The easy way is for young parents to teach their children just what they have been taught themselves, probably with appropriate threats of punishment for nonconformity. It is very difficult not to stamp our minds upon our children, and instead to stir up their own. It is very difficult not to impart to them a definite set of statements as the unadulterated truth, rather than painstakingly to inspire in them a fervent zest for truth seeking. Most parents, I fear, still look upon themselves as soothsayers rather than as encouragers, inspiring the youthful truthseeker to find his own way cautiously through the jungle of modern living. And the temptation for most people, whether or not they are attempting to lead others, is to seek a permanent lodging place for their minds in some tradition or mental mould, to follow the crowd, to borrow their creed or their philosophy of life. People wander from one religion to another trying to find answers which they hope will be simple and certain, and when they cannot find them in religion they become ready victims of popular psychologists or political charlatans, who prove equally disappointing, because no one has ever yet found *the* truth already made and fixed in finality.

I am shocked when I read or hear state-

ments by people who say 'I was lost and wandering until I found Christ', or 'I was lost and wandering until I found Freud', or 'I was lost and wandering until I found Marx', or there may be other names used, as if one were never to have strength nor any sources of security until he turns his soul or mind or body, or perhaps all of them together, over to the keeping of another. I should think such people would want to hide such obvious weakness. But no: they somehow assume that whereas they were weak, so all men are likewise weak with the same kind of frailty and so they proceed to try to convert everyone else to a Christ or a Freud or a Marx or to whomsoever they surmise has the total truth. And when they meet a man who is quite willing to say frankly that he is content to be simply a truthseeker, who puts little faith in the stock answers, and who says that he feels no need for their props because he is not surrendering his self-reliance, they classify him as perhaps naive, perhaps queer, but certainly a lost soul. But they are the naive and the lost, for they have set up a dogma like a boundary mark to designate the spot where they stopped thinking for themselves. In the world of the honest truthseeker those truths that have often been called the 'dead certainties' are certainly dead. It is not necessary to the good life to go looking for them in old formulas or in hand-me-down statements of absolute truth. You will not find them in the old absolutes of science, the old revelations of religion, old shrines, testaments, commandments, schemes of salvation, or totalitarian systems of psychology, or totalitarian systems of politics. These ancient maps are all available when we need them, not as perfect guides for us but as ways well marked by which others have lived. The values that grew out of others' experiences were true values for them, just as the values which grow out of our experiences are true values for us. And while these values

are always similar, they are never the same. They are a part of the process of living and never fixed and final, but always flexible and relative.

Probably most of us accepted very humbly the Newtonian dogma of gravitation ; at least we did until Einstein came along. New ideas of scientific truth, such as Einstein's, are likely at almost any time to upset the hypotheses of which we are so certain. It is now generally agreed that the old 'machine universe' of Newton is dead, and we must adjust our thinking and regard gravitation as a warping of a peculiar kind of space welded to time. And already Einstein's theories are being greatly modified.

The point is that our questions in every field of thought that seemed to be settled have a way of becoming unsettled, and there is no hiding place for the mind as there is no rock of ages for the soul. We ask our questions, and every answer leads to more questions. The wise man is not he who supplies the answers, but he who knows how to ask the right questions. Socrates stands out in the whole history of philosophy not because of any formula he created, but because he was forever asking questions, open-mindedly seeking the advancing truth. The scientific mind has become adjusted to this ceaseless questioning much better than has the political mind ; and the political mind has become better adjusted to tentativeness and the processes of change than has the religious mind. The scientist welcomes doubt, the politician resents it, but the church has proverbially punished it. But doubt may well be the beginning of religious wisdom, as it is unquestionably a necessary element in scientific wisdom.

FAITH BY VERIFICATION

Without the free mind principle in science we would still be accepting life like cattle, still be thinking of the earth as flat and still be wearing charms around our necks to

ward off disease. But we have the free mind in science and therefore we live in this marvellous world of technical achievements in reasonable expectation of long life and well being. But we shall not stop where Newton stopped, nor where Kepler stopped, nor where Edison stopped, nor where Einstein stopped. Wonders still the world shall witness if the scientific mind is kept unhampered and creative and disciplined in the quest for truth and human good.

Without the free mind principle in politics most of this world would still be ruled by tyrants and the people would have no voice in the government that controlled them. But we have democracy, at least in many places, and we shall have more. We cannot stop where Jefferson stopped, nor where Gandhi stopped. Wonders still the world shall witness if our political minds are kept unhampered, creative, and disciplined in the quest for human good.

Without the free mind principle in religion many of us would still be mumbling pious phrases that have no logical meaning, checking our minds at the doors of our houses of worship, and living in fear of the supernatural. But fortunately we have something of the free mind in religion and we shall have more. We cannot stop where Luther stopped, nor where Channing stopped. Wonders still the world shall witness if in religion our minds are kept free and creative and disciplined by mercy and goodwill.

But manifestly, important as the free mind is, it is not enough. In the atmosphere of freedom each man must work out his own philosophy of life. It is the most important task laid upon a responsible, maturing person. One is free not from something, but for something. One is free for enlightenment, free for ethical advancement, free for fellowship in a world community undivided by nation, colour or cultus ; free and therefore obligated to develop his own personal philosophy of life.

Now in this noble task there are certain standards by which to measure value, by which to judge the quality of one's personal philosophy, which I have already implied by indirection ; but let me now be more explicit. Let me suggest by way of recapitulation first, that you make sure that your personal beliefs are the result of your own thinking and not simply acquiescence in what someone else has said in a creed, a book, an ecclesiastical pronouncement, a lecture, or a magazine article. From your own investigation and judgement, choose your path. The experience of others is always a help, and the wider the variety of beliefs open to you the better, provided of course that they are honestly held and honestly advocated by their proponents. No other person can become an authority on what you believe.

My second suggestion is that you make sure that your beliefs square with the known facts of life. Test your beliefs often, by subjecting them to experiment and observation. Belief is not credulity, but faith based on seasoned judgement. It is unfortunate that the term 'faith' has ever been confused with the blind acceptance of guesses supposed where knowledge failed. Guesses there must be when there is no knowledge, but they are to be verified not by myth and magic but by test and experiment. As Thomas Henry Huxley expressed it, 'The man of science has learned to believe in justification not by faith, but by verification'.

My third suggestion is that you be willing to change your mind in the light of new knowledge. Even your most thoroughly tested set of convictions cannot be held dogmatically. New facts are constantly being discovered and this requires that we should never make up our minds permanently as to any belief. Every belief must be held tentatively as we eagerly seek new facts by which our previous judgements are weighed and tested. But this does not mean that we are not to hold convictions, or express them, or

try to live by them. Emerson expressed this idea exactly when in his essay on 'Self-reliance' he said, 'Speak what you think now in hard words, and tomorrow speak what tomorrow thinks in hard words again, though it contradict everything you say today'.

ONE ORGANIC WHOLE

Now all that I have said so far is by way of an introduction to my own personal philosophy of life on which I have been working for many years. It is still far from complete and will probably be changed from time to time. I hope you will find my ideas rational, even if a little unusual, consistent if not entirely systematic, and believable in terms of modern knowledge, even if radical in terms of inherited traditions.

There are two words in my philosophy, the two words of my subject, 'unitary' and 'process'. I have mentioned 'process' in conjunction with my remarks about the relativity of truth. The word 'process' is a noun and the word 'unitary' is its most fitting descriptive adjective. I believe in the unitary process. All of reality is one unitary organic whole with no independent parts. So while there are only two words in my philosophy they are words that open up vast possibilities. Believing in process, I am opposed to any theory which maintains that the facts of the universe are to be sufficiently explained only in terms of materialism ; and, believing that the process is unitary, I am opposed to dualism which divides reality into two separate parts such as mind and matter, natural and supernatural, good and evil, God and man, sacred and secular, saints and sinners. Life is process, and the process is unitary.

We can begin very simply and work from there. We can begin with our bodily selves and work up to the stars and prove our theory all along the way. I shall make three points : first, that man is at one within himself ; second, that he is at one with all

humanity ; and third, that he is at one with nature and with the universe.

Take it first of all from the point of view of the human body. In the course of a few years every particle of the body becomes part of the soil and the air as completely as when we die. We say we die but once, but in truth we are dying all the time, sometimes slowly but always surely. Physical existence involves the throwing off of waste matter as we take on new energy-building matter from nature around us. We can only gain as we spend : inhale, exhale ; take on energy, throw off energy ; build up, wear out. Not all parts of the body change equally fast, but every part is in a constant process of change. We get entirely new finger-nails every four or five months, new toe-nails once a year. We get a whole new skin every month. The blood changes its composition constantly. Even the most solid bones are being reconstructed bit by bit with no consciousness on our part. 'The outward man perishes but the inner man is renewed day by day', the Bible says. All parts are being renewed day by day, but so much of the old conditions the new that what we have is evolution, not a fabrication of an engineer.

Now if we are not the same persons physically over a period of time, neither are we the same personalities, although the changes are much more gradual. This process which we see going on within the physical organism is also going on in the brain and in the heart, which is to say in the mind and in the spirit. But this process is so much slower that it provides the continuity which makes you responsible for a ten-year contract and which makes you continue to love your wife or husband, even to grow fonder as the years pass, despite the fact that you are both new persons in a sense. The sane person is the evolving, the growing person, the unitary or integrated person in whom mind and heart, according well, shall make one music.

Our troubles arise from imbalance, from the disintegration caused by frustration. The sick of heart become the sick of mind. The physically ill get sick all over, and the mentally disturbed may actually feel pain. An unloved child may develop asthma, and a chronically gassy baby may turn eventually into a juvenile delinquent. Many an unfortunate financial venture has developed stomach ulcers. Hypnosis may relieve pain. Be careful of the man who has just met a hated rival when he takes his car out on the road. 'The human mind', says Dr. Winfred Overholzer, one of the world's leading psychiatrists, 'is an abstraction. It is an inconclusive word which signifies the sum total of the ways in which an individual acts as a whole person to the stimuli, internal and external, which are constantly playing upon him.'

THE UNITY OF MANKIND

This philosophy at which I have arrived, or rather that I am groping for, might be clearer if I turn more directly to the human scene, and I must go on to that. Chemistry and psychiatry are good witnesses for my altogether-as-one theory, but humanity is an even better witness. The unitary process is at work in all human relations. All mankind is one in origin, one in the basic laws of living and, what is exceedingly important for religion, one in destiny. Such racial differences as pigmentation and the structure of the nose and the eyes are merely matters of social and geographical circumstances. The racial friction which we are now witnessing in Negro-White relations particularly in the southern states of America and in South Africa, and the conflicts between Jew and Arab in the Middle East, are but skirmishes in a mopping-up action. Nothing can forever stand in the way of human brotherhood. We belong together. The same blood flows in the white man, the black man, the brown man, the blond and the brunette ; and with the blood flow ab-

the hopes and purposes and prayers of all members of the family of man. In the gain or loss of one race all races have equal claim ; in the plus or minus of one man all men are involved. One moral error on your part and we all falter ; one moral victory for you and we all succeed. We are all in the same boat and headed for the same port. Christians will not land in heaven, Hindus in *nirvāṇa* nor sinners in hell and find the rest of us missing. We are too much alike longer to divide mankind into saints on the one hand and sinners on the other. There is so much good in the worst of us and so much that is bad in the best of us, no firm line can be drawn between us. Goodness and evil are not absolutes. Vices are exaggerated virtues, and virtues out of place easily become vices. Dirt is matter out of place : good in the garden, bad in the house, or as someone has said like hair in butter, like butter in hair. There is nothing wrong with either butter or hair, but each must be in its place.

Take for example the seven deadly sins. Pride is no sin, although it is often classed as the pre-eminent one. A reasonable delight or pride in one's achievement or possessions or position is in keeping with self-respect. It is the context, the frame of circumstances, the exaggeration, which makes for goodness or for evil. It is pride out of place, as in strutting, that makes a vice of it. The opposite of pride which is meekness is often praised as a virtue ; but meekness exaggerated leads to the loss of self-respect, as in grovelling, and is just as vicious as pride. The six other deadly sins should be regarded in the same light. Covetousness is ambition run rampant ; lust is the turning of healthy sexual desire into a degrading passion ; anger is fuming at the wrong thing ; gluttony is the misuse of a good appetite ; envy is the exaggeration of competition, and sloth is the virtue of taking life peacefully and tranquilly carried to an ex-

treme. So my philosophy not only eliminates the false line between saint and sinner, but also between virtue and vice, *per se*.

But let us go another step. Not only is a man ideally at one within himself and at one with other men wherever they may live, but he is also ideally at one with nature. Man and nature are essentially involved together in the unitary process, which is to say that man is a part of nature, not apart from nature. He is no stranger sojourning for a while on the earth from some eternal home above the skies. 'The same kind of life that energizes my body runs throughout the world, not only in other human beings but also in animals and even in the plants. Or as Rabindranath Tagore expressed it, 'The same stream of life that runs through my veins night and day runs through the world and dances in rhythmic measure', to which Swami Vivekananda's famous statement might be added : 'Look at the ocean and not at the wave ; see no difference between ant and angel. Every worm is the brother of the Nazarene.'

The consciousness and responsibility which human beings possess in varying degree is shared by the animals also in varying degree. In some respects animals are superior to us. Dogs have keener hearing, insects a keener sense of smell, hawks are speedier. Undoubtedly men are wiser but we could learn much from the ants and the bees. There is much of the animal still in us, much of the brute ; but there is also much more in man, much that is potential of spiritual development, and that 'much more' is the stuff of religion.

Also, so far as nature is concerned, I see the stars as made of the same substance. The universe is self-sustaining, self-creating, and forever acting in accordance with an internal principle, and I see the principle that governs them as governing us. The elements circle around us continuously, never at rest, never deviating, but moving in a unitary

way in the process of the atoms and the suns. Each atom of the myriad pattern, from the invisibly small to the immeasurably great, is alive and fulfilling its function in the ceaseless creating and sustaining of life. The atoms ascend and descend through the scale of life, borne by the air, washed by the rain, buried in the soil, caught up by the roots, carried through the sap, stored in the seed and in the fruit, rising to completer life in the animal and becoming part of the mechanism of thought and feeling that are in man. Cast out by the process they begin again their ceaseless wanderings in the soil, in the body of the microbe and in the brain of the human being. It is all one unitary whole, one endless process and there are no independent parts.

In the midst of all this and from our own perspective as individuals we are concerned as to what our place is. Manifestly we stand in a brief point in time on an insignificant dot in space. We are surrounded by about a million other living species and two billion other human beings on the earth and no telling how many other beings on the countless stars. We are temporary organisms with octillion atoms stirring in each of us, and with no more consciousness of what is unfolding before us in the mighty drama of the continuing creation than a butterfly that blunders into a theatre is conscious of the plot of the play being performed on the stage. We realize, I hope, something of the stupendousness of it and also that we are participants in the mighty drama that is far grander than our forebears ever dreamed.

FROM SCIENCE TO RELIGION

What does this point of view, which I have tried to present as simply as possible, do to our religious concepts? First I would say that this modern scientific way of looking at the universe, earth, man, and nature, as being essentially a unitary whole, and as process rather than as substance, is a re-

markably religious turn for science to take, and we need religious terms to express the essentially spiritual significance of it. The arch foe of religion in the past has been materialism, and modern science has said 'goodbye' to materialism. That is why it seems to me that the scientific method is likely to produce a highly spiritual experience and lead the spiritually-minded man to a more powerful mysticism than was the religious mysticism of other days. I suggest that the new mysticism will be a part of the scientific experience and not apart from it.

Second, I would affirm my conviction that there are tremendously important and valid spiritual experiences which have not been, and possibly cannot be, adequately tested by the laboratory method or explained in the language of science, such feelings as love and joy and reverence and compassion—feelings that touch us all. These qualities of spirituality should not be subject to purely cold, objective analysis such as we encounter in the world of advanced science any more than they should be subject to the soothsayers who credit them with supernatural origin.

Third, I would submit that the old terms of religion, including the term 'God' in any of its forms, may be cherished as important in history as man's effort to put into words his feeble understanding and his craving desire to apprehend life's meaning and its worth. I believe that my point of view enhances belief in God or in Deity, whether in the Christian or the Hindu tradition, but that it changes the concept enormously. Whatever 'God' concept we have should logically be placed, I believe, within the process of the continuously creative cosmos. It may well be that the term 'God', particularly in the Christian frame of reference, has become so restricted to the dualism which underlies Christian theology that we shall need a more meaningful

word to identify eternal force which works within rather than upon the universe—a unitary process which in my opinion should definitely replace dualism. As Dr. L. P. Jacks expressed it in his book *A Living Universe*: 'All is alive, and it is one life, plainly an immortal life, that animates the whole. . . . The universe is not a machine to be exploited but a being to be loved.' And I might also quote Sir Francis Young-husband who said: 'For me personally the most reasonable view is to regard the universe as one vast being out of which I was born, in which I always remain, and of which I am an active constituent part. . . . As one of the tiny cells of which I am made might struggle to know what I, in my fullness, am like so I am striving to know what the 'I' of the universe is like.'

What does this theory do to Christianity? With the probability of life on a hundred million other planets with trillions of sentient beings, each a part of the same infinite spirit, it is hardly to be expected that the scheme of salvation devised for us earthlings, whereby sinful man is supposedly redeemed by the sacrifice of God's only son, should also apply to them. Shall we send missionaries to convert the Martians? If so, then, to what? Jesus could hardly be expected to die a million deaths for the sinners on a million planets.

So let's leave it at this: we shall begin to rethink religion in terms of the new revelations. We shall affirm that all existence, all activity, all development of life, whether in its physical or in its psychical or in its spiritual aspects or in other aspects, is to be

known in reference to one, ultimate principle or substance. There are many ways of applying this concept, but I am concerned just now with the religious application. And religiously applied it means simply this: that you and I belong. We are that principle in concretion. We are that principle exploding into human existence. We are that principle incarnated into personality. We, too, are the eternal substance or principle made flesh. The qualities of God are our qualities, the eternity of God is our personal possession, the immortality of God is our own immortality. You, too, in your own unique way, are the fulfilment of such ideals as mercy, pity, peace, and love. You are the incarnation of wisdom and justice and universal goodwill. Their fashioning into reality depends upon you. The responsibility is yours, and the privilege, and the honour, and the reward.

The astronomer Harlow Shapley looked out upon the astounding universe and wrote a wonderful book about it called *Of Stars and Men*, and the best thing he said in the book is 'We belong'. We belong to something beyond description in its power and glory and dominion. The apostle Paul said it better long ago in words that are as modern as the radio signals from the latest satellite. He said, 'Even the creation waits with eager longing for the sons of God to be revealed'. Perhaps Tagore said it even better: 'The revelation of the infinite in the finite, which is the motive of all creation, is not seen in its perfection in the starry heavens, in the beauty of the flowers. It is in the Soul of man.'

DRAMA AS THE LABORATORY OF MEANINGFUL ACTION

W. H. DAWES

This is the second of a series of seven lectures on 'Spiritual Foundations of Western Culture' given by Miss Winifred H. Dawes at the Institute early this year, and sponsored by the Spalding Trust of Oxford, England.

IN THE first lecture we discussed, in some detail, scientific method, which we found to proceed from hypothesis, proof by empirical experiment, and analysis to establish a general law. Now a method is something men use for a desired end. We cannot therefore call this science our 'spiritual foundation'. It is a tool and, as such, can bring great benefits if rightly applied. But when a general law, established by scientific method, is accepted as being authoritative for universal truth, as it often is by people undisciplined in the rigorous training required for research science, then there is great danger of the tool using the man. This is indeed the particular peril which threatens the West today. The question now poses itself, How true is science?

We have noted that the first step in the process—hypothesis—is an imaginative one. It is an insight which comes to a scientist in the course of his observations, which he later proves. There is nothing reprehensible in this preliminary imaginative leap, inspired guess, insight, or whatever we may call it. When it is applied in the realm of moral action in the world, it is called faith. This is the way our minds work. There is always some part of the process of our thinking which we cannot explain, so we must always submit our discoveries to a rigorous testing before we ask our fellow beings to accept them. When the scientist's proof is accepted by other specialists in the field of his studies it remains valid until someone

else's inspired guess, similarly proved, demands its amendment. Research scientists are usually modest persons who are well aware what they are doing and rarely make the exaggerated claims of the applied scientist, but even they may forget that they use something to convey their findings, both to themselves and to the world at large, which they take for granted without proof. This is a great gift which has been submitted to another sort of proof in the long process of time, ever since man first lisped his mother's name, so that it is accepted and understood not by specialists alone but by a whole race of human beings. This gift is language. Now the growth of language also proceeds in a similar way, from inspired guess, confirmation of the meaning with fellow men, and setting out the findings in an orderly pattern to establish the truth of experience. Language however demands a much more comprehensive confirmation, and its pattern, or ordering, covers a much larger field of experience of vastly longer duration.

How marvellous is a word! Have you ever thought about it? If I say one word—'crash'—one little syllable, there is not a soul in the whole English-speaking world who would not be stirred by some memory of experience to know what I mean. The memories will be different, but the meaning will be the same. I see in all the eyes the gleam of intelligence, and in that we are linked. Not only my contemporaries will respond; if I were to read that word in some ancient manuscript—even if it were as

old as Mohenjo-daro—my own eyes would gleam, and I would be linked with experience as old as the hills.

Now a great poet may use these little objects, words, these delicate suspirations of breath, with skill and rhythm to play upon our memories and stir us to greater and more comprehensive meanings and, in doing so, establish new words and phrases which become 'coins', that is, accepted tokens of communication, linking us in life's experience. Of course, words are thus also a sort of tool, even as scientific method is. This is probably at the bottom of Plato's fear of poets, expressed in his *Republic*, even though he was one of the greatest of poets himself. But Plato also knew the absolute necessity of proving the meaning by experience. His exhaustive reasoning in his dialogues is his proof, which he asks us to accept through the mouth of Socrates who is prepared to prove the meaning with his life. It is moral proof which is hammered out in the experience of life. He was right in fearing that the words of other poets who were not also active philosophers might not be subject to the same exhaustive enquiry. I feel he might have been justified even in excluding the research scientist who based his finding upon hypothesis, insight as questionable as the poet's, but proved only by empirical experiment and analysis and not by the whole experience of life. But what would he say to the modern habit of the indiscriminate coining of false words from initial letters of phrases describing function? UNESCO, SEATO, NATO, METO, are some of these. Some of us may know what these mean, or if we do not we may take the trouble to enquire into the real words they represent and gain a certain knowledge based on our own interpretation; but what can we make of ANZUS? This stands for Australia, New Zealand, and the United States, I am told. Even the initial letter of the noun that unites them is dropped here. Are we in for a

geography lesson or is someone murmuring in his sleep? The habit is spreading. We can now say A.Y.M. for the angry young man. The foolish habit is even creeping into literary criticism. I can well imagine a vigorous outburst from an indignant Milton if he could hear his great epic referred to, as today, as the P.L. It might have been worth while, though, to have given him this mild shock if it could have produced another *Areopagitica* from a righteously angry old man, and so brush aside all the filibustering gibberish we sometimes hear, and thus grant all men freedom to understand all that is being said.

Of course I am not saying that all poets are free from the habit of obscurantism. It may come about because the poet is struggling to bring new meaning to birth, even as is the research scientist, because he is still fumbling for the new word. In order not to be deceived into calling these immature words wisdom or truth, let us look at the methods of the poet-philosophers of the past, those creators of language who knew what they were about.

THE GROWTH OF DRAMA

In the golden age of Greece the drama was the scientific laboratory of the word. Here the idea was tested out in action before an audience, to see where it might lead. Was the idea good, and was it true? Was it a worthy offering to Dionysus so that Athens might develop towards a harmonious union of culture and civilization? The city state was the ideal. It must be true to the gods and to men. The good moral practice was more important even than the gods for these too, if found lacking, were guided into better ways in the name of the Unknown God, that is, the truth that lies in the basic conscience of mankind. We must not forget that these gods were the symbols of abstract thought to the early Greeks and also that conscience here means precisely what it says,

the 'together-knowing' power of all mankind past, present, and future. This power is not fully conscious, not even today, for it is that still, small voice which is destined to sing the great song of truth. Now the Greeks were in that stage of development when poetry, which carries the burden of the song, was becoming philosophy; that is, men were seeking to understand the very springs of meaning—'know thyself'. The culture was becoming mature. It was seeking also to know what was justice among men.

I have said that the Olympian gods were symbols for abstract thought. We now have, in current use, the words for this abstract thought, 'vengeance', 'passion', 'reason', 'continuity'. What is an abstract word? It describes a quality, common to many particulars, abstracted to the unity of a symbol for easier communication of thought. The Greeks never forgot that the particulars were human, nor that the unity desired was universal truth. Today we may have abstract terms floating freely without concrete meaning, or we may take the trouble to verify their meaning in a dictionary. The Greeks, however, needed to see these terms in action. Hence the Olympic drama; hence, also, the Erinyes, or Furies, for primitive justice; Prometheus for human will, Apollo for understanding, Athena for reason, Tethys for continuity. All these are personifications; and worship, or worthiness, was related to the ideal of harmonious relationship between heaven and earth, gods and men, thought and action.

The subjugation of the Erinyes to reason is the main theme of the *Oresteia* of Aeschylus. They represented the old justice by vengeance. To a city state, becoming sedentary and settling down to reasonable living, they were dangerous. They were an inheritance from the primitive nomadic past with their fiercely implacable demand for blood. By the action of this trilogy we are

brought to face the unreasonableness of their demand that a son should kill his mother. But we also face the implications of the justice that demands retribution for the chain of events which has brought the characters to this tragic dilemma. It is something beyond the mind of man to answer, so the gods themselves, Athena for reasonableness, and Apollo for rationality, take part in the argument. Athena's proves the superior wisdom, and Apollo submits to the verdict. The Furies also have their say and most vigorously defend their cause, but in the end they, too, see reason. They are honoured by a temple outside the city where they become the guardians of Athena. By this means, the development of a moral code, the furious energies wasted in the old blood feuds are canalized to the public good, and the people are educated to new ways.

Tragedy here is too serious to be called propaganda, in the modern debased meaning of the word. It is man struggling for reasoned comprehension. Here we have something like the evolution of consciousness which is even more vital and important than the evolution of species as propounded by Darwin. Darwin examines the outward objects, the evidence of the past. The Greeks were submitting *themselves* to test in these Olympiads, both physically and spiritually, to attain wholeness. In the drama they attained memory and foresight. Aeschylus shows this consciousness evolving through Prometheus, the Titan, bound to the rock of accepted but ossifying customary law, submitting to agonizing suffering in order that man may be free to become illumined by Nous, the power of consciousness from the gods, symbolized by fire which was stolen by Prometheus.

Two currents of thought proceed from Nous; these are Idea and Law. These two currents are always in conflict and yet they are the necessary counterparts of each other. Law is always ossifying into the past, while Idea, custodian of a greater destiny, strives

towards the future. Past and future : here is time coming into consciousness as a process with Nous as the continuity which holds it together. That which continues in time is greater than time, Nous. Here is the inherent tragic issue which mankind must face. The Greeks were not afraid to submit themselves to the test. Only twice in the history of mankind has a whole culture possessed the moral stamina to accept the implications of this issue and express it in drama : the Greeks of the fifth century B.C., and the English of the first Elizabethan period. We often hear it said that an historical sense was coming into being in these early times. Perhaps it was, but we must never forget that history is not time. History is made by man interpreting by the light of his own thought the events of time which he finds lying in its wake. Time is consciousness evolving in a continuous process whose beginning and end is linked to the judgement seat of God. A significant event occurring in this process of time will be an evolutionary step of consciousness which will change the meaning, that is, the interpretation of the whole. Such an event occurred in the birth of Christ between these two great periods of the art of tragedy. Let us now look at the difference in the viewpoint that this event produced.

CATHARSIS

First of all, a word about this strange art of tragedy. Why does tragedy possess such a hold over our imagination that we experience delight, a release which the Greeks called catharsis, as we watch events which we would avoid like the plague in real life ? Is it not that, as we watch the final dissolution of the characters on the stage, our own vision is purged and our grasp of the moral implications of life is surer ? Tragedy is inherent in this earthly life. The more a man earnestly seeks self-fulfilment the more he is aware of tragedy, for by his search he produces conflicts of faiths and loyalties : faiths

where he turns towards enlightenment, and loyalties when he faces the world of man around him. Each of these individuals whom he sees in the world will likewise possess faiths which he holds by the light of his own soul according to its stage in development. He will also have some particular loyalties towards others which are his commitments to his circumstances, and which are determined by past experience. The tragic situation occurs at the moment when a faith and a loyalty conflict. When these are aligned face to face there can be no compromise. Either the loyalty is accepted, and faith, which was the personal illumination, dies ; in which case disintegration of the personality ensues, or the faith is held and the loyalty is forsworn, bringing a reaction from one's fellows against which one must risk even life. The *Bhagavad-Gītā* also is concerned with this tragic dilemma, and here Śrī Kṛṣṇa's advice to Arjuna on the battlefield is to remain firm to his faith, even though his relatives are ranged against him on the opposing side.

The art of tragedy is the drama in which we watch, fascinated, these opposing forces *in action*. The eternal Now bringing in the new, because it comprises within itself both past and future, is ranged against the determinisms of time and space which draw their origin from only the past. The antithesis of past and future, youth and age of spirit, the dignity of personality, and the mind of the beehive, are all seen in action towards the realization of spiritual illumination, even as are the stirrings of growth in response to the first shaft of spring sunshine. As Śrī Kṛṣṇa finally discloses, however, the conflict is illusory. There is never any doubt that the all-comprehending life of the spirit will prevail, for it contains all the rest. There is some hint of the realization of this truth by the tragic characters of Shakespeare, which ennobles them at the end.

The art of tragedy, therefore, reaches its

highest achievement in those cultures where the issues of faith and loyalty most occupy the mind of man. There is here an honest attempt to face them squarely although they are not fully understood. There is no retreat from the problem to a sentimental self pity which would shirk the responsibility of man's place as mind, *Nous*, in the universe ; neither has man progressed to that stage of consciousness which is fully aware that these antipathies are also dependent upon each other ; the positive and negative poles which are the evidence of the vital current of life. Whichever wins, faith or loyalty, in tragedy the stage must still be littered with human dead, for bodies are the weapons of spiritual forces. Where the two forces do achieve a synthesis, that is, in the maturity of a culture, where the ideals of the new faith are accepted and those of past loyalties are being enlarged into them, then is time ripe for the productions of genius to light the candle of meaningful words that all humanity may see. Dante does it for the individual soul—a pilgrimage through hell, purgatory, to the beatific vision. Shakespeare, more detached and recognizing the dignity of *all* men, shows by his dramatic art the same strivings and fallings by the wayside of each of the characters. Imagination, wherein the Word is first revealed, is symbolized in the former by Beatrice. In Shakespeare there is necessarily no one female symbol, for each man sees as becomes his 'time of day', although one symbol would doubtless be appropriate which combined the qualities of his Miranda, Hermione, and Perdita, the clear-eyed vision of youth, the steadfastness of motherhood, and the tender care of both which inspires Perdita's wish :

Now, my fairest friend,
I would I had some flowers o' the spring,
that might
Become your time of day ; and yours, and
yours,

That wear upon your virgin branches yet
Your maidenheads growing : O Proserpina,
For the flowers now, that frightened thou let'st
fall

From Dis's waggon ! daffodils,
'That come before the swallow dares, and take
The winds of March with beauty ; violets,
dim,

But sweeter than the lids of Juno's eyes
Or Cytherea's breath ; pale primroses,
'That die unmarried, ere they can behold
Bright Phoebus in his strength— a malady
Most incident to maids ; both oxlips and
'The crown-imperial ; lilies of all kinds,
'The flower-de-luce being one ! O, these
I lack,

To make you garlands of ; and my sweet
friend,
To strew him o'er and o'er.

Given all these, especially the 'flower-de-luce being one', which surely refers to the Trinity, then the small self of man would not die before it 'beholds bright Phoebus in his strength'. 'In my flesh shall I see God' ; then that which was lost is found.

Perdita's beautiful speech confirms that she is a sort of Proserpine herself, and Hermione, the mother who loses and then finds her lost daughter, is a Ceres. By such means does the poet gather up the experience of the past and give it a new emphasis inspired by the holy spirit of charity, 'the flower-de-luce being one', which is the mark of the new consciousness. The lessons which Shakespeare shows are concerned with growth of the personality, with individual character freeing itself from the inevitability of fate. There is now something greater than *Hubris* and *Nemesis*. The unknown God is becoming known. Shakespeare is like the Greeks, holding up the mirror to nature, suiting the action to the word and the word to the action. This mirror of the mind, for that is what it is, must not be bounded by a frame of ulterior, egotistical motives, but

must be more like a crystal wherein is reflected universal truth.

This is the meaning conveyed in the original dionysian concept of catharsis : a purification of vision, so that the emotions are not wasted but are controlled by wisdom conceived as goodness, beauty, and truth. Shakespeare brings in another control, the greatest, charity. His sonnet No. 116 expresses it beautifully :

Let me not to the marriage of true minds
Admit impediments. Love is not love
Which alters when it alteration finds,
Or bends with the remover to remove :
O, no ! it is an ever-fixed mark,
That looks on tempests, and is never shaken ;
It is the star to every wand'ring bark,
Whose worth's unknown, although his height
be taken.
Love's not Time's fool, though rosy lips and
cheeks
Within his bending sickle's compass come ;
Love alters not with his brief hours and
weeks,
But bears it out even to the edge of doom :
If this be error, and upon me proved
I never writ, nor no man ever loved.

This idea of a love which possesses all the stoic qualities of Prometheus and is unaffected by the fading epicurean delights of time, a love which is not time's fool, and therefore is greater than time, is the new moral quality which has come into consciousness between the two periods of the art of tragedy that of Greece and Elizabethan England.

Shakespeare's tragedies are expositions of the various impediments which can obscure imaginative insight, and in the course of the drama we see their removal by the growth of the character.

In his tragedies, Shakespeare is pre-eminently concerned with the conflict between loyalties and faiths. Faith is the vision in the imagination, and this will be imperfect if the imagination is clouded. Through

the experience of suffering, imperfect vision is cleared before the eyes of the audience. Even sin teaches. Macbeth, deeply involved, gives a pearl of wisdom on the value of sleep, beside which all that the witches can tell him of crowns and glory falls into low price. Shakespeare clearly shows us that the motivating forces in the clouded view are aggression, pride, ambition ; but the enlightened view reveals that the only lasting ones are gratitude, forgiveness, humility, steadfastness and the recognition of the 'benefit of ill' where 'better is by evil still made better'.

In tragedy the art of drama is frankly ethical. Its stuff is life-and-death, which it presents through the emotions of pity and fear - pity for the life that must suffer, and fear for the death that threatens--and the catharsis of these emotions, which takes place in the beholder, is the mystery of the satisfaction one feels when a pattern or order has been given by art to life's experience, making it in some way comprehensible. When this same experience occurs in an individual's life as an attitude to the tragic issue in his personal experience, the process is called, in Christian terms, redemption. In Shakespeare we see the spirit purged ; the mystery consciously known ; blind desire turning into enlightened faith, in the unfolding of the drama.

The Word is born in the imagination. 'In the beginning was the Word ; behold Him to whom Mary listened. And the Word was made flesh ; behold Him whom Martha served', says Saint Augustine. Shakespeare's women characters perform the office of creative imagination inspiring the action of the play. As he depicts them, whether as misunderstood, despised, or loved, and if loved by what kind of love, so can we judge the condition of the vision upon which the hero founds his faith. The women are pointers by which we could prophesy the end of the play. When Macbeth says 'Can'st thou not

minister to a mind diseased?', it is his own clarity of vision that needs the physician as well as the mind of Lady Macbeth, for he has allowed her to poison his own conscience. When Ophelia drowns, it is Hamlet's creative imagination which is being submerged in a chaos of rational questioning of life's issues on a basis of doubt instead of faith.

The idea of freedom for all men, humanism, is the mark of the Renaissance. Thus the material which art has to deal with is so much more complicated than when one man, or a small group of men, may impose interpretation. This mirror held up to nature must reflect all types and all interpretations of human nature. Something of the multiple vision which Dante incorporated in his *Divine Comedy*—the literal, the allegorical, the moral, and the anagogical—must be brought also to the appreciation of Shakespeare's tragedies. As stories they appealed to the Elizabethan love of pageantry, of murder, ghosts, and intrigue, and as such they could be enjoyed literally, even as were the old ballads, legends, and stories, already well known, which Shakespeare did not hesitate to retell.

Some of these stories translated ancient myths of deep spiritual significance: this, Shakespeare skilfully brought out relating it by allusion to his own day. *Titus Andronicus*, for example, embodies the myths of Semiramis and Philomela. *Lear* has much that recalls the Celtic legend of the hero, Lir. *Coriolanus* harks back to Penelope. In this respect all these can be seen as allegories. That the plays are also concerned with moral values on the social level is obvious—money lending and commodity, equivocation, Old Gobbo working out his social obligations, Polonius's advice to Laertes on behaviour, the references to parental respect in *King Lear*, the degree speech in *Troilus and Cressida*, are all examples.

The profoundest level of all, however, the

level that makes them masterpieces for which the insight of genius was necessary in order to create, and a full lifetime of experience for us fully to appreciate, is the anagogical, or spiritual, level. For here catharsis is akin to redemption as the soul of the hero, and, with him, the collective soul of the audience, pass through suffering to enlightenment. In this complex, fugal form of expression in Shakespeare's plays we see a medieval characteristic but with a distinctly individualist flavour indicated in the importance placed upon man's responsibility to his own conscience, the product of humanism. Dante would probably have placed a mark upon Hamlet's brow and left him in his appropriate part of hell to suffer but not to strive. The abandoned Lear could not have been for him one of God's spies. 'Abandon hope all ye that enter here', says Dante, for his poem is a spiritual autobiography of his own salvation. The other characters of the *Divine Comedy* are somewhat like stage properties and are subordinate to this central theme. But in Shakespeare's 'darkest hell' there is always a gleam of hope which shows its presence in the subtle delineation of the development of character through experience in the drama of life. This is Shakespeare's chief contribution to the art of tragedy and distinguishes him not only from the Greek tragic genius but also from the early Renaissance. It springs from his conception of the conflict of faith and loyalty in the individual, loyalty to the implications of old dispensations, and faith in the self. Often the character follows desires or ambition, placing faith on false foundations. This is the experience which brings the knowledge of the real that leads 'from darkness into light'.

SHAKESPEARE'S TRAGEDIES

Let us look at his tragedies more closely, bearing these ideas in mind. *Titus Andronicus* is primarily about justice. *Titus* is

the commencement of the play, bases his faith in justice upon the word of an earthly emperor. To this faith he sacrifices his loyalty to his own family, kills his own son, and breaks with Bassianus regarding his promise of marriage to his daughter Lavinia. In this he is somewhat like Lear, for he will not allow love for his children to thwart his will and he turns upon them. In doing so he violates God's justice, that he may help establish the imperfect one of Rome which is impersonated in Saturninus. In Tamora, like another Lady Macbeth, we see Saturninus's evil imagination advising him to withhold any feeling of dishonour because she will find a way to massacre all who stand in his way. Thereby God's justice is again violated and this double betrayal reflects itself in the severed hands of Lavinia, Titus's daughter, and the broken and scattered limbs of Rome. The body politic and domestic is maimed because evil is enthroned in Rome. Lavinia is also tongueless and gestureless; her lute, the pure imagination which could have reflected the Word of God, is silent for evermore. Again, we can see Shakespeare portraying in the woman character the state of the imagination which inspires the man. For Titus, imagination is now atrophied and silent: he is cut off from the Word.

In his scenes of madness, Shakespeare very often shows the unconscious feeling for wisdom in the mind of the character: a greater wisdom than is possible for the intellect still shrouded in its errors. It is as if the intellect breaks under the strain of imposing its limited view upon reality and the growing soul bursts through in what appears to be madness. But it is a necessary and curative madness. Such a crisis attends Titus in *Titus Andronicus*, Act III Sc. ii and his strange behaviour concerning the killing of the fly is not the weakness of a doting mind but the shifting values of a growing soul. The eyes of the mind close that the eyes of the soul may see. This

scene points by antithesis to the same but vicious act of Marcus towards the fly whilst his own action is paralysed towards the enthroned evil against which Titus strives.

The archery scene portrays Titus at last with his faith in Roman justice completely broken, and seeking in desperation justice from other gods, Pluto, Jove, and Mars. The reply from Pluto is Tamora, disguised as Revenge with her attendant sons, Rapine and Murder. When society cannot maintain just order itself, these are the forces that take over. But Titus is now fully aware. He does not accept this justice and plans the dreadful meal for Tamora which can be seen as the power of perverted and blind imagination which counsels revenge and, unable to grow because its errors are wilful, is now forced to consume itself. We see here the metaphor enacted. Justice that seeks recompense by revenge needs the assistance of Rapine and Murder, its own offspring, in disguise, which it must perforce consume.

Turn now to *Julius Caesar*. We find here depicted a fall from universal to particular standards, and the theme is honour. Honour is portrayed from the point of view of the idea of the divinity in man. Caesar is a figure-head who like a Colossus 'doth bestride the narrow world; and we petty men walk under his huge legs, and peep about to find ourselves dishonourable graves', so speaks the jealous Cassius. 'The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars, but in ourselves that we are underlings.' True, too true. But how do we set about to correct the fault in ourselves? Do we put our faith in the sword? Let us see.

Caesar is more than man. He is a *deus* whose role is 'to be', but the three triumvirs who supplant him are men and equal to each other. They must find their criterion of values in themselves as men whose role is 'to do'. We note that in Act III Sc. i Antony's servant loves and honours Brutus

but loves, honours, and fears Caesar. For Brutus, honour is associated with the general good; 'I love the name of honour more than I fear death', and he has 'pity for the general good of Rome'. Although a man, he is the noblest of the three, for he is the most sensitive to the wrong he does Caesar and can only reconcile himself to the deed as a sacrament for the general good; a scruple Cassius does not feel, for he would kill Antony, too, for safety's sake. What, in Brutus, seems like hesitation to Cassius, is really a greater nobility. He acts disinterestedly and he has that certain 'awe of self', which Cassius condemns, because he is aware of the divinity within, although, at the same time, he does not fully trust it. As Casca says of him at the end of Act I, 'His countenance, like richest alchemy, will change (all) to virtue and to worthiness'.

This is the quality of leadership which he possesses, and which Cassius would commandeer by the device of the letter thrown in at the window. Obviously it is a quality he does not possess himself. Honour for Cassius is 'not to be in awe of such a thing as I myself'. We see how Shakespeare is, continually referring us to the ultimate judge of our acts, our true self. Can we be at ease with this or are we trying to fly from it? Cassius realizes he was born as free as Caesar and would be as Caesar, not realizing that freedom depends upon a recognition of the universal quality for which Caesar stands. That this is so will become obvious in the chaos that ensues after Caesar's fall, when each man sets up his own individual standard in competition with the others. Brutus, although the nobler, does not realize this, hence his inner conflict. He has not complete faith in Caesar. Universality seems like ambition to him and he fears that the *deus* will become man enough to take advantage. 'Thus Caesar must die -- but as a sacrifice.

How psychologically right is that quarrel which comes between Brutus and Cassius! Brutus has not faith in Caesar and Caesar is sacrificed for the general good; Cassius has not faith in Brutus, and charity, as brotherly love, would also be sacrificed, but for Brutus's saving of it. There is no hesitation in Brutus in this quarrel where the issues are clear to him. He upholds his own throughout and Cassius is greatly shocked. We have seen that Brutus had earlier in Act II Sc. i dispensed with oath-making between the conspirators. For honour, to him, this is not necessary, but Cassius would make all secure by contract or intrigue. The different standards of the two men are clear and were bound to clash sooner or later. However, brotherly love was strong enough to 'look on tempests and not be shaken', because Brutus willed it so. And what Brutus did for Cassius, Caesar would also have done for Brutus, if Brutus only had had faith enough to believe so.

We turn now to another play of the disintegrating Roman Empire, *Antony and Cleopatra*. The control of the State is here divided among three triumvirs. In what can these three base their faith for action which can lead to unity of command. It is natural for dissension to arise between them as each answers in his own way. Antony follows the fascinating allurements of his own desire. His spring of action centres around Cleopatra; duties to self, to the State, and to Octavia, are all subservient to her magnetic power. In the famous 'description of her by Enobarbus it is her barge, the love-sick winds, the silver oars and anurous flutes, her pavilion, her pretty dimpled attendants, her perfumes, all her exotic surroundings that we see, but she herself we do not know; neither does Antony. His vision is blinded and he sees all life awry through the haze of the charms that lull to sleep his better judgement.

I will be treble-sinew'd, hearted, breath'd,
And fight maliciously : for when mine
hours
Were nice and lucky, men did ransom
lives
Of me for jest ; but now I'll set my teeth,
And send to darkness all that stop me.
Come,
Let's have one other gaudy night.

With such a final remark, all that precedes seems only to be either futile struggle to be free or more boasting. But though all is lost at the last, Antony is redeemed by that very love he bears to Cleopatra which after the death of Eros (Eros who dies a Roman death—surely the name is symbolic !) Antony's love becomes a nobler thing, less self-centred, more concerned and imaginative for Cleopatra's welfare, not as a queen of mystery but as a suffering, frail, defenceless human being in the power of Rome. Even though by her foolish deception that she is dead she becomes the cause of the death of Antony, yet he can still with his dying breath, forgive. In this play the faith is, at first, desire which becomes transmuted, in the progress of the action, to nobler love. The loyalties against which it breaks, and which it transcends, are those stoic Roman virtues which Shakespeare would also see, as transcended and redeemed by a nobler faith in Christ.

Turning now to *Romeo and Juliet*, here we see faith in romantic love pitted against the loyalties attaching to the vengeance feud. The characters of Romeo and Juliet do not change greatly in the course of the action. Although they are true to their love they are so in the Roman fashion and die stoically by their own hands. 'Then, I defy you, stars', says Romeo, when he hears that Juliet is dead. This play does not deal with the unclouding of spiritual vision through experience, but is the tragic tale of youthful love caught in the wheel of blind fate, personified by Tybalt. Old Capulet, although

head of the house that perpetuates the feud, is himself an advocate for a new order and would have forgiven. The tragic vein that is inherent in social life needs here the deaths of the innocents to bring this new order into being.

In *Othello*, at the commencement we see a noble character possessed of all that human life could offer. He could hardly have had an unfulfilled desire ; a dangerous position, for there can be no driving force to oppose Iago's will to power. To have been inviolate from the suggestions of Iago, he would have needed to possess a faith in supreme goodness as ardent as desire, that is, to have been a saint, and not Othello. Then he might have seen Desdemona as herself, pure and faithful. Jealousy could never have been inflamed, nor honour assailed. Othello is noble in character. When inspired to act at all, even to kill the one he loves best of all, it must be for principle. 'It is the cause', he says. But earlier we have learned that he loves Desdemona because she loved him for the dangers he has passed and because 'she did pity them'. This is human love and, tender as it is, it is still self-centred. It is in this self-centredness that he really loves, 'not wisely'. Here lies his particular blindness—a subtle vanity which Iago, all unsatisfied desire and therefore all drive, is quick to see and knows where he may 'perplex in the extreme'. Iago cleverly injects his hints in the chinks in the character which pride in its own nobleness leaves unclosed. He would never have succeeded but by suggesting that honour was compromised. Othello loses faith in himself. His vision becomes more and more blinded, until, completely bemused by Iago, he says,

I think my wife be honest, and think she
is not.

I think that thou art just and think thou
art not.

He is deaf to poor Desdemona's defence. Earlier there had been his own defence against the charges of Brabantio when he was winning her as bride. 'What in your own part can you say to this'? had asked the Duke, and the witness Othello was able to call upon to support him was Desdemona herself. But Desdemona, in the fatal bed-chamber, asks similarly for a witness of her innocence and is not heard. 'Send for the man and ask him', she asks of Othello, and is ignored.

The springs of action are all in Iago. It is he who has faith in his own evil purposes and the loyalties against which he pits himself are here sacred ones. 'Evil, be thou my good', is his emblem, and, like Satan himself, he directs the powers of creative imagination underground to erupt in destruction. We note that these powers never come from himself, he can only pervert them when already there. His brain is crafty but not creative, as we see in his poor attempt to entertain Desdemona by praising her in Act II Sc. i: 'Do not put me to it; for I am nothing if not critical'. Every metaphor he uses shows how sunk in corruption is this power in himself. There is no magic in him. As Desdemona says, 'O heavy ignorance! Thou praisest the worst best'. His invention truly comes from his 'pate as birdlime does from frize; it plucks out brains and all'.

The tragedy of *Othello* is one of disintegration of goodness that was at first taken too much for granted, and in that respect vision was blind; but at the end Othello's eyes are truly opened. He sees, at last, Desdemona as she really is, and worldly honour as it really is, and that for its sake he 'threw a pearl away richer than all his tribe', and, noble at the end, he kills himself 'to die upon a kiss'. Iago, seen for what he is, 'a spartan dog', undergoes no development of character, and lives on - like a dog.

Troilus and Cressida is a tale of complete disillusionment—of the break-up of all loyalties. It is one of Shakespeare's bitterest comments upon man strutting his little ego on life's stage, whilst the solidarity of society and home disintegrates around him. In placing the scenes in Greece with the characters bearing the names of Homer's heroes he seems intentionally to point to the fall from nobility which he probably saw in the excesses of mercantile individualism developing around him. There are many references to commerce here. Each of these heroes pursues his own ambition, his own glory, is occupied with his own private quarrels whilst the war between Greeks and Trojans drags out its sullen, indecisive length. The note is struck when we first see them swagging one by one, each alone in his self-approbation, with only two to witness his splendour and to comment upon it—Pandarus and Cressida, a pander and a whore. The point is driven home in Ulysses' speech in Act III Sc. i.

A strange fellow here

Writes me: 'That man, how dearly ever parted,

How much in having, or without or in,
Cannot make boast to have that which he hath,

Nor feels not what he owes, but by reflection;

As when his virtues shining upon others
Heat them, and they retort that heat again
To the first giver.'

Even the most vain, then, and the most selfish, need others to confirm to themselves that little worth! But when all are vain and selfish where shall this confirmation be found?

Ulysses is the wisest of them all and into his mouth Shakespeare puts much sage advice. But even he, to achieve any cohesion among this wayward crew, cannot do otherwise than resort to setting one against the

other.² For when the divine order reflected in the heavens for man's guidance, the order which Ulysses describes thus :

The heavens themselves, the planets, and
this centre
Observe degree, priority, and place,
Insisture, course, proportion, season, form,
Office, and custom, in all line of order ;
And therefore is the glorious planet, Sol,
In noble eminence enthroned and sphered
Amidst the other.

when this is not respected, then order in human affairs is upset and there is no respect for intelligence. Lacking the order of divine unity, then each man fears the order that might be imposed by another man the race is to the strongest and the craftiest.

Love, too, as well as chivalry, degenerates in this unspiritual atmosphere. Diomedes will wear in his helm the token from his lady--the broken pledge of faith to Troilus who truly loves her. There is no change or development in character of anyone in this play. Troilus alone remains true, but we are left uncertain of the issue between him and Diomedes and we are not told the fate of Cressida. Instead we see, at the end of the play, an ignoble display of heroes chasing their personal rivals across the stage in the general disorder of war ; and the final comment is from Pandarus, bequeathing his diseases to posterity.

This play is perhaps best described as a medieval morality play brought up to date to fit Shakespeare's time. Its theme is a masterly portrayal of the cardinal vices of pride and lechery. There are great speeches, heavy with thought and lightened with eloquence. There is wit from Cressida and satire from Thersites, but the quality of enlightenment through pity and fear is lacking :

the quest these heroes pursue does not permit of it. Troilus is the exception and we may pity him, but I am not sure whether we yet fear the effects of despised love.

These last four tragedies which we have considered show the heroes basing their faith in life on human love. In *Antony and Cleopatra*, where it is a stronger, cleaner force than the disintegrating loyalties of imperial Rome, Antony's stature is not diminished, however much we may condemn him politically. Both he and Cleopatra are ardently sincere and their love is ennobled in death. In *Romeo and Juliet* it is clearly justified in the face of ancient loyalties. In *Othello* it is achieved before the play starts, but faith in it is not strong enough to resist impact from outside. Desdemona grows like a fragrant flower in a garden of weeds, all struggling for life, until Othello, reverting to the weeds himself, strangles her. Clearly, to sustain faith, love must completely transcend self, and this Othello does not see until it is too late. In *Troilus and Cressida* human love is never achieved, although Troilus has faith in it, because there is no stability anywhere in that shifting society. There are, in fact, no loyalties against which it can contend--all is corruption and confusion amongst which his love, genuine as it is, struggles for life and is mocked. Is this not Shakespeare's way of indicating one of our spiritual foundations ? What holds all society together, when all others fail through corruption and confusion, but the love that was despised and rejected of men ?

Thus we have seen, in the tragedies which we have so far reviewed, Shakespeare clearing our eyes, transforming our conceptions of the spiritual qualities of justice, honour, and love. We have still to see what he will do with power, but this I must leave for another lecture.

SERVICE CIVIL INTERNATIONAL

RALPH HEGNAUER

International Secretary of the work-camp movement, Service Civil International, Ralph Hegnauer, a Swiss, suffered imprisonment as a conscientious objector against compulsory military service, and worked for the recognition of work-camps as alternative service. The talk reproduced here was given by him last January to the boys of the Institute's Students' Day Home.

I AM very glad to have this opportunity to tell you something about what some of us consider as one of the most significant adventures, happenings, for, let us say, post-school education which came up this century, for this is a century of struggle for freedom and independence. This adventure in self-education is the work of Service Civil International, and I shall try to tell you something of the underlying factors of what these people in the name of Service Civil International are doing. In 1919, after the First World War, there were a lot of people who had the goodwill to want to prevent such a thing as that war occurring again. Being full of goodwill, these people talked a great deal and wrote a great deal, but some of them found that not enough practical things had been or were being done. So, when there was a meeting in Holland in 1919 of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, a German member stood up and said, 'What about we Germans, who are soldiers and have destroyed much in France, trying to reconstruct something that we have destroyed? Let us do something reconstructive in a spirit of reconciliation.' That struck particularly two men, a Swiss, called Pierre Ceresole, and a British Quaker, and they set about to organize what became the first international voluntary work-camp. A group of ten people from different countries went to a village

near Verdun, in France, and helped to reconstruct it. 'Deeds, not Words', was the motto of this group.

I wonder whether you would agree that there are some similarities between the people in Europe then and people in Asia today. There are a lot of people, as I have found since I have been in India, who have very brilliant minds. They work out a lot of good blue-prints, and they have very good ideas that we would like to see put into practice. But these ideas are not put into practice. There are not many people who will put their hands to the work, even in a small way, maybe, but in a practical way to realize something concrete.

WHY MANUAL WORK IS NECESSARY

Now let us go further. When the work-camp movement started forty years ago, there was no question of just doing something for the sake of having done it. Our friends thought over just how they were to do it. Possibly, they could have collected money. I do not think that they were people who could afford much money, but I suppose they could have hired the labour to do their reconstruction work. But if you think deeply about it, you immediately discover that that was not what they really intended. Beneath their intentions lay this very striking fact, the principle of doing something practical in a spirit of reconciliation, by doing it them-

selves, by manual labour, with their own hands ; not making others work, but doing the work themselves as a sign, a deep sign, of solidarity.

Here again may be a parallel for those in India today. Many Indian intellectuals, for one reason or another, are a bit shy of manual work. They think, 'It is not our concern. Let us leave it to other people, to those who are born for that.' I would be sorry if you should feel this way, for manual work has a deep ethical and religious significance. Not only is it necessary in order to feed mankind, but, voluntarily done, by one who is not compelled by economic reasons to do it, it has a very, very deep significance, because it shows his solidarity with others. Anyone who has joined the international voluntary workers, and been in their camps, will know what deep, inner satisfaction comes from blisters on the hands and from a physical tiredness in the evening. What peace of mind this can give, particularly if this work is done in a spirit of reconciliation, or to serve some group in need of help. I invite you to come and help at one of our camps and see for yourselves what work we do, and to experience also the deep satisfaction that it brings.

The work done in the first camp near Verdun could have been considered a failure. It is not so easy to work for reconciliation. Some French people objected to the presence of German volunteers so soon after the war, and the team was invited to dismiss the German volunteers. But the team preferred to go altogether. That might have been the end of this venture, if, four years later, the same organizer, Pierre Ceresole, had not seen something very surprising. He saw, and this is perhaps more difficult for you to understand, he saw a young Swiss going to prison because he refused to do the compulsory military service. You have not yet compulsory military service in your country. You know that Europe believes very

much in this kind of national ground-work for the centralized, powerful military State. Therefore most European countries have compulsory service, and anyone who, on conscientious grounds, or for religious or ethical reasons, refuses to serve, is punished. In some countries heavy punishment up to five years in prison may be awarded. So when Ceresole saw a young man doing this, he had an idea. He thought, 'Why not put these people to an equally hard and severe civilian service?' And that was how he evolved the idea of international voluntary workers. This service became in Switzerland an alternative to compulsory military service for those who, for conscience sake, could not kill.

SELF-DISCIPLINE AND AN INTERNATIONAL SPIRIT

Let us now consider the significance of this, for it involves a number of things. First of all it involves the belief that we should not always, when we get into trouble, look to the State, but we should first of all try to settle our difficulties by our own efforts. And, secondly, it involves something which again might be a problem in present-day India. It is a question of discipline. Which discipline are we going to favour—imposed military discipline, or, what is, you will agree immediately, on a much higher level, voluntarily given self-discipline? I am sure that in principle you will all be in favour of the second. And, in fact, history shows that only where this higher self-education has failed to be accepted by a majority of citizens has the State moved in and imposed discipline.

We believe that the international voluntary work-camps by their principle of the workers living, working, and learning together, are an excellent and congenial training ground for young and older people, to learn this self-education. Only self-disciplined individuals can make a strong group,

and not a bunch of slaves. And only bigger groups, peoples, nations, made up of self-disciplined individuals, make for a great people, for great nations, in the constructive sense of the word.

The last point, perhaps, is that underlying the ideal of the international voluntary work-camps is that third word, 'international'. It is quite clear from what has been said up to now that if all this is to be put in favour of better international understanding, of reconciliation—which originally meant Franco-German reconciliation, and now has expanded to mean general reconciliation—then it is essential that these groups of voluntary workers, whenever possible, should be composed of people from different nations, different backgrounds, different cultures, and different races.

THE WORK THAT IS DONE

Let me now very quickly pass through the last forty years of the development of the movement. It spread very quickly, of course, throughout Europe. In the thirties, the first services in India took place after the severe earthquake and floods in Bihar. In 1948, the first camps in North Africa were held. Later on there were camps in the Middle East. At present the Service Civil International has groups in twenty countries: four in Asia, four in Africa, two in the Middle East, and the rest in Europe. But that is not all. One hundred and fifty national and international organizations have since grown up which carry through much the same work. In all, these hold about three thousand services and camps a year.

To conclude, let me describe the type of work we do. The 'classical' type of work-camp is concerned with rubble-clearing after natural disturbances. Another type is concerned with construction, the building of roads, community centres, schools, wells and, for instance in the Swiss mountains, of small

cheese factories. We may also help peasants to improve their lands by building dams, or we may help them with the harvest. In fact, we do all sorts of manual work, whatever we can to help. But sometimes our work is combined with social activities, and this is particularly the work appropriate to India. We help clean slums, and, in addition, run night schools, kindergartens, dispensaries, boys' clubs, and mothers' clubs. In one slum we are working in now, the people are mostly without work and cannot pay the rent for their houses. So we have tried to find experts who could teach them some way of earning their living by handicrafts. So really our work is unlimited. We are willing to do anything we possibly can to help those in distress and in need.

As a last example I should like to mention the refugees from Algeria, in North Africa. When the refugees first appeared in Tunisia and Morocco, the big relief organizations did not want to interfere, did not want to help, in fact. Why? For political and diplomatic reasons. That was a time when the non-government organizations felt they had a duty to perform; one of these was the S.C.I. We first collected some money and built three homes for stray children who had lost all contact with their parents and families. In the same way, when Tibetan refugees arrived at the Indian border, S.C.I. workers were there to help them. This was much to the credit of our Indian friends.

This brings me to my final point, and it is a most important one. The Tibetan refugees and the Algerian ones were helped with equal devotion by members of the same organization, for the S.C.I. has no political bias. It is not attached to any political bloc, nor does it have anything to do with party politics. It never takes political stands; its aim is to help human beings wherever they may be. Its only attitude is one of goodwill, and of a concern and loving regard for others.

BOOK REVIEW

THE RELIGIOUS FOUNDATIONS OF INTERNATIONALISM. By Norman Bentwich, (George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, second edition, 1959, pp. 303, 21s. U.S. \$5.)

Professor Bentwich's otherwise scholarly work is marred by a strong Zionist undercurrent. At the outset, he pays homage to 'Jerusalem, the City of Peace'. Obviously, he intends to regard Jerusalem as an abstract conception of a peaceful international order; but he draws solely on Judaic tradition, apparently forgetting that the city of peace was the ideal, rather than the reality, of ancient Jewish history, and that as a purely conceptual ideal it was not a unique feature of Judaism; the *civitas Dei* was a common characteristic of many ancient traditions. Later in his book the author says: 'The Jews may be regarded as a barometer of civilization. Where they were persecuted or expelled, civilization declined; where they gained liberty, it advanced.' Although this is not the central thesis of the book, the learned Professor has undoubtedly made a significant contribution to the vast literature on the study of civilization, in which Gibbon, Toynbee, Spengler, and Schweitzer hold no mean places. No student of history worth his salt can fail to be deeply moved by the great triumphs and tragedies, above all by the unparalleled historical resilience of the Jewish race; but Professor Bentwich's implicit acceptance of the theory of the chosen race runs away with that minimum objectivity which alone would satisfy any serious student of history.

Professor Bentwich has not, however, ignored other religions. As a matter of fact, he devotes about half the book to a study of the impact of Christianity on international law and organization. His first conclusion is the generally accepted fact that although Christianity originated as a pacifist religion, it was transformed, from about the

fourth century A.D., into a militant religion in which war was sanctioned and encouraged by the Church, and thus worked against the fundamental principles of a peaceful international order. Nevertheless, 'the prohibitions and orders of the Church, though not always effective, did exercise an insensible action over the transformation of the conduct of war from the unrestricted barbarity of the pre-Christian peoples to the recognition of some law'. This latter tradition, handed down through the institutions of the Roman Empire, truly made, as the author says, a significant contribution to the foundations of international law. A further development took place when, after the Renaissance, some Catholic jurists, like Vittoria of Spain, laid the foundations of a humanitarian international law, and this process found fulfilment after the Reformation in the growth of the modern school of international law headed by the Protestant Dutch jurist, Hugo Grotius, whose emphasis on natural law is, according to the author, a direct result of the application of Christian ethics to international law. At a later date, the American War of Independence was also, according to the author, motivated by the fundamental principles of Christianity. And the French Revolution, which the author regards as 'the fulfilment and completion of the Reformation', universalized these principles in Europe and ushered in a new era in human history. In the modern period, the lop-sided development of a mechanistic civilization in the West and the two World Wars have again led to the search for a universal order based on Christian ethics, except in the Soviet Union.

In his study of Christianity the author seems to have scrupulously avoided any mention of the existing polemical literature on many of the historical trends he has attempted to decipher; and most historians

would find too many flaws in his analysis of history. There is considerable scope for difference of opinion, for instance, regarding the Professor's somewhat cavalier treatment of the supposed chain of causation from Christianity through the Renaissance, the Reformation and the American War of Independence to the French Revolution. Moreover, as the author himself admits, the growth of modern international law had started long before the Reformation. To what extent the major historical events singled out by the author had any direct connection with Christianity on the one hand (with the exception of the Reformation), and with international law and order on the other, would be extremely difficult to determine in the vast welter of historical forces that these events represent.

As regards Islam, the author's conclusion is that the course of its development has been diametrically opposite to that of Christianity, with corresponding consequences for the development of international law and organization in the Islamic world. Islam started as a militant religion, but after the crusades its militancy died down, and since then until the revival of its militancy in the modern period in India and the Middle East, which Professor Bentwich ascribes to foreign domination, Islam remained a peaceful religion.

There is also a brief treatment of the Indian and Far Eastern religions which, on the whole, according to the author, have had a favourable effect on the development of international law and organization. It is interesting to find the author talking of 'the greater peacefulness which appears to be in the nature of the peoples of the East compared to those of the North and the West'. The author laments the recent growth of political militancy in China and Japan, but expresses the rather bold hope that such national fervour will soon be tempered by the religious and ethical faiths of the East.

After discussing the influence of the

Churches on the League of Nations, the author concludes the book on a note of optimism. 'Man must move onwards', Professor Bentwich says, 'through a peaceful nationalism, controlled by international law, recognizing international justice, and inspired with the consciousness of a common humanity, to the City of God.' He also expresses the not too uncommon opinion that humanity will have to undergo a change of heart before all this can be achieved.

An epilogue on international developments since 1932, which has caused the second edition of the book to be brought out, gives an extremely brief and cursory treatment of the role of religion in present-day international relations. For obvious reasons, the author has not found it possible to apply his earlier mode of reasoning to the present international situation; nor has he been able to bring out any satisfactory religious explanation of the virtual bipolarization of international power, which is the dominant feature of contemporary international relations.

The best portions of Professor Bentwich's book are the purely descriptive ones. While there is a vast literature on the origins of international law among the Jews and the Christians, and not much additional knowledge can be gained from this book, the author's analysis of the origins of international law in Islam, Hinduism, and sundry Far Eastern religions like Taoism, Confucianism, and Shintoism, though brief, is a valuable contribution to the thin literature on these subjects. If undue importance is not attached to many of Professor Bentwich's premises and conclusions, the factual material contained in the book would appear to be quite impressive, and would be of great value to students of both International Law and Organization and Comparative Religion.

JAYANTANUJA BANDYOPADHYAY

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

Indian Council for Cultural Relations

Among a number of measures which have been adopted by the Government of India, since Independence, to strengthen and develop cultural relations with other countries, the establishment of the Indian Council for Cultural Relations is of particular interest. The Council was formed in 1949, its objects being closely akin to those which the Institute has been developing for the past twenty-three years, namely and broadly, making Indian culture better known and appreciated in India and in other countries, and creating in India a centre for the study and understanding of other cultures.

In February, the General Assembly of the Council met in Delhi and a report was presented by the Secretary of the Council, Sri Inam Rahman. In this report information was given of the completion of the first phase of Azad Bhavan—the new building for the headquarters of the Council, named after the late Dr. Maulana Azad, who was a friend and co-worker of Mahatma Gandhi, a distinguished scholar, and Minister for Education in the Central Government.

The varied activities of the Council include the holding of lectures, symposia, seminars, and exhibitions. The now well-known Azad Memorial Lectures are of outstanding interest. The inaugural lecture was given by Pandit Nehru, the second, in 1960, by Professor Arnold Toynbee, who spoke on 'Our World and India', and the third in February of this year by the Rt. Hon. Earl Attlee, who spoke on 'The Future of UNO' and 'The Future of Democracy'. These lectures are among the Council's publications which also include translations in Persian and Arabic. Three brochures, *Indian Sculpture* by C. Sivaramamurti, *Folk Songs of India* by Hem Barua, and *Indian Handicrafts* by Kamala Devi Chattopadhyay, and

also three monographs on Sanskrit, Marathi, and Telegu are in the press. In addition the Council issues *Indo-Asian Culture*, in English, *Thaqafatul-Hind*, in Arabic, both quarterly journals, and a bi-monthly bulletin, *Cultural News*.

In 1960, the Council offered hospitality and assistance to over 120 scholars, specialists, and other distinguished visitors from abroad. Travel grants were given to 24 persons coming from America, Iran, East Africa, and Australia for the purpose of study in India, and to Indians for study abroad.

The Council's Students' Service Unit arranges to meet overseas students on their first arrival in India. The Unit also organizes summer camps for overseas and Indian students, gives assistance to students in the form of scholarships, travel grants and loans, provides residential accommodation for students in Bombay, Delhi, Calcutta, and Madras, arranges introductions to Indian families and to paying-guest accommodation, and organizes introduction, or orientation, courses for newly-arrived overseas students. These courses are an attempt to introduce the students to a background knowledge of Indian geography, life, and culture, as well as giving useful hints for living in different regions of the country.

Useful discussions were held in 1960 between the Government of India and Indian universities on ways and means of improving and co-ordinating the work for the welfare of overseas students in India.

A Concept of World Unity

'The ultimate truth of man is not his material possessions, nor intellectual power but the illumination of soul and the extension of sympathy to all those who suffer from pain. To save lives is always more

thrilling than to destroy them.' These words were spoken by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-President of India, on 10 February, when he was inaugurating the International Health Progress Exhibition in New Delhi, organized by the Union Ministry of Health in collaboration with the World Health Assembly.

'The world needs not only peaceful co-existence but also co-operation if it is to be saved from destruction', Dr. Radhakrishnan continued. 'While we are trying to diminish suffering, we are also refining the methods of destruction. I am glad that yesterday some members of the Assembly referred to the banning of nuclear tests which threaten civilization. Conflicts and rivalries are hateful and war is no solution.' The World Health Organization, he added, was silently breaking down the obstacles in the minds of men and preparing them for a world without wars. 'The WHO was a concept of world unity. It recognized health as one of the fundamental rights of every human being.

Sanskrit Studies

With the increasing emphasis, in all countries of the world, on science and technology, there is already the awareness that our educational systems are losing the means by which moral and spiritual values may be imbibed by young people. Dr. K. L. Shrimali, Minister for Education in the Central Government, addressing the forty-first Convocation of Nagpur University, on 4 February, suggested that one of the ways in which this tendency to educational imbalance might be counteracted was 'to expose the students both in the high schools and in the universities to the influences of the classical works and masterpieces of Sanskrit literature.' The study of classical literature, he said, would discipline young minds and enrich them with some of the greatest social, moral, and spiritual ideas which the human

mind had ever conceived. The traditional values of Indian society such as tolerance, compassion, and sacrifice found their best expression in the epics of the *Rāmāyana* and *Mahābhārata* which young people should study.

Dr. Shrimali said that the courses which were being offered at present, both at the secondary school and university stages, had a predominantly utilitarian end in view. While science might give material prosperity and an abundance of goods, if it developed a one-sided view of life it might lead to the impoverishment of human beings. Classical literature was a distillation of man's finest thoughts and insight. 'It is only by imbibing the spirit of the great masters and breathing in the atmosphere of their lofty thoughts that we can save ourselves from the excessive commercialism prevalent in modern civilization.' Dr. Shrimali suggested that the widespread study of the classical literature of India, either in translation or in the original Sanskrit, could generate a powerful binding force in building up national unity and modifying the prevalent obsession with science, economics, and politics to the exclusion of religion, philosophy, and classical literature.

Tibetan Studies in Seattle

The University of Washington in Seattle will become a centre for Tibetan studies as the result of a grant and a contract from the Rockefeller Foundation and from National Defence Education Act funds. A family of eight Tibetans will be brought to the university and maintained there for three years, serving as a resource in an intensive research programme concerning the history, culture, and language of Tibet. Two additional Tibetans will come to the university for the preparation of Tibetan language instructional materials which do not at present exist.

INSTITUTE NEWS

Richard Church at the Institute

The Institute was privileged to have the opportunity of meeting Mr. Richard Church, the eminent English poet, novelist, and literary critic, when he visited the Institute on 2 February, and lectured later in the day. His subject was, 'Tagore and Society'. Mr. Church's visit to India was sponsored by the British Council and by all concerned with organizing the Tagore Centenary celebrations throughout India. Dr. Kalidas Nag, M.A., D.Litt., presided over the lecture.

Mr. Church described some of the early influences on Tagore when, in 1877, at the age of sixteen, he went to England, first as a pupil in a school on the south coast, and then as a student at University College, London. It was interesting to learn that Tagore had studied under the great scholar, Henry Morley, and through him had learnt to appreciate seventeenth century English prose. Mr. Church remarked that the rhythm of this prose (particularly the *Religio Medici* by Dr. Thomas Brown of Norwich) had a 'curious affinity' to that of Tagore's later work. '... a form of emotional thought, a process of conflagration with the fuel of words to feed it.' As yet uninfluenced by the scientific attitude, this process, which flourished in the Golden Age of English letters in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, depended 'not principally on factual associations, but upon that supra-rational capitalization of imagery by which the poet must always work. It is no less real than the scientific, though in western Europe it has been submerged, or partially submerged under the authority imposed by the inductive scientific processes of western philosophy during our marriage with scientific experiment, and still more scientific

achievement in the interests of material certainties.'

The main part of Mr. Church's lecture was concerned with Tagore 'as an example of the harmonious man', who possessed 'a wholly national genius compatible with the life and aims of his people, (and) carried within him also a practical and rational direction of mind towards a method of unification which I would dare to say is European in its manner and its political values. It was this combination of two forces within one man's personality which made him so influential, not only as an educationalist and as a social doctor in India, but as a missionary into the western world who has done as much as any of your people towards a mutual understanding between you and us.' Mr. Church believed that the power which led Tagore through the confusion of his times, towards a philosophy of wholeness, of unity, was the power of the poet—the nonconformist insight and vision of the poet. He quoted Tagore as saying: 'In the poet's religion we find no doctrine or injunction, but rather the attitude of our entire being towards a truth which is ever to be revealed in its own endless creation. In dogmatic religion all questions are definitely answered, all doubts are finally laid to rest. But the poet's religion is fluid, like the atmosphere round the earth, where lights and shadows play hide and seek, and the wind, like a shepherd boy, plays upon its reeds among flocks of clouds. It never undertakes to lead anybody anywhere to any solid conclusion: yet it reveals endless spheres of light, because it has no walls round itself. ...'

The more one thinks about that statement by Tagore, said Mr. Church, the more one realizes that it is an authoritative definition of the right function of the poet in society.

It has always been challenged by hierarchists, whether priest or commissar. It is a proclamation of the final necessity for freedom of thought and the expression of that freedom of thought through the art of letters.

In addition to his realization of the social function of the poet, Tagore was keenly aware of those characteristics of eastern and western civilizations which, if studied, could be of immense value to the development of the countries concerned. In this connection, Mr. Church said: 'I cannot emphasize too much this value in him; Tagore's urge to make his fellow-countrymen realize the value of routine as a discipline in strengthening their passiveness of mind and in making them become more active and hopeful in the battle against circumstance, and the particular adversities of their environment and nature. In this respect I would compare those problems with the difficulties of my own countrymen in England and indeed throughout western Europe, where the need is just the opposite; the need to turn from too much activity and energetic obsession with things and actualities, the need to turn from these toward meditation on what they really signify, and to the discovery of the source from which they spring and which determines their ultimate value.'

In conclusion, Mr. Church referred to the attitude of Tagore in his later years, and to his awareness of that loneliness which was the inevitable companion of the person who has refused to become partisan in his thinking. He spoke of Tagore as having 'remained at the end illuminated by his belief in that passionate scepticism which is the final glory of faith. This is worth consideration because it is more than a paradox, it is a statement of something which I believe to be factual—a basis of all contact with that final reality which is revealed in the face of what we call God. This is the secret of living and in the end must be revealed. Tagore fought all his life to unveil it, and I believe

his triumph is that he succeeded by combining his work as a poet and his functioning as an administrator. He was a unified man, a whole man, and as such was an example to his country and a missionary to the West, who still points the way to the final harmonizing of our differences, and therefore toward our mutual strength through this coming phase of the struggle of the human race to understand itself, and to make itself a clear reflection of that godhead out of which it has evolved toward a purpose greater than we know.'

Library and Reading Room

In February, the number of volumes added to the accession list in the Institute's library was 199, of which 175 were purchased, and 24 were bound periodicals. 1,067 books were borrowed and 757 issued for reference. The reading room contained 322 Indian and foreign periodicals. There was an average daily attendance of 91 readers.

On Sunday, 26 February, a reception was given in the Institute's quadrangle, in honour of Mr. and Mrs. Laurence J. Kipp. Mr. Kipp is Associate Librarian at the Harvard Business School. Mrs. Kipp is also an experienced librarian and a teacher of library science. The reception was organized by the Institute in collaboration with the Calcutta branches of the Indian Library Association and the Indian Association of Special Libraries and Information Centres.

Children's Library

In February there were 347 readers on the roll of the children's library. There was an average daily attendance of 51 readers. 777 books were issued to the children during this month, for home reading.

Students' Day Home

During February the roll strength of the Home remained stationary. The number of students daily attending the reading room averaged 343, and of those taking daily meals

in the canteen, the number averaged 250. The total number of text-books in the Day Home's library was 4,841.

Swami Ranganathananda of the Ramakrishna Mission, New Delhi, addressed the students on 9 February, and spoke on 'The Art of Living'. He stressed the necessity to develop a sense of beauty, balance, and rhythm in all action and thought.

On learning that one of their fellow-students would be unable to take his degree examination at Calcutta University this year for lack of funds to pay the fee, the students of the Day Home, assisted by the staff, raised between them the sum of Rs. 50 as a contribution.

The Institute and the Indian Council for Cultural Relations

Information is given in the International News section of this issue of the progress of work of the Indian Council for Cultural Relations, New Delhi. The Institute is vitally interested in the work of the Council inasmuch as it has been working on the very same lines for the last twenty-three years. The Institute has been invited to be on the General Assembly of the Council as a representative of cultural organizations. Swami Nityaswarupananda, Secretary of the Institute, attended the meeting of the General Assembly of the Council, held on 23 February, at Azad Bhavan, New Delhi. The Swami met there some very good friends, old and new, and had fruitful exchanges of views with them.

Visitors

Among those who stayed in the Institute's International Hostel during February were the following :

Dr. S. K. Majumdar, M.Sc., Ph.D. (Munich), and Mrs. Majumdar, who were passing through Calcutta in transit from Liberia, West Africa, to Indonesia, where Dr. Majumdar would continue his educational work under the auspices of UNESCO ;

Dr. J. Wolfgang Smith, A.B., M.S., Ph.D., from America, an assistant Professor of Mathematics at the University of California, who was on a visit to India ;

Mr. Hajime Kitamura, B.A., and Mr. Tokan Tada, both research members of the Oriental Library, Tokyo, who were in India for the purpose of taking Tibetan scholars to Japan ;

Mr. Egaku Mayeda and Dr. Akira Hirakawa, Dr. Litt., both associated with Tokyo University, and engaged in the study of Buddhist manuscripts in India ; and

Sri K. C. Chatterjee, M.Sc. (Tech.), from Varanasi, a chemist visiting the Central Glass and Ceramic Research Institute, Calcutta.

The following are amongst those who paid short visits to the Institute :

The Hon. Mr. Justice B. P. Sinha, Chief Justice of India ;

Miss Anita Bose from Austria, the daughter of the well-known national leader, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose ;

Mr. A. K. Ghosh, Joint Secretary Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs ;

Mr. Gunther Muller, Mr. R. Rauscher, and Mr. Claus Weiss from Germany ; and

Mr. and Mrs. Arnold Hendrickson, and Mr. and Mrs. Robert Louis, from Ia Canada, California, U.S.A.

Scripture Classes

The weekly classes on the *Śrīmad Bhāgavatam*, conducted by Swami Omkarananda, continued to be held on Wednesdays at 6 p.m. The average attendance was 475.

Swami Mahananda conducted classes on the *Bhagavad-Gītā* every Friday at 6 p.m. The average attendance was 550.

The *catuspāthi*, conducted by Pandit Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya, Śāstrī, Tarka-Vedānta-tīrtha, continued to be held on Mondays, Tuesdays, and Thursdays, at

6.30 p.m. 7 students are studying *Pañcadaśī* and *Gitābhāṣya*.

Indian Language Classes

Hindi : Pandit Bhubaneswar Jha continued his classes. A total of 20 students have been enrolled for the Prārambhika (beginners') class, which is held on Tuesdays from 6.30 to 7.30 p.m. 11 students have been enrolled for the Praveśa (advanced) class, which is held on Fridays from 7.30 to 8.30 p.m. In addition, two more advanced courses in Hindi have been arranged : Parichay and Kovid, the latter being a diploma course. In the Parichay section, 4 students enrolled at the commencement of the classes in January. These classes are held on Mondays, Wednesdays and Thursdays from 6.30 to 7.30 p.m.

Bengali : This class, conducted by Professor Saurindra Kumar De, continued to be held every Friday at 6 p.m.

Foreign Language Classes

German : These classes, organized by the Institute, started on 1 February, conducted by Countess Keyserling of the Goethe Institute, Calcutta. Four classes for beginners are being held, two on Wednesdays and two on Saturdays, from 6.30 to 7.30 p.m. and 7.30 to 8.30 p.m. The enrolment for these classes is 82. No more members can be accepted for this term.

French : The Institute's newly-established French course for beginners started on 1 February, conducted by Mr. L. Cadelis of L'Alliance Française, Calcutta. 30 students have been enrolled. The classes are held on Tuesdays and Fridays from 6.30 to 7.30 p.m.

APRIL LECTURES

At 6 p.m.

- | | |
|----------|--|
| April 1 | Vedic View of Immortality
<i>Speaker :</i> Matilal Das, M.A., B.L., Ph.D.
<i>President :</i> Batuknath Bhattacharya, M.A., B.L. |
| April 8 | Aesthetics of Abanindranath Tagore (third lecture)
<i>Speaker :</i> Sudhir Kumar Nandi, M.A., B.L., D.Phil.
<i>President :</i> Sailaja Kumar Bhattacharya, M.A., D.Phil. |
| April 15 | Classical Systems of Indian Philosophy—a Survey and Synthesis (second lecture)
<i>Speaker :</i> S. C. Chatterjee, M.A., Ph.D.
<i>President :</i> Principal Aniya Kumar Mazumdar, M.A. |
| April 22 | Metaphysics of Light
<i>Speaker :</i> The Hon. Mr. Justice P. B. Mukharji
<i>President :</i> R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D. |
| April 29 | Dante and Aquinas
<i>Speaker :</i> R. K. Das Gupta, M.A., P.R.S., D.Phil.
<i>President :</i> P. Chakravartti,
<i>Formerly Chief Justice, Calcutta High Court</i> |

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OBSERVATIONS

PATHWAYS TO ONE WORLD

ABOUT twenty years ago, when the late Wendell Wilkie was candidate for the Presidency of the United States, he talked about 'One World'. This concept was new, and neither Wilkie nor anyone else was conscious of the many and great obstacles on the way to its realization. As is well known, 'One World' is still a far-off ideal. Indeed, what today looks technically like one world in an atomic age, is, from a social point of view, an atomized world of hostile nations and quarrelling social groups who are often unable to find a basis for mutual understanding, to mention nothing of sincere co-operation. What are the causes of this modern dilemma?

In the first place, modern existence has thrown different peoples and civilizations into close contact; but our expanding social universe has enlarged too rapidly for the capacities of our national and provincial imaginations. Therefore, contacts with outside ways of living and thinking generate confusion and antagonism on all sides. Secondly, as traditional ideals and cultural traits reside deep in the habits and emo-

tions of the people, they are easily susceptible to rational correction and change. Thirdly, fortified by established patterns of national isolationism and self-appreciation, existing emotional and ideological cleavages sharpen other differences caused by divergent economic and political interests which are grave enough by themselves. Inevitably, world wars and civil wars follow each other in rapid succession; and international organizations, intended to relieve friction, display rather a conspicuous tendency to emphasize it, as has been the case in the Congo. Furthermore, statesmen and diplomats themselves are often seriously infected with the germs they hope to cure. Habitually, they look at other peoples through lenses tinted with their own colouring.

To make a bad situation worse, the dangers of our dilemma are multiplied by the fact that the clashing psychic forces of humanity, neatly divided up and encased in relatively watertight national compartments, are now equipped with techniques so useful and powerful in war that they may cause the total destruction of civilization if left to

work themselves out without conscious direction. Indeed, since there is no defence against atomic bombs, man must make an end to world wars or make an end to civilization as we know it. What, then, is the cure for our dilemma? What ways and means can lead us closer to one world—an ideal we ultimately must attain for our own sake and survival?

FACTORS FOR UNITY

Several factors have been suggested as qualified to aid in the transformation from national and regional cultures into one world culture. Proclaimed as one of these factors is the world communist movement. But communism's materialistic doctrine, neglectful and disrespectful of values other than its own, has the defect, alongside of other ideological 'isms' of modern times, of being a system based on one-sided truth. It has been said that communism has taken one single line out of the Bible, namely, the one which says that the meek shall inherit the earth. Moreover, the communists seem rarely ashamed of using evil means to accomplish supposedly good ends. Also glaring is their failure to bring about the classless society they promised to create. Nonetheless, seen in the proper perspective of its limitations, the contribution of the communist doctrine to future world understanding may be recognized to the extent that it extolls the principle of greater material equality within and among nations; for, without doubt, world culture is dependent on peace, and peace will be hazardous without a reasonable degree of equality in economic development and opportunities.

On the other hand, Christian democratic capitalism characterized by its split-soul attempt to serve God, man, and mammon at the same time, has built up an elaborate system of international aid which has greatly helped nations in need, but it is also designed to keep those nations out of the

hands of its communist rivals. Communism, for purposes of its own, has jumped on the bandwagon of the international aid train, and the competition of the two dominant materialisms in the contemporary world has, by dint of divine providence, become a real boon and blessing for the developing, newly-independent nations. Unfortunately, in small and weak nations the clash of opposing materialist forces has led to partition, violence, and civil wars as in Korea, Laos, Vietnam, and Hungary. These facts only point to the urgent need for strengthening the authority and power of the United Nations, a move which is long overdue, for without government there can be no order.

Highly significant among the factors capable of promoting world unity is the traditional similarity of the social ideals of the great world religions. Their aim and ethos is basically the same all over the globe: the sublimation of passionate self-concern in a wider fellowship of men and of the spirit; the moral improvement of men. By extending civilized standards of conduct from small local groups to ever wider circles of believers, the great world religions have been in the past the most important factor in making men social-minded. It would be a mistake to minimize the role played even today in western civilization by what are vaguely called 'Christian ideals' or 'Christian ethics'. There is here a source of common feeling which, however obscure and inarticulate, helps to keep in being an underlying sense of common values and of affinity between western peoples. Needless to say, Christian morality and charity are at work not only in the West, but practically in all countries of the world.

However, it is characteristic of our time that the great traditional religions have been thrown into retreat and decay in all regions of the world. They all have been defiled by the shortcomings of those who practise them. They are overgrown with supersti-

tions and have taken on local colour and prejudices incompatible with their assertions of universality. In particular, they all greatly suffer now from the clash of their revealed truth with the empirical truth of modern science. For all these reasons they have lost much of their former ability to perform the ethical function of altruization and social integration, although this function seems to be more necessary today than ever before in human history.

THE CHALLENGE TO RELIGION AND SCIENCE

In view of the totally new situation that men face in the modern era, it is probable that religious creeds will have to be resurrected in new forms rather than revived in their old forms. The very number and diversity of rituals and theologies gives the lie to endlessly repeated admonitions that a return to traditional morality and religion is the cure for our ills. All that these admonitions accomplish is the return of each person, each religious denomination, each political group or nation, to its own pet traditional doctrine. And, since doctrines and accompanying prejudices vary at essential points from person to person, group to group, nation to nation, and from East to West, this emphasis upon traditional religion and morality generates conflicts and thus intensifies rather than solves our problem.

It ought to be self-evident that one of the troubles of our time is that we have too many religions and not enough religion: Religion pertains to the happiness of the human soul within the fellowship of men, while religions pertain to the theology of a particular Church which often is an agency of spiritual propaganda in a similar manner as the State is an agency of political propaganda. Both the modern Church and the State will have to renounce part of their over-bearing self-concern for the sake of a wider unity. Both ought to be

less eager to teach than to learn. There ought to be wider recognition that true universality, as an indispensable prerequisite of a one-world culture, cannot be achieved by any contemporary branch of religion without merging into the unity of a profounder and more comprehensive faith. Religious unity, in turn, cannot be attained without reconciliation with another factor of equally universal character and equally qualified to assist in the formation of world culture, namely, modern science.

The present antagonism between science, religion, philosophy, ethics, and art is unnecessary, not to say disastrous. The fact that modern scholarship ignores morality, while morality is unaware of scholarship, is a radical defect of most of our current educational efforts. To heal the unwholesome breach between science and religion, science, too, must shake off its own orthodox belief that values have no reality because they defy, as non-sensory intangibles, the test of the laboratory. Furthermore, the affinity between the observing intelligence of our mind and the creative intelligence underlying nature and the universe, remains often undiscovered among scientists today.

Science must rebuild its own divided house, particularly overcoming the current schism between its natural and its social science branches. The first step toward that goal requires wider comprehension of the fact that man and social events, since they are part of nature, cannot themselves be but subject to universal natural law. It follows that only knowledge of, and respect for, these laws will open scientific avenues for the control of human nature and hence of men's social affairs. As acceptance of scientific truth spreads to all parts of the globe, men, instead of remaining creatures of their respective regional cultures, can become, with the aid of science, the conscious creators of a universal culture of the race.

If mankind is to find the road to co-

operation, as it must do to solve its common problems, emphasis must be placed on the traits which unite men and not on those which divide them. Among them, to repeat, is science. But science is now a dividing force, because it is looked upon from a mere utilitarian point of view and is abused on a vast scale for purposes of military power. The idea of the moral, cultural, and religious value of science, as it shows the intelligent building principles of the universe and uncovers truth common and valid for all men, rarely enters into modern thinking. Yet the disunited nations and cultures of the world must, for the sake of their own survival, now jointly use science to avert atomic catastrophes, to develop peaceful uses of atomic energy, to check the ever-growing threat of a population explosion, and to bring food production to its scientific maximum by ultimately managing this planet as a single economic unit.

It is interesting to note in this context that Mahatma Gandhi included among the vital forces making for global unity and welfare, not only science, but also industrialization, economics, and even politics, yet only on condition that they would be guided by moral considerations, that is, by religion. His statements regarding this conviction are fascinating. He wrote : 'My patriotism is not exclusive. It is calculated not only not to hurt another nation but to benefit all in the true sense of the word. ... Isolated independence is not the goal of the world States. It is voluntary interdependence. ...'

On the machine he wrote : 'What I object to is the craze for machinery, not machinery as such. This mad rush for wealth must cease (so that) the machine will be as much help to the man working it, as to the State or the man who owns it.'

On politics he wrote : 'Those who say that religion has nothing to do with politics do not know what religion means. For me there are no politics devoid of religion.'

On science : 'Scientific truth and discoveries should first of all cease to be mere investments of greed.'

INDIA'S UNIFYING ROLE

By blending the amazing achievements of western science with the eastern spirit of man's oneness with God and his fellow-men, a positive, purposeful synthesis could be attained utilizing science, not as a means of destruction, but as a means for peace and world-wide prosperity. The ideal to be sought after is a cultural synthesis, a community of values, a co-operative global endeavour in technical, economic, scientific, and artistic accomplishment, incomparably superior to those of the national and regional cultures of the day.

India can be infinitely helpful in advancing the day when this ideal can be realized. India seems singularly destined to play a unifying role because of her history which has been enriched by the bloodstream of many races and cultures, her geography, as the East-West axis of man's most vital civilizations, and because of her philosophical world-view which is more comprehensive and tolerant than any other in existence. As the motherland of several of the world's great religions, she has throughout the ages been a source of inexhaustible spiritual strength for humanity.

It was Swami Vivekananda who expressed this unique Indian responsibility and destiny in colourful language, when he said : 'Where are the men ready to go out to every country in the world with the message of the great sages of India ... and help to disseminate the great truth of the Vedanta? The world wants it, without it the world will be destroyed. The only condition of national life, of awakened and vigorous national life, is the conquest of the world by Indian thought.'

HELMUT G. CATTJES

RELIGION, CHURCH, AND THE DEMOCRATIC IDEAL

PETER A. BERTOCCHI, A.B., M.A., Ph.D.

Dr. Peter A. Bertocchi is the Borden Parker Bowne Professor of Philosophy in Boston University. He has had a distinguished teaching career in the fields of philosophy and psychology including appointments in Bates College, Maine, and Harvard University. He was recently a Fulbright Research Scholar affiliated with the Department of Philosophy, Calcutta University. He is the author of several books on subjects related to religion, philosophy, psychology, and education. The lecture printed below was delivered at the Institute on 21 January.

DEMOCRACY' and 'religion' can have so many meanings that in order to make the thesis of this paper clear, I must define the sense in which I shall use both terms. Many States have called themselves democratic and many persons have called themselves religious. Each of us, as he uses the terms, may have in mind a particular State or religious tradition, but for our purposes here it is important that we do not allow familiarity with a specific form of political or religious organization to blind us to the requirements of the ideal by which, in the last analysis, we must judge any institution. In what follows I shall refer to aspects of American thought and organization without assuming that American solutions thus far are adequate.

The ideal of democracy, as I see it, involves both a pessimistic and an optimistic thesis. The pessimistic tenet might read: No person, no group, no class, be it vocational, social, or religious, is either good enough or wise enough, to govern other persons. The power to govern must ultimately reside, therefore, in those governed; government must be of the people, by the people, and for the people, not of, by, and for some persons or parties, political, social, or religious. Whatever the other roots of dem-

ocratic thinking may be, this basic scepticism regarding the goodness or wisdom of any group to govern other persons without representation of those governed is undeniable (although an exception will be mentioned later).

This pessimistic line of thought, however, is linked with what I would call an optimistic tenet which might read thus: Every adult (barring the insane and the idiotic) is sufficiently intelligent and good to participate in the process of government. The assumption here is that every person can make a contribution to the legal processes by which he and his fellowmen are to be governed.

The underlying principle in representative democratic government may thus be stated broadly as the conviction that, in the last analysis, no person is the best and only judge of what is good for him in relation to his fellowmen. It is better, therefore, to allow all to express what they believe is best both for themselves and for others. There may be long gaps of ignorance in a man's life, and he may be very self-centred and selfish, but decisions about the common good, the commonwealth, in which he is involved, must not be made without allowing him to express his views before final decisions are made.

So much for the statement of basic democratic principles. Implicit in them, however, is a corollary which touches directly upon the relations between religion, Church, and State. The freedom of the individual person to believe in or not to believe in, to think or not to think particular conclusions is to be protected, consistent with the freedom of others. To be sure, in the actual processes of government, individual freedom will need to be curtailed for the sake of the larger freedom in the common good. But the fundamental loyalty has been well expressed in the words: 'I disagree with what you say, but I'll die, if necessary, for your right to say it.' Without freedom of conscience, without freedom of speech, democracy is forced to limp along in policy-making without the full consideration of all available insights. Believers of the democratic ideal must therefore protect the freedom of minorities not as an indulgence, but as a necessity for the ultimate good.

It is at this point that we may consider the relation of religion and the Church to democracy. Religion may be defined as the personal belief that one's most important values are sponsored by or are in harmony with, the enduring structure of the universe, whether they are sponsored by society or not. A Church is a congregation or a community of persons who, whatever their personal differences from each other, are sufficiently committed to a core of religious beliefs, so that they voluntarily organize their time, meditation, thought, and actions in such a way as to perpetuate and improve a common approach to the realization of the highest values. The loyalty involved in private religion and in organized religion is a loyalty to what the believers hold to be the Source of all that is true, good, beautiful, and holy.

It is now easy to see why there may well

be conflict between a person's religious dedication and the loyalty demanded of him by any social community (often including his Church). In the name of their God, of the enduring Source of value, religious persons and prophets in every age have risen to condemn the values of their Church, State, or society, and to plead for 'first things first'; in the name of their God, Churches have demanded that their State and society conform to 'the things that matter most'. Believers in an ultimate Source of value beyond the State are always a thorn in the side of those who would focus social and civic loyalties first and foremost in the body politic.

The persistent problem for the religious person is to combine his primary loyalty to the God in whom he believes, not only with tolerance toward those of other faiths but also with loyalty to the political community. One might suppose that this state of affairs would make for healthy challenge and conflict between the religious and non-religious, between Church and State. However, anyone who views the concrete course of history must recognize that whatever good has come from such productive conflict has been counterbalanced by evils created when the conflict led to persecution.

Whatever else may be said, historically speaking, bigotry and intolerance have been the monopoly of no one Church or social organization. Our concern here is to understand issues which, provoking intolerance, arise from concerns which undergird the religious belief and belief in the democratic ideal. As we proceed, we shall give concreteness to our discussion by reference to limited aspects of the relation between religion, Church, and State in the history of the United States of America.

TOLERANCE AND THE DEMOCRATIC IDEAL.

The believer in the ideal of democracy makes freedom of speech and conscience

basic to the way in which he holds other beliefs. Further, we have held that his scepticism regarding the infallibility of persons, or groups knowing the final truth about any matter has been basic to his insistence on tolerance. It must be noted, however, that such scepticism is not of the extreme sort which holds that there is no truth to be known. It is simply the conviction that however much a person may believe that truth of any sort is granted to him, he takes seriously the possibility that others, too, may have insights necessary for the attainment of a final truth.

In other words, personal loyalty to God is consistent with tolerance for the religious and non-religious beliefs of others, provided one allows for the fact that there is no person or group that can properly claim such finality for its revelation as to condemn arbitrarily the claim of others to final revelation. The person who believes that neither he nor anyone else knows any truth has nothing to be tolerant about. It is he that believes that there is truth, and that all may share convictions about its content, who may nevertheless, on occasion, feel tempted to become intolerant of another whose claims seem to him false and harmful.

This struggle to further the promulgation of the truth and values we believe in, and, at the same time, grant to others the opportunities to hold and promulgate their convictions about truth and value, religious and otherwise, contributes to a fascinating and critical phase in the efforts of Americans to embody the democratic ideal. There are economic, political, and social factors which converge on the problem of religious freedom, but, at the risk of serious oversimplification, the discussion here will be limited to the theoretical issues which underlie the controversy between Protestants and Roman Catholics in America with regard especially to the problem of public education.

No-one who cares to understand the

United States can minimize the importance of the religious foundations of her life. From the time of the Pilgrim Fathers in the seventeenth century and the Founding Fathers in the eighteenth, to the present day, the religious climate has been one of Protestant theistic Christianity. There are 258 religious denominations or sects in America. In 1957, there were about 59.8 million Protestants, 35.8 million Roman Catholics, 5.3 million Jews, and varying numbers of almost every other religious group in the world.

The predominance of the Protestant denominations is important for our purposes for two reasons. As Christians, aware of the sources of their religion in the Old Testament, they could join with Roman Catholics and with Jews in proclaiming the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. This conviction was expressed in the famous words of the Declaration of Independence: 'We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.' As Protestants, believing that every man is a priest before God, they were committed in principle to freedom in religious worship, and their desire to 'secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity' was expressed in just these words in the Preamble to the American Constitution.

However often in practice predominant Protestant groups persecuted other Protestant minorities and non-Protestant groups, they could always be accused of being unfaithful to their fundamental tenet of religious liberty. And one of their basic decisions in 1791, four years after the drafting of the Constitution, was to protect that liberty from any political power by separating Church from State. The first clause in the First Amendment to the American Constitu-

tion reads : 'Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.'

Of course other factors, besides the purely religious, enter into the formation of any law, for religious convictions are intertwined with others in the lives of men. Many Protestants, and other religious persons, have not been convinced of the wisdom of the 'wall' thus built between Church and State. It may well be that many supporters of this Amendment, had they been able to anticipate the growth of authoritarian ecclesiasticism, or of non-religious secular movements in the last century, might well have taken another view of the matter, especially as it pertained to the education of their children. Certainly, given the religious climate and the religious customs of their day, which were relatively free from secular opposition and competition, they could rest in the assurance that the Church and home would be adequate to the task of the religious education of their children. That they were concerned to provide for a high standard of religious education is evident from the fact that their early interest in collegiate education stemmed from their concern to provide themselves with an educated ministry. How many colleges and universities in America today are developments of institutions concerned initially with the preparation of religious leaders !

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION AND THE STATE

Whatever qualms one may have about the way in which the separation of Church and State affected the life of the country, the fact remains that in the First Amendment to the American Constitution, minority religious and non-religious groups of every sort were legally protected against the political infringement of their rights by any existing majority. It is not improbable that among the considerations which led differing Protestant sects to favour the separation

of Church and State was the prudential concern that government should do nothing to favour one Protestant denomination over another.

It is important to realize, however, that given the protection of their religious freedom from encroachment by government, Protestants could confidently adopt a *laissez-faire* policy with regard to religious denominations and education. Also, they could join in the support of the free public school in compliance with the conviction, so well put in the words of Horace Mann, outstanding leader in the struggle for universal public education: '... in a republic, ignorance is a crime.' In 1847, the State of Massachusetts took the lead in the movement for free public education.

The free public school became the backbone of education in America, for through it every child, regardless of economic, social, or religious status, was guaranteed some degree of education. On the other hand, parents who, for whatever reason, be it quality of education or religious preference, wished to establish private schools for their children, were free to do so provided that they gave support, as citizens of the commonwealth, to the establishment of public education. This meant that they were willing to be taxed for their private schools as well as for their public schools. 'This is the attitude which has dominated American thinking about education.

The story thus told represents the logic permeating the Protestant and non-Catholic majority in the religious communities in America. While, as we have hinted, many of these religiously-minded persons have felt that this establishment actually has militated against adequate religious education of their children, and that, in other words, the public school has been overcome by secular tendencies, the majority of non-Catholic believers have been willing to take their chance with this public school system as basic to

democratic institutions and life. They have become increasingly vociferous against groups whose thought and action have seemed to, undermine public education, and notably against Roman Catholicism. Because the stand of the Roman Catholic brings into clear light a basic issue in all education, we must stop to understand it in the context of what might be called a different view of the democratic ideal.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC POSITION

The Roman Catholic holds that in all matters of faith and morals the ultimate, infallible authority is the Pope. This means that where there is conflict between the civil or social moral code and the precept of the Church, the loyal Catholic is to obey the Church, whose authority ultimately stems from religious revelation. The Church cannot be irresponsible about the task laid on its shoulders by God: it must protect its spiritual light and therefore warn its members against all forces which would obscure that light or make it difficult for Catholics to follow it.

When necessary, censorship of religious or moral untruths is the responsibility of the spiritual guardians who would protect the spiritual health of their people. Many conservative Protestants have given similar reasons in favour of censorship, but the centralization of authority in the hierarchy of the Church has been for all Protestants not only theoretically indefensible but, they maintain, it has encouraged religious intolerance in principle and discouraged the growth of religious and moral insight in its adherents. The Roman Catholic can simply stand on his faith; it is not for him to argue why God has revealed himself in a certain way, but to accept full responsibility for protecting and disseminating the truth thus granted him. Further, the Roman Catholic cannot in principle accept either of the democratic tenets we have asserted as pre-

requisites for the democratic ideal, for he believes that he does have basic religious and moral truth and that those who do not accept it will be so weakened as to be fundamentally misguided in all other ventures.

In plain language, the roots we have suggested for democracy are the wrong ones, for they presuppose that men are ever floundering in the search for the basic conceptions of truth and goodness. The roots of a proper democracy cannot be in scepticism about the finality of certain religious moral truths, but in the responsible sharing of such truths by the Church, and in charity toward unbelievers. The democratic ideal must spring and develop from Christian love, not from religious and moral scepticism. Tolerance of opposing views in religion and ethics must be guided by a prior respect for truth and goodness.

The corollaries of these views for education are consistently drawn by the Roman Catholic. It is in applying them that he comes into conflict with the theory of the public school as basic to education in American democracy. For, holding that proper education cannot separate fact from moral and religious truth and values, he set up the parochial school which could keep fact and value together in its teaching. He could establish his parochial schools, as his economic situation allowed, by claiming freedom of conscience from the democratic community which had already instituted the public school as its basic form of education.

As we have suggested, many Protestants might well have preferred to keep value and fact together in the education of their children, but public education was the best compromise they could effect and at the same time protect freedom. However, as long as the Roman Catholic was willing to tax himself for his private parochial school, and at the same time accept taxation for public schools, his position was no more objectionable than that of any other group

which established private schools, deeming them superior to public schools. The believer in the religious private school found little serious opposition to his religious establishments so long as he asked no privileges for his schools not accorded to other private schools, religious or secular.

However, recent tension has developed in the American scene because, to emphasize reasons especially relevant here, Catholics began to urge that they were being forced to endure double expenses for education in so far as they were supporting both their private parochial school and the public school system. Put in a different way, to the extent that they had to share in the expense for two school systems they could not adequately improve the quality of their educational institutions which they felt best preserved the values that should be realized in education. If, further, the American Federal Government should aid the public school system, this would force a Catholic to pay for a type of education of which he preferred, in theory, not to avail himself.

THE LIMITATIONS OF SECULAR EDUCATION

From what has been said, it may be clear that important issues divide those Americans who believe that the ultimate values of their State are founded in, and must be judged by the will of God for all men. But despite these differences religiously-minded persons are concerned about the relation of the educational system to religious and moral values, especially in a world where it is so easy for 'things' to be in the saddle, and where sincere philosophical and articulate political movements are challenging the basic tenets of religions. The religious community in America, Christian and non-Christian, is deeply concerned about preserving the freedom of human beings created equal by their Creator. At the same time, it is anxious to protect its culture, including its educational system, from the

decay that would set in, as it believes, once men deleted from their political faith the words 'created equal by their Creator'. They are convinced that when God is dethroned men will worship idols of their own making and commit sins more awful than those committed by religious people in the name of their God. They wish the State to be secular only in the sense that government shall interfere as little as possible with the development of religious institutions. Now, as never before, they are raising the question: How can the public educational programme of the country, including higher institutions of learning, be reshaped so that religious education will not continue to lag behind education in non-religious areas? They are not asking that the school become a church or an adjunct to the Church, but they are seriously raising the question whether education can be wholesome and satisfy the whole person if children and students do not become literate in, and develop appreciation for, the religious ideas and the related values which have inspired so much of human history.

Whether the religious forces will become caught up in an internecine struggle to perpetuate their own parochial denominations, whether they will be so suspicious of the advantages which one group may gain at the possible expense of the other, that they lose out in the larger objectives of improving religious literacy and the understanding of basic religious issues, remains to be seen. We would suggest that these groups will overcome such temptations only if their zeal for the truth, as they see it, is balanced by enough self-criticism and appreciation for the spiritual ventures of other men to accept the responsibility for the freedom of other men along with their own vision of God. For the ideal of democracy is not to be indifferent to religion, but to encourage every facet of the human spirit to develop in mutual concern and mutual criticism.

SPIRITUAL FOUNDATIONS REVEALED THROUGH THE ART OF TRAGEDY

W. H. DAWES

This is the third of a series of seven lectures on 'Spiritual Foundations of Western Culture' given by Miss Winifred H. Dawes at the Institute early this year. The lectures are designed to promote a true understanding of western culture which, widely thought of as materialistic, has roots that go deep into spiritual experience, the common heritage of mankind. Miss Dawes, a retired civil servant, studied English literature and philosophy at Oxford. This lecture was given on 10 January.

WE discussed in the last lecture the way in which the poet-philosopher clarifies the links of communication between the individuals of a culture to establish values. He brings new ideas into expression, gives us the words, and, more than that, fulfils these words with a chain of associations which reveals the essential moral order of universal truth. For not only do we need words to convey our meaning we need also judgement to interpret the meaning. The poet-philosopher educates our judgement. He weaves a fabric of customary attitudes which we accept because it is true to our life's experience, and these customary attitudes become the mark of our culture binding us to our fellows. We expect a person to act in such and such a way because he is one of us. The nervous system of the society is sound. We are not so often aware of the part genius has played to the end that these customary attitudes are ones of a high moral fibre. As Keats says :

The poet and the dreamer are distinct,
Diverse, sheer opposites, antipodes.

The one pours out a balm upon the
world,

The other vexes it.

We have seen, in the tragedies we have
so far considered, Shakespeare pouring a

balm of truth on the meaning of justice, honour, and love. We have now to consider what he will do with power. What power is it that makes sovereignty a symbol of authority? Wherein does true authority lie? Milton was later to say in Book XII of his *Paradise Lost* that God :

Gave us only over beast, fish, fowl,
Dominion absolute ; that right we hold
By his donation ; but man over men
He made not Lord.

Let us see what Shakespeare tells us about power.

A SYMBOL OF POWER CORRUPT

Look first at Macbeth, the man of 'vaulting ambition that o'erleaps itself and falls on the other side'. He is aware from the very first that there is something dubious about this o'erleaping. 'If chance will have me king, why, chance may crown me, without my stir', he meditates, and his reply to the first taunt of Lady Macbeth, 'I dare do all that may become a man ; who dares do more is none', is a simple and noble response. His imagination vividly pictures the enormity of the wrong he contemplates upon Duncan. 'He's here in double trust'—as his guest and as his kinsman. And yet Macbeth succumbs to his outrageous ambi-

tion, fired on to deeds by the rhetoric, oaths, and taunts of his terrible lady to make 'fair foul and foul fair'. Thus he consents to the reversal of the whole natural order in the domain of Glamis and Cawdor and, eventually, in himself. Macbeth has put his faith in false gods, 'Evil, be thou my good'—and the loyalties against which he pits himself are the true ones.

He is aware also that what he does now, in time, cannot be the be-all and end-all. There are consequences unknown beyond the bourne of time. Something like Hamlet's realization leads Macbeth on, not to serious thought, but to desperate action. Thus speed is the necessity, act quickly and cover up the evidence, and trust that the deed may never be known. But—one may perhaps deceive others by such action, but one cannot deceive oneself :

Away, and mark the time with fairest show.

False face must hide what false heart doth know.

Disintegration of the whole mind starts from this awareness of deceit which must convey itself to the minds of others. Even Banquo senses a double meaning when Macbeth asks him to come with him again to the witches :

If you shall cleave to my consent, when 'tis,

It shall make honour for you.

And Banquo replies :

So I lose none

In seeking to augment it.

In this terse exchange we sense the gathering clouds of suspicion about the castle of Glamis. How different from the mind of Duncan who comes as guest, trustful and honouring :

This castle hath a pleasant seat ; the air
Nimbly and sweetly recommends itself
Unto our gentle senses.

While Banquo adds :

Heaven's breath smells wooingly here.

The witches and Lady Macbeth are inspired, or rather possessed, by the false power of evil, which can only give aid with conditions which mean death. Macbeth was already Thane of Cawdor before he left the witches' lair, although he was not yet aware of it. Doubtless, he was also king already whilst he possessed his sane and sovereign judgement. But he was too impatient. He must proceed to the evil act and throw all away, to become enslaved. We may note that, although judgement is impaired, his viewpoint is a rationalizing one. He can adopt a rational method of ways and means. But when judgement is faulty then vision, even the intellectual one, eventually fades. To him eternity seems but a vain repetition of time ; 'tomorrow and tomorrow', 'leading on to dusty death' ; 'life is a brief candle signifying nothing' This is distinctly the time-bound view, it is not eternity that Macbeth sees here, that remains in that still, quiet centre upon which time restlessly revolves, signified by Banquo's glass. Against this Macbeth is powerless. It is the eternal power which works through heredity and the unborn generations. Who can defy this with impunity ? Intellectual vision of time is limited, 'inconsolable', and is here contrasted with the intuitional vision of eternity seen now to be the same in the infinitely small as in the infinitely great. The man of integrated judgement sees a purpose greater than man's reflected in his own soul, the macrocosm in the microcosm, and knows he is greater than death. But Macbeth bends life to his will and dies, and Banquo, who succumbs, lives on in his seed for ever.

It is logical that Macbeth who actually does the deed should be haunted by his victims. He acts, and reaps the consequences. But Lady Macbeth, in her terrible conjuration, has become possessed by the evil herself. She has already killed her

true self in that oath, and it is her own poor ghost who comes back in the sleep-walking scene for a last plaintive appeal—a last futile effort to wash out those spots of blood. Do you remember, at the end of Marlowe's play, the last impressive appeal of Faustus for one drop of Christ's blood to save him? One drop of purity would save; one drop of tainted blood, and the whole organism is diseased. We cannot wipe out the corruption of wilful murder in the microcosm of life, which is the reflection of the macrocosm of God's divine order in the world, when once we have consented to its degradation. Our will itself is impaired.

One other interesting point in this play is the complete break-down of Macbeth when he hears the news of Burnham Wood moving to Dunsinane. Now in this device of natural reversal, Shakespeare is conveying to us a mystery. The wood, the tree—the Cross. All these have associations already in our culture. What if all the trees of the forest moved? What if all true men lived as the Saviour did? That Shakespeare intended these allusions is revealed by Macbeth's angry response to the messenger who brings the news: 'If thou speak'st false, upon the next tree shalt thou hang alive.'

I know that many have found a certain nobility in Macbeth. True he fights to the last, desperately and blindly. So might any trapped animal fight, and we might think this noble if we did not also know that it had relinquished its greatest gifts of reason and judgement to get itself into the trap. I feel that the judgement of Macduff and Malcolm, whose words end the play, was also Shakespeare's own. He is a usurper of kingship, without sovereignty, without true authority—this 'dead butcher and his fiend-like queen'.

CONSCIENCE AND SOVEREIGN POWER

Now let us look at *King Lear*. One of the most impressive lectures I have ever

attended at Oxford was on the tragedy of *King Lear*. It began thus: 'Today we are to consider one of the greatest works of art—perhaps the greatest work of man.' I think anyone who attempts to put his impressions of *King Lear* into his own words must feel something of this appalling greatness. Everywhere we look in *King Lear* we find the master mind at work creating antitheses of situation, of metaphor, or character which balance and refer backwards or forwards to others in different parts of the play. The whole is an architectonic structure which dares to hold within its intense grasp the whole human experience of life and death, old age and youth, tempest of nature and of mind, blindness of physical eyes and of spiritual vision, appearances and reality of love, the courtier and the true knight, the knave and the fool. All those characters who are on the stage at the beginning when the old Lear sprawls over the map of his vast domains to divide them between his loving daughters, are there at the end, the entire situation reversed. What remains constant is that Lear is still every inch a king, although divested of everything except the purifying love of Cordelia, who could say nothing of her love, and the constancy of his one true knight, Kent, who had nothing to commend his services. This is the last antithesis: nothing becomes all, and all becomes nothing. Where, then, is this quality of sovereignty? It is in Lear's face, not crowned by gold but battered by storm and suffering, where shines authority, the quality which draws to himself his most faithful subject, Kent, to be his servant and knight in poverty, in sickness, and in madness. This leads Kent to fight a duel for his sake, to indulge in a glorious string of well-deserved epithets for that 'clotpoll' of a courtier, Oswald, to sit in the stocks, to attend him at his last sad undoing of the button of mortality, and then to be considered worthy to 'rule in this realm, and

the gored state sustain' ; but Kent's simple reply to this highest honour points to a greater destiny even than that :

I have a journey, sir, shortly to go ;
My master calls me, I must not say no.

The theme of the tragedy of *King Lear* can be summed up in the words which the King of France addresses to Cordelia and to Lear when, after her cruel dismissal, he takes her to be his wife :

Fairest Cordelia, thou art most rich
being poor ;
Most choice, forsaken ; and most loved,
despised ! ...
Thy dowerless daughter, king, thrown
to my chance,
Is queen of us.

Poor, forsaken, despised will Lear himself be at the end of the tale and yet, having found where lies his only true kingship, there also will he be most rich, choice, and beloved. The design whereby this theme is developed to show how all that is fairest in life becomes subjugated to this poverty and neglect, is summed up in the two speeches of the Fool in Act I. Sc. iv :

FOOL : Give me an egg, nuncle, and I'll
give you two crowns.
KING : What two crowns shall they be ?
FOOL : Why, after I have cut the egg i' the
middle, and eat up the meat, the
two crowns of the egg. When thou
clovest thy crown i' the middle, and
gavest away both parts, thou borest
thine ass on thy back.

Later, the Fool says, ' And yet I would not be thee, nuncle ; thou hast pared thy wit o' both sides and left nothing in the middle. Here comes one o' the parings'. And Goneril enters.

From this we gradually learn that the

ancient symbol of the cosmic egg is hinted at. This accords with Hiranyagarba, the primordial Golden Egg. The universe, wit, family, kingdom are all divided and the better part thrown away. That part which integrated them and is now discarded is the true sovereignty. With this eaten up by foolishness, tempest and chaos rage in the outer and inner kingdoms.

The scheme of the *dramatis personae* of the play is in three groups. First, and greatest, is the one which represents the order of wisdom, family, and kinship—that is, Lear with his two parings and the one he threw away, Goneril, Regan, and Cordelia. The second is the group of the sub-plot which may be said to represent the order of rationalizing thought—Gloucester, Edgar and Edmund. And thirdly, there is a group representing conscience, an order of chivalry consisting of Kent, Oswald, and the Fool.

THE BETRAYAL OF POWER

The pivot upon which all this hierarchy of values depends in the beginning of the play is Lear himself, who lets everything down through lack of faith in himself. His excuse, but not his reason, is age, for he still wishes to retain the rights but not the responsibilities of power. If age had been a conscious and honest reason, he would have relinquished both. As it is, he betrays his trust on two points : the first as a father when he says to Cordelia :

'Thy truth then be thy dower :
For, by the sacred radiance of the sun,
The mysteries of Hecate, and the night ;
By all the operations of the orbs
From whom we do exist and cease to
be ;

Here I disclaim all my paternal care,
Propinquity and property of blood,
And as a stranger to my heart and mine
Hold thee from this for ever.
'The barbarous Scythian,

Or he that makes his generation messes
 To gorge his appetite, shall to my bosom
 Be as well neighbour'd, pitied, and
 ,relieved,
 As thou my sometime daughter.

This is a savage oath whereby he swears by that which gave him life to injure the child to whom he had imparted it. And the second betrayal is as a king, when he says in Act I. Sc. i :

Only we still retain
 The name and all the additions to a
 king ;
 The sway, revenue, execution of the
 rest,
 Beloved sons, be yours :

As father and king, he demands the flattery of love and power and denies the service : their outer manifestations, but not their substance. This is the tragic situation of feebleness in a position of worldly authority. Quick upon this double betrayal of the kingly order there rises the hydra heads of will-to-power ; Edmund, Goneril, and Oswald, one paring from each of the orders of wisdom, intelligence and chivalry. Edmund, who was present at the King's dividing of his kingdom, imitates and perverts the idea for reasons of his own. He places suspicion upon his brother of filial betrayal ; 'I begin to find an idle and fond bondage in the oppression of aged tyranny' is the burden of the false letter. Goneril enlists the support of Regan and Oswald.

Gloucester would seem to represent intelligence that looks outward, symbolized by his losing of his physical eyes ; in contrast to Lear who in madness loses the inner sight. Gloucester's is the intellect that seeks reasons outwardly, as indicated in 'These late eclipses in the sun and moon portend no good to us' *et seq.* in Act I. Sc. ii. He sees that evil in nature scourges nature, and when it attains the upper hand then chaos

ensues ; love and friendship fade, discord and treason follow ; and by this speech we sense the coming of the storm in the elements of mind and of nature. Lear at first represents the unified view of wisdom by the symbolism of that cosmic egg and wit that are later broken, and herein is predicted the curse of sterility and the tempest in the mind.

Gloucester's two sons, the outer and inner aspects of intelligence, become counterfeits when divided from himself. Edmund, as the inner and moral aspect, plays the knave's part, and Edgar, as the outer and rational aspect, the part of Tom of Bedlam. Dishonesty of the inner and moral aspect is always a graver affair than the outer counterfeit.

Of the three that seem to indicate the chivalric order, Kent is the true knight. He could be said to be the impersonation of Hamlet's picture when he said, 'What a piece of work is man !' He says proudly, 'I do profess no less than I seem', that is, a man and as poor as the King—and he would serve. He does recognize his responsibility to the King. He has the last, and most pregnant, words in the play when this service is ended. Among those others who also serve are Oswald, the courtier ; outwardly knowledgeable and inwardly dishonest, playing with the soul-order for his own advantage ; and the Fool, outwardly foolish and inwardly wise, playing with the wit of intellect as a fool to throw light upon the soul-order. How the true knight, Kent, who is loyal to this order hates Oswald ! 'That such a slave as this should wear a sword', he says. He dishonours chivalry. It is logically correct that this quarrel should have come between Kent and Oswald.

As the chaos extends to the double tempest, we see in Lear's words :

I tax not you, you elements, with
 unkindness :

I never gave you kingdom, called you
children,
You owe me no subscription.

We see in these words that it is the storm
in the mind that causes him the greater
anguish. For retribution now comes ;

Let the great gods,
That keep this dreadful pother o'er
our heads,
Find out their enemies now. Tremble,
thou wretch,
• That hast within thee undivulged
crimes,
Unwhipped of justice : hide thee, thou
bloody hand ;
Thou perjured, and thou simular man
of virtue
That art incestuous :

All this is Lear's subconscious finding utterance and accusing himself, and the final words : 'I am a man more sinned against than sinning', is but a conscious attempt to draw a veil over his naked soul. In Act III. Sc. ii, the double fury reaches its height. Lear is battered by winds and rain from without and the bitter taunts of his own conscience, through the words of the Fool, from within. The Fool must chiefly represent his feelings concerning Cordelia. That remark as Lear dies at the end over her body confirms it : 'And my poor Fool was hanged.'

This is surely an indication that it was thought of his treatment of her that had haunted him all through his suffering and was its bitterest pain. How could it be otherwise ? The old, blind Lear was prone to curse, and all know the terrific dramatic effect of the one he placed upon Goneril. But the one that he placed upon the daughter, whom awakening vision now shows to be his truest and most beloved, would be the one that cleaves his own heart in twain. The rapier thrusts of conscience pierce the

blown rhetoric of self-pity and show Lear to himself. The tone is quite different in the later scene, Act III. Sc. iv, where a breaking heart can afford to pity others and a truer nobility is revealed. How right it is that in that scene, although the Fool is still present, his taunts are milder and the sustaining hand of the faithful Kent upholds him, not now as a retainer, but as free service freely given ! 'God resisteth the proud and giveth grace to the humble.'

The Fool also, as conscience, speaks to us all at the end of Act III. Sc. ii, in that rhymed prophecy concerning the disregard of the virtues of poverty and honesty ; a speech that strangely recalls the end of Gaunt's great speech on England in *King Richard II* that is so often omitted in quotation. Concern regarding the shallow values of the divided egoistic view in politics and commerce, which were replacing the deeper spiritual ones expressed in the religious and chivalric idea of God and King, is here again shown by Shakespeare.

Again, in this play, Shakespeare uses the symbolism of change of garments to indicate a change of vision. Edgar says, 'In nothing am I changed but in my garments', as he becomes reconciled to his father. Of Lear in sleep the Gentleman says :

... in the heaviness of his sleep
We put fresh garments on him.

Lear awakes to say to Cordelia :

You do me wrong to take me out o'
the grave :
Thou art a soul in bliss ; but I am
bound
Upon a wheel of fire, that mine own
tears
Do scald like molten lead.

There is the full awakening, physical and spiritual, the full confession of remorse. Even so, broken as he is, Lear is more truly a king ; a dowerless king, but 'most rich,

being poor', 'most loved, despised' by those who matter most. Of those two who lived but to serve him, Cordelia has gone, and Kent still remains, still patient (except with knaves), the man of humour, of modesty, and of honour who, when offered the rule of the realm by Albany at the end, replies :

I have a journey, sir, shortly to go ;

My master calls me, I must not say no.

Who is the master ? Surely he can be no other than He who is Lord of life eternal.

THE INFLUENCE OF SAINT AUGUSTINE

The spirit of Saint Augustine greatly influenced the sixteenth century, taking it back to the idea of the divine order of the universe and the conception of righteousness based upon that idea. His work, *The City of God*, was translated by John Healey, the Elizabethan translator and friend of Thomas Thorpe, the publisher of Shakespeare's sonnets. Shakespeare would have known of this work. One might almost say that in *King Lear* he was putting into dramatic form Augustine's vision of the two cities : 'Two loves have created two cities, love of self to the contempt of God, the earthly city : love of God to the contempt of self, the heavenly.' Augustine's book finds its original inspiration in the words of St. Paul : 'Now therefore ye are no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God.' (Eph.ii.19) Lear failed as citizen and householder according to the values of the heavenly city. 'Remove righteousness, and what are kingdoms but great bands of brigands', says Augustine. Here is indicated Lear's Nemesis.

Righteousness is here a system of right relations ; a spiritual hierarchy whose degrees are steps in service, not in worldly possessions, and it is the true and only power that justifies the divine right of kingship. Lear, by this spiritual right, is king over the

earthly city. He forsakes the spirit, and the uninspired letter of the law pursues its relentless path towards brigandage. For, logically, Goneril and Regan are right. What need one retainer to defend an empty kingship, unable at that moment to command service as king nor inspire it as man ? 'I pray you, father, being weak, seem so.' Pilate, too, might have been wiser to have relinquished the name of Governor as he washed his hands.

Augustine's citizens of heaven are pilgrims who avail themselves of the aid of the law of the State to bring about the grace of heaven. Thus their actions do not oppose Church to State, for each of these institutions possesses its own pilgrims and pillars, but the pilgrims act so that righteousness may control through the law. 'The heavenly city', says Augustine, 'or rather the part of it which sojourns on earth and lives by faith, makes use of this peace only because it must, until this mortal condition which necessitates it shall pass away. Consequently, so long as it lives like a captive and a stranger in the earthly city, though it has already received the promise of redemption, and the gift of the Spirit as the earnest of it, it makes no scruple to obey the laws of the earthly city, whereby the things necessary for the maintenance of this mortal life are administered ; and thus, as this life is common to both cities, so there is a harmony between them in regard to what belongs to it.' (*The City of God* by Saint Augustine, Trs. by Marcus Dods. The Modern Library, New York, 1950. Book XIX.17) Here is Lear's 'mortality', which he cleanses from him when, before Gloucester's homage, he attains true kingship in God : 'O let me kiss that hand. Let me wipe it first ; it smells of mortality.'

But before he ever reaches this, Kent and Cordelia, his citizen and his child in the city of God, they who represent the righteousness that his wilful acts sought to re-

move, are the pilgrims working through loyal service for his salvation, even against his commands or in disguise, but still ever true to him. These two represent honour and true love : knighthood and family : man and woman in their noblest, quietest selves. All these are there at the invisible centre upon which the wheel of society moves and has its being—and they give their allegiance to a *noblesse* which derives from the essential Lear. Kent says : 'You have that in your countenance I would fain call Master.' 'What's that?' 'Authority.' Real kingship and real self are attained by Lear when he achieves their own status and becomes one of God's spies.

The lesson of this play is that the acceptance of reason by man entails his acceptance and overcoming of suffering too, and that the whole striving of humanity, from the glimmering of the Celtic spirit in the original story of Lir to the words of Christ, is towards a gradual enlightenment that brings this fact into full consciousness. The whole history of this progression is also reflected in the play. There is physical suffering, of course, as in life.

No creature can escape, for the life by which it lives must be given back to its source. Only man, endowed with reason, can buckle on his sword of conscience, and consciously enter into the fray to overcome suffering. In this only is he a king in his own right ; in this only is he wise ; and his means are faithful service—service to his fellow-man—and faith always in God who is the highest, ineffable reason itself. In faith is he free. Thus does faith ever bring in the new. Man is centred in true life, and death is overcome. The words of the New Testament express it best, but through negligent custom they have often become but a tune in the mind, and we miss the meaning. 'For, brethren, ye have called unto liberty ; only use not liberty as an occasion to the flesh, but by love serve one another.

For all the law is fulfilled in one word, even in this ; thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.' (Gal.v.13) Here, in Lear we are told the truth again in stark experience that hammers in its full significance.

THE REVERSE OF THE COIN OF TRAGEDY

It may seem strange to pass from the tragedy of *King Lear* to the graceful *Twelfth Night*, and to say that one finds therein many similarities. But, even so, the deceptions that obsess the soul and turn judgment awry through vanity and egotism are here also. Likewise a tempest, and a quest for happiness which displays the attitudes of the characters, are here : in the tragedy, attitudes towards the spirit of authority and in the comedy towards the spirit of love ; but here presented with a delicate sense of fun aimed to please and amuse rather than to search and harrow the heart. The same element of catharsis is here produced from the antithesis of opposing situations, usually to bring out the contrast between appearance and reality ; in *Twelfth Night* to give pleasure through laughter, in *King Lear*, through the noble relief of compassionate tears. *Twelfth Night* is almost the other side of the play of Lear—without the responsibility to command others and the pride which earthly kingship entails. It is life as seen with the eyes of the free pilgrim. All the snubs which could lead to tragedy when they imply insult to honour, here become occasions for mirth when honour is based upon worth of the man himself and where, too, the fun, as Shakespeare clearly shows, always respects this worth. It is in this respect (the mark of the true aristocrat of the spirit), that Shakespeare's comedy differs from, and is so very much superior to, satire which holds a man up to ridicule, and by denying him respect implies some touch of the sin of self-satisfied pride in the one who ridicules.

Shakespeare's humour is always as one

brother to another, and his liberties and criticisms, though never veiled, never destroy the relationship. It will not therefore be out of place to conclude this talk on tragedy with a glance at its silver lining.

We must look carefully at the opening speech of *Twelfth Night*, for this strikes the key-note and is often mistaken to present love as a fickle, fanciful passion of which one soon tires; a cynical interpretation which comes too naturally to modern minds even although they are fully appreciative of the poetry of this beautiful passage :

If music be the food of love, play on ;
Give me excess of it, that, surfeiting,
The appetite may sicken, and so die.
That strain again ! it had a dying fall :
O, it came o'er my ear like the sweet
sound

That breathes upon a bank of violets,
Stealing and giving odour ! Enough ;
no more :

'Tis not so sweet now as it was before.
O spirit of love, how quick and fresh
art thou ;

That, notwithstanding thy capacity
Receiveth as the sea, nought enters
there,

Of what validity and pitch soc'er,
But falls into abatement and low price,
Even in a minute ! so full of shapes is
fancy,

That it alone is high-fantastical.

It is the appetite that dies, not love itself. Appetite can be for good, or for the beauty that is in art. We have come in our day to call the latter the aesthetic sense, but it is an appetite nevertheless, because the objects of desire which are sought for their beauty satisfy at one time of life, and fail to do so at another. The soul feeds and grows on this beauty, even as the body does on material food, and cannot appreciate the same meal twice. Even here our souls are restless until they rest in the absolute beauty

of perfect love. For note how the song of praise swells to :

O spirit of love, how quick and fresh
art thou !

That, notwithstanding thy capacity
Receiveth as the sea, nought enters
there,

Of what validity and pitch soc'er,
But falls into abatement and low price,
Even in a minute !

What enters into that sea are not objects of love, but the feelings that come in love's guise—and the validity that falls in their quality contrasted with the overwhelming infinity of true love itself. Those are the appetites that die ; this is the radiating spirit that endures and lives.

The Duke, who speaks these words, is on the quest of the aesthetic appetite for the objects of love at first, and we see him revelling in such passages as :

Away before me to sweet beds of
flowers :

Love-thoughts lie rich when canopied
with bowers.

It is presumably Olivia who inspires this, but the sentiment is easily transferred to Viola when the time comes.

Most of the characters of the play are portrayed as listening to this theme of the opening speech and pursuing it, each according to his own destiny. First comes the Duke, and the play upon the word 'hart' supplies us with yet another clue of the *double entendre*. We see him in the throes of desire for Olivia, which rather pursue him 'like fell and cruel hounds' than expand to envelop Olivia herself in that understanding sea of real love. Note his replies to Viola when she puts forward the idea that perhaps the reason why Olivia does not respond is because she does not love him. He cannot so be answered, he says. No woman's

heart could hold so great a love as his so there can be no denial.

All the rest of the seekers show varying degrees of blindness so that their judgement is impaired, with the notable exception of four; Antonio, whose clear vision enables him to detect and disclose the identity of Viola and spare her from the predicament of the duel; Viola, herself, who through disguise and in herself remains true to the real spirit of love. She is never lured aside from this, and at the end is prepared to give all for it;

And I, most jocund, apt and willingly,
To do you rest, a thousand deaths
would die.

Sir Toby and Maria are the other two, gloriously stable and open-eyed but nevertheless the villains of the piece as far as Shakespeare permits villains in so joyous a play. Of the remainder Sebastian errs at first through inexperience and the progress of the play shows him gaining in knowledge until he achieves a very ecstasy in:

This is the air; that is the glorious
sun;

This pearl she gave me, I do feel't and
see't;

And though 'tis wonder that enwraps
me thus,

Yet 'tis not madness.

Coleridge expresses wonderfully the pain of the unbalance of these in his *Ode to Dejection*: 'I see, not feel, how beautiful they are.' Sebastian experiences here the pinnacle of poise.

Of those blinded by egotism, a quality which forbids them ever attaining the true spirit of love, are Aguecheek and Malvolio, and most of the fun of the play is in the delicate shafts of wit, by word or situation, that show up their vanity and blindness. Aguecheek, for example, is revealed when Sir

Toby boasts of Maria, 'She's a beagle, true-bred and one that adores me, what of that?' 'I was adored once, too', says Aguecheek wistfully. But his courage hardly rises to a duel for love later on! An Act V. Sc. ii, Shakespeare pointedly uses the symbol of darkness for ignorance, with shafts of fun at philosophy. Malvolio, the vain one, is in the dark and a little mad, and Feste, the fool, has all the wise sayings—an antithesis of fool-knave that Shakespeare delights in.

Malvolio, the good steward, is like Oswald in *King Lear*; both aspire through vanity to the love of their mistress, but with what different issues! Here the Duke softens the blow by sending after him to ask forgiveness, after the villains (and we) have had our fun of him. Sir Toby too, like Lear, is admonished for riotous behaviour. In Act II. Sc. iii, Malvolio says to him, 'My lady bade me tell you, that though she harbours you as her kinsman, she's nothing allied to your disorders'. But Sir Toby is free-free of kingship and daughters, and the same admonishment which breaks Lear's heart he can dismiss with a shrug and a laugh. Antonio in Act III. Sc. iv, shows most like Kent, the true man and knight:

. Put up your sword. If this young
gentleman

Hath done offence. I take the fault
on me;

If you offend, I, for him, defy you.

There are two fools here as there are in *Lear*; Olivia, for a grief she enacts, too foolishly, and Feste. We see them interchanging places in Act I. Sc. v, with how different a presentation from the tragic use of the same device in *Lear*!

However, it would be a mistake to belabour these similarities except as a matter of interest in the process of artistic creation. It tallies with what Coleridge said of Greek drama: 'The tragic poet idealizes his character by giving to the spiritual part

of our nature a more decided predominance over the animal cravings and impulses than is met with in real life. The comic poet idealizes his by making the animal the governing power and the intellectual the mere instrument.'

It is, however, certain that in *Twelfth Night* Shakespeare intended to present the quest of the spirit of love in various ways. We see Aguecheek with cautious longing, on the road but standing still; Sebastian striding ahead with ardent sincerity and getting his reward which is almost in heaven; Malvolio with an eye ever on his own fine figure of a man going in the wrong direction; Olivia, consoled for a brother's loss, passing through a most delicately confessed calf-love to become Sebastian's ideal (we hope, no, we are sure, she will not disap-

point him); Orsino passing through the beautiful trappings to the real thing; Antonio, with a step like Kent's, ever faithful unto death—his purse and his life at the service of a brother and a lady; Viola, most matter-of-fact yet in her quest going through fire and water, duels and all, for the unswerving aim. They all get their deserts, even the rascals, and the clown pulls down the curtain with a delightful song which tells us it was ever thus since the dawn of creation and sweeps us out into the rain—and our own particular seekings. Even here in this lighter work is the breath of Saint Augustine: 'Late have I loved Thee, O Beauty, so ancient and so new', and Shakespeare shows us beauty as the purest, selfless love that dwells through God in the heart of man.

Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not love, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal. And though I have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries, and all knowledge; and though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not love, I am nothing. And though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and though I give my body to be burned, and have not love, it profiteth me nothing. Love suffereth long and is kind; love envieth not; love vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up, doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not her own, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil; rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth; beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things. Love never faileth: but whether there be prophecies, they shall fail; whether there be tongues, they shall cease; whether there be knowledge, it shall vanish away. For we know in part, and we prophesy in part. . . . now we see through a glass, darkly; but then face to face: now I know in part; but then shall I know even as also I am known. And now abideth faith, hope, love, these three; but the greatest of these is love.

Sirdar Kulraj Singh is a prominent member of the Sikh community in Calcutta. He is actively associated with The Sikh Review. For six years he was lecturer in English at Mahendra College, Patiala. The lecture printed below, which Sirdar Kulraj Singh gave at the Institute on 31 December 1960, was in commemoration of Guru Gobind Singh's birthday, which fell on 25 December.

THE peculiar circumstances of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in India cast Guru Gobind Singh, the tenth and last Guru of the Sikhs, in the role of a soldier, and it is difficult for most of us to think of him except in the context of his bellicose political involvements. But war was never the basic essential of his ideology. A worthy successor of the holy Guru Nānak, he preached the latter's dual gospel of spiritual salvation and secular well-being. Like the great Master, he emphasized the supremacy of truthful living, the harmonious cultivation of all human capabilities, and the harnessing of them for the attainment of truth and beauty in our day-to-day living. If, then, he evolved the idea of the saint-soldier as a worthy aim of education and culture; he did nothing but extend the essentials of the Sikh philosophy of life to a wider field. If the aim of purposeful activity is all-round perfection, then the capacity to defend ourselves and to guard our honour and political freedom, is as much a part of this aim as making a living by the exertion of mind or muscle. Guru Nānak's most significant contribution to Indian religion, apart from an uncompromising monotheism, was to extend the ambit of religion to include secular values, which Indian religious thought and philosophy had tended to neglect. Guru Gobind Singh's ideology

was a comprehensive delineation of secularism so as to embody the spiritual and political ideals of democracy and freedom.

Guru Gobind Singh had long pondered over the prevailing atmosphere of oppression, over man's vulnerability to oppression and the demoralization that arose therefrom, and over man's greed, and his helplessness before external circumstances. The India of his day, more dramatically epitomized in the border provinces of Lahore and Sirhind, was one vast compromise—a compromise with evil and lust as far as the rulers were concerned, and with slavery and degradation among the ruled. The question that Guru Gobind Singh had to answer was dual in content: how could the weak be lifted out of turpitude and degradation? How could the strong be guided into philanthropic sainthood. His answer was the idea of the saint-soldier. A saint by himself, he believed, was helpless; a soldier tended to become a tyrant. Had not our sacred land of this land lain under the heels of foreign marauders for centuries? And had not the soldiers of Islam in the India of his day become a symbol of ideological and physical tyranny?

Guru Gobind Singh assumed guruship in 1675 at the tender age of nine when his father, Guru Teg Bahādur, embraced martyrdom in the cause of freedom of conscience. The young Guru's complications

started in 1680 when presents of a performing pet elephant and a multipurpose weapon were received from the Assam Chief, Rājā Ratan, Rāi; and an Afghan Sikh, Bhāi Duni Cand sent a present of a luxury tent. These excited the envy of Rājā Bhīm Cand, the hill chief in whose territory the Guru's estate of Anandpur was situated. When Bhīm Cand's design to possess these prize objects by stratagem failed, he threatened military action against the Guru. But he thought the better of this course in view of his son's approaching nuptials. Meanwhile the Guru temporarily moved to the hill State of Nahan and settled down at a place on the banks of the Yamunā, which he named Paunta. Near here, in the field of Bhangani, he fought the first military action of his life against the combined forces of several hill chiefs under the command of Rājā Fateh Shāh of the State of Srinagar. Rājā Fateh Shāh was coerced into launching an attack on the Guru by Rājā Bhīm Cand. The latter, on the eve of his son's marriage with Rājā Fateh Shāh's daughter, refused to countenance the marriage unless Rājā Fateh Shāh joined him in doing battle against the Guru. Thanks to the Guru's inspiring leadership and the devotion of his soldiers, the battle resulted in a complete rout of the hill forces.

Shrewd judge of men that he was, Guru Gobind Singh saw that sporadic victories would be easily attributed to divine dispensation operating through his instrumentality.* And since his aim was not just to win victories but to create a courageous attitude that dares great things and defies overwhelming odds, without leaning on any support except belief in God and righteousness, he was not content with merely accepting the favourable outcome of his defensive military actions. During 1698 the Guru was seen to become unduly thoughtful. He sought loneliness in those days and retired for a long time to the neighbouring pen of Naina Devi for contemplation.

THE FOUNDATION OF THE KHALSA

In 1699, the Guru's plan seems to have been perfected. On the eve of the day of *Baisākhī* of that year, when a record number of Sikhs had assembled at Anandpur in response to a special summons sent out by him, Guru Gobind Singh suddenly stood up on the dais at the conclusion of the morning service and, taking out his sword from its sheath, demanded if any Sikh would offer his head to the Guru. The congregation was shocked into deathly immobility. The Guru's call rang again through the hissing silence. Nobody dared look towards him. The Guru repeated his call a third time. And this time one, Dayā Rām, a Kṣatrī from Lahore, hesitantly rose to his feet and ponderously moved towards the dais. 'I offer you my head' he said. The Guru seized him rudely by the arm and led him into a tent enclosure specially erected for the occasion. The congregation heard a thud and the next moment they saw the Guru emerge from the enclosure with a blood-besmeared sword. He remounted the dais and asked for another head. This time one, Dharam Dās, a Jāt from Delhi, offered himself and was similarly led into the enclosure. Once again the sound of the thud was heard. Three times more the call was repeated, and Makhan Cand, a washerman from Dwarka, Sāhib Cand, a barber from Bidar, and Himat Rāi a water-carrier from Puri offered themselves. After Himat Rāi was led into the enclosure, the Guru stayed there longer than before. When he ultimately emerged, dressed in new saffron robes, he was followed by the five who had offered their lives to the Guru, clothed likewise in immaculate saffron. This episode was the initiation of a new order amongst the Sikhs, the Khālsā, the order of saint-soldiers.

The five Beloved Ones—they were thenceforth to be known by this appellation—were baptised at a special ceremony the following

day. To the accompaniment of lengthy scriptural recitations, they were baptized with water stirred with a dagger and sweetened with sugar flakes added by the Guru's wife, Mātā Sundri. This 'immortalizing nectar' was splashed five times into the face and again sprinkled five times on the head of each of them as they uttered the words : 'The Khālsā is God's ; victory is God's.' This part of the ritual over, the five were made to put their lips to the edge of the bowl and drink from it one after the other, draught by draught, till it was finished. This was done to emphasize that from that day onwards their caste distinctions were gone and they belonged to one brotherhood which anyone could join irrespective of his birth and position in society. This was further stressed in the Guru's sermon. From that day they were all the children of the Guru, he said, and residents of Anandpur. The sermon enjoined upon them a rigorous discipline : they were to rise before the break of dawn and, after taking their bath, to recite a prescribed set of scriptures which took almost forty minutes. They were to close their day with another scriptural prayer. They were to abstain from drinking, tobacco smoking, and adultery. For their external discipline they were to wear unshorn hair and beard, a steel bangle on the right wrist, a comb in the hair, a dagger, and a pair of shorts.

The second act of this drama of resurrection came when the Guru prayed the five Beloved Ones, with folded hands, to baptize him and admit him into the, Khālsā brotherhood. This supreme act of self-effacement was the greatest practical tribute to the dignity of human personality, and provided the spiritual foundation for the equality of mankind which was to be the watchword for all progressive movements for centuries to come. At the same time it was the most dramatic repudiation of the cult of personality. Prophets had before that

time exalted their followers to high spiritual planes. But Guru Gobind Singh not only raised the Khālsā to his own level but he voluntarily accepted subservience to its code of conduct. Thus the order of the Khālsā, which was intended to promote the all-round growth of human personality and to provide a protecting militia for the down-trodden masses, was built upon, what at that time was, the most revolutionary concept : that principles have precedence over personalities, and that a constitution was the supreme authority of the governance of a social order.

THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE KHALSA

To what extent this extraordinary ideology revitalized the people is a matter of history. It bred individual courage, a spirit of dedication, and an indifference to personal safety, the like of which is rarely found in the annals of history. In 1704, barely five years after the creation of the order, when Guru Gobind Singh and the famished remnants of the Anandpur garrison evacuated the fortress, within which they had been defending themselves against the wrath of the Emperor Aurangzeb, they were hotly pursued by their besiegers in contravention of an undertaking that they would be allowed to depart unmolested. A batch of Sikhs voluntarily stayed back on the bank of the swollen torrent, Śirsā, to stem the advance of the pursuers, so that, even if they themselves perished, the other Sikhs might reach safety.

Not long afterwards, when Wazir Khan, the Viceroy of Sirhind, gave chase to the Guru near Khidrana in Ferozepur District, a batch of forty Sikh men and one woman, freshly arrived from the area around Lahore, gave battle to the vastly superior Moghul forces in order to afford the Guru breathing space. The grievous loss inflicted by them on the viceregal army induced Wazir Khan to abandon the expedition, though none of the Sikh men survived the battle.

The Sikhs, who in the eighteenth century lived in scattered areas, continually harassed the formidable armies of the invaders, Ahmed Shah Abdali and Nadir Shah. On one occasion they surprised the rear of the former's army and relieved from its ruthless grip several hundred captive Indian maids whom they escorted to their homes. In 1746, Ahmed Shah, infuriated by the persistent harassment by the Sikhs of his deputies in the Punjab, swooped upon a column of Sikhs comprising almost the entire community, which was escaping to safety having heard of Ahmed Shah's intentions. Ten thousand of them were killed. Three months later, the Sikhs fell upon Sirhind and inflicted a defeat on the governor, Zain Khan.

In the thirties of the nineteenth century, the Khālsā reversed the currents of history when it marched north victoriously and hoisted its flags and built its forts in the rugged and gun-infested Pathan hills of Khyber. Later, in 1846, in their dire hour of defeat brought about by the outrageous marriage of British bribery with the treachery of the Dogra prime minister and commander-in-chief, the Sikh soldiers never showed their back to the enemy. This is what a contemporary British eye-witness, Captain Cunningham, wrote of the Sikh soldiers :

'... the enemy (the Sikhs) was pressed towards the scarcely fordable river, yet although assailed on either side by squadrons of horse and battalions of foot, no Sikh offered to submit and no disciple of Govind asked for quarter. They everywhere showed a front to the victors and stalked slowly and sullenly away, while many rushed singly forth to meet assured death by contending with a multitude. The victors looked with stolid wonderment upon the indomitable courage of the vanquished ...'

In more recent times that same ideology, though divested of its original lustre, bred the second major revolt in India against British rule by providing the impulse and

personnel for the Ghaddar Movement. Later still it generated unrest over the corrupt management of the Sikh shrines by hereditary priests. And, through a highly disciplined peaceful resistance movement, the Sikhs demonstrated for the first time the efficacy of *satyāgraha* (non-violent resistance). Describing his impressions of *satyāgraha* at Guru ka Bagh, our present president, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, has said : 'When we saw all this we were convinced that genuine *satyāgraha* was a practical possibility. It required courage, and the valour and the capacity to suffer hardship. If valiant people could display this capacity, no power on earth could ever succeed in subduing them.'

Yet valour and courage were not the only facets of the Guru's ideology. A third facet was the admission of the supremacy of impersonal moral law, which was higher than any personality. After the day the Guru administered and received baptism, the congregation, epitomized in the five worthy Sikhs, became the repository of all authority. The Guru's dominating influence still prevailed but there were occasions when even he was called upon to obey the congregations' verdict. Once, as he was passing by the tomb of the Muslim saint, Dādū, he lowered his arrow as a token of reverence. This, as he later explained, he did to test the spiritual maturity of the Sikhs. He was immediately proclaimed an offender because the Sikh teaching was that tombs, mausoleums and relics must not be revered. He willingly paid a fine of Rs. 125. This tradition was maintained even in Mahārājā Ranjit Singh's time, and that awe-inspiring monarch was frequently reprimanded for his aberrations by Jāthedār Phulā Singh, a valiant Akālī commander and a highly respected religious dignitary of his time.

A MANY-SIDED PERSONALITY

Still another facet of the Guru's ideology

was belief in the equality of all men. It is difficult to think of a greater democrat than Guru Gobind Singh. Be it noted, however, that he distrusted the blind democracy of adult franchise. All men are entitled to equal opportunity, but only the *élite* could vouchsafe to society good government. Hence the need of an order of saint-soldiers, an order of highly disciplined, enlightened men, to which all those who undertook to observe its discipline could be admitted and which could therefore expand to comprehend the whole of mankind.

This, in short, is the vision which the Guru saw and so successfully translated into reality and which is so aptly summarized in an inimitable verse of his own :

Blessed is the being of him who
repeateth God's name, and thinketh of
war :

For, knowing that the mortal frame
endureth not, he crosseth this
mighty ocean of suffering by the
vessel of the praise of God.

Blessed is he who maketh his body the
abode of contentment and lighteth
his mind with correct thinking.

Blessed is he who with the brush of
knowledge dusteth off the dirt of
ignorance.

In the field of statesmanship as in other fields, the Guru had absolutely no formal training. Nonetheless in conducting his public affairs he displayed unerring judgement. His earliest success in diplomacy was achieved at the tender age of eighteen years when he effected a *rapprochement* between Rājā Medni Prakāś of Nahan and Rājā Fateh Shāh of Srinagar, who were at loggerheads over a section of territory.

Notwithstanding the accumulating evidence of the hill chiefs' hostility, he showed dignified readiness to befriend any of them who sought his friendship or aid. He induced Rājā Bhīm Cand, whose ire had

calmed down after a series of reverses in battles with the Guru, not to pay tribute to Alif Khan, the representative of the viceroy of Jammu who invaded the hill territories to levy tribute. He even suggested to the hill chiefs that they should form a joint defence treaty.

During the siege of Anandpur when starvation stared his army in the face, he refused to believe oaths on the *Qur'ān* and the sacred cow taken by the Muslim and Hindu besiegers, who swore that he, his men, and his belongings would be allowed to depart unmolested if they evacuated the fortress. Later, when his mother insisted that Emperor Aurangzeb's oath must be taken in all earnestness, he sent out a few bullocks loaded with refuse and covered with brocade. The caravan was soon laid upon by the besiegers, and in this way he showed his mother the vanity of the besiegers' oaths.

His *Zafarnama*, a letter in verse addressed to Aurangzeb, who had earlier invited him to Delhi, is a superb piece of diplomatic drafting in which frank allegations of breach of trust alternate with equally frank assertions that he would continue to resist so long as Aurangzeb's atrocities continued. It was written in a conciliatory tone calculated to assure the Emperor of the absence of personal rancour in the Guru's mind, and included occasional appeals to his religious sentiments. It is recorded that the bearers of this letter were given an imperial decree of safe conduct by the usually ruthless monarch.

In considering the soldier in Guru Gobind Singh, we do not wish to describe his accomplishments in the arts of swordsmanship, archery, and shooting, but to concentrate on the mentality which is characteristic of a good soldier. An ideal soldier's mentality has two important facts : the first is courage, which implies the will to fight, indifference to personal safety, and preparedness to make any sacrifice for the achievement of a worthy

aim ; the second is benevolence towards the defeated foe and lack of vindictiveness. The Guru possessed courage in Hīmalayan measure. At the age of nine, when a deputation of Kashmir Brāhmanas petitioned his father, Guru Teg Bahādur, to save them from forcible conversion to Islam, Guru Teg Bahādur declared that they could be saved only if a very holy man sacrificed his life for them. The young Gobind Singh said, 'Who is holier in the world than my father?' Not long afterwards the boy received the news of his father's public assassination in Delhi's Chandni Chowk, with courage and determination.

All through his continuous involvement with the hill chiefs, in the course of which the latter attacked him with vastly superior forces, occasionally reinforced by battalions of the Moghul army, he stood his ground dauntlessly. After evacuating Anandpur he took up positions in a mud building at Chamkaur with a contingent of forty Sikhs to contend with freshly arrived imperial troops, whose number ran into thousands. Here he sent his two elder sons and several Sikhs to fight and hold back the encroaching besiegers. Later when he received the news that his two remaining sons, nine-year old Jorawar Singh and seven-year old Fateh Singh, had been bricked up alive, all that he did was to pluck a plant and say that Moghul rule would be extirpated thus.

Yet these were minor trials compared to what befell him in Malwa later. While the Moghul pursuers still stalked him, the Sikh soldiers, with the exception of one or two, abandoned him. Most of his erstwhile devotees were afraid of offering him shelter and for a considerable time he moved from pillar to post. Even these trials and adversities did not affect his courage. In his letter of remonstrance to Aurangzeb which he named 'Epistle of Victory', he wrote : 'What though the four children have been killed ? The coiled cobra is still alive.'

And that brings us to his magnanimity in the field of battle. The Guru always opposed the chasing of a defeated army. He arranged the honourable disposal of the enemy dead. Each arrow of his was tipped with a quantity of gold sufficient to provide for the burial of the person killed or the medical expenses of the person wounded. He applauded the Sikh water-carrier who poured water into the mouth of every wounded person irrespective of whether he was a friend or foe, and gave the water-carrier ointment to apply to the wounded without distinction.

THE MYSTIC AND THE POET

After having considered the Guru's practical achievements and after having noted that he was a shrewd statesman and a great soldier, it may be difficult to associate with him such gifts as mysticism and poetry. Strangely enough, these are the two major constituents of his personality. He was a man of God first and foremost and, like Guru Nānak, he was a monist, filled with a sense of divine immanence. The favourite theme of Guru Gobind Singh's poetry was God and His attributes. God was recognized as attributeless but there was no way of knowing Him except through attributes which are manifest in creation. Of these, omnipresence, benevolence, energy, and omnipotence, inspired the Guru. One long poem entitled *The Praise of the Timeless* is simply praise of God, in a variety of metric patterns. Almost all other poems contain long invocations whose natural flow expresses the ecstasy which he experienced while dealing with his favourite subject. He was equally adept in the art of writing didactic verse ; aptness of phrase and continuity of flow testifying to his literary powers.

By far the larger volume of Guru Gobind Singh's poetical works comprises epic and narrative poems. There is hardly any inspiring subject in Indian mythology which

the Guru did not treat in his own inimitable *bai bhāṣī* verse. He retold the stories of the epic heroes, Rāma and Kṛṣṇa. However, the one subject that fired the Guru's imagination more than any other was the war of the goddess Durgā with the demons. This subject he dealt with in epic verse of a kind which, according to Dr. Gokul Chand Narang, 'has no parallel in Hindi literature'. Few poets of Hindi verse have attained such perfect fusion of sense, sound, and imagery in building up a mood or conveying an emotion.

Guru Gobind Singh's verse is characteristic of his powerful and versatile personality : it is suggestive of the vastness and energy of his spirit and enshrines his immense resolution :

Grant me a boon, O Lord,
That I may not be deterred from the
performance of virtuous deeds,
That I may not be afraid of the foe
when I go forth to fight,
That I may gain the day by dint of
faith,
That I may be a proper guide to my
heart—
I have a yearning that I may ever
recite Thy praises—
That when my end approaches I may
die fighting on the field.

One further observation should be given, without which this already sketchy picture would be incomplete and which is pertinent to our thesis : that Guru Gobind Singh developed a wide range of apparently contradictory qualities within himself. He was a remarkable combination of energy and restraint, and restraint in his case was best demonstrated in a field where it is normally least applied. He was a powerful advocate of sexual continence.

When the Guru was barely thirty-seven years old, a Sikh from Rohtas came to visit him with his youthful daughter, Sahil Devan,

and proffered her in marriage to the Guru. The Guru said that he could not marry the young girl because he had given up conjugal life some time back. The Sikh, apparently disappointed, stated that he had brought up the girl to be the Guru's wife and as he had made no secret of his intention, everyone addressed her by the name of Mother ; now, no one else could marry her. The Guru said he would marry her provided she chose to stay celibate in spite of this marriage. She was willing and the marriage took place. Later, when she expressed to the Guru a desire to have a son, the Guru told her that she would have the entire Khālsā for her sons.

If a miracle means a phenomenon involving the suspension of normal laws of nature, then Guru Gobind Singh was undoubtedly one of the most amazing miracles known to history. He was one of those rare human prodigies who defy all calculations based upon the dynamics of psychology and the limitations to which human nature is universally subject. For he not only developed to perfection a wide range of capacities, talents, and virtues, which seldom coexist in one man, but he did so in the face of heavy odds. Being the only son of a highly revered prophet, succeeding to the position of his father at the raw age of nine, he was ever the object of attention and reverence and never had the opportunity of a normal upbringing. Yet, he grew up to be a shrewd judge of men, an inspiring leader in peace and war, a tough soldier and an uncompromising crusader, a dynamic but high-principled statesman, a poet of a high order, a mystic who regarded all things secondary to the cultivation of spirituality, and above all he was a visionary who promulgated a most progressive ideology. Guru Gobind Singh combined a nobility of concept with a superhuman capacity to translate his beliefs into practical action.

BOOK REVIEW

STUDIES IN THE UPANISADS. By Govindagopal Mukhopadhyaya, M.A., D.Phil. Studies No. 3 in the Calcutta Sanskrit College Research Series No. IX. (Sanskrit College, Calcutta. 1960. 308 pp. Rs. 15)

Any discourse on the Upaniṣads has to steer clear of the Scylla of semantics and the Charybdis of speculation. Quite apart from their unfamiliar diction and syntax, words and expressions used in the texts have lost their import and timbre over the centuries. These semantic hurdles offer a fertile ground for speculation and scholasticism. Śaṅkarācārya depreciates this tendency to interpret the texts in conformity with one or other of the positive schools of thought, as pleasant but perverse. The effort completely distorts the spirit of the Upaniṣads and the truth they reveal. As has been ably explained in Chapter III of the book under review, considerable preparation is necessary to attain to a state of fitness (*adhikāra*) in order to realize the essence of *Brahma-vidyā*, the lore of the Real. Even the will to know the Upaniṣadic truth flows from complete renunciation and austere contemplation. No wonder western scholars, in spite of their most laudable efforts and their tremendous amount of work, have not succeeded in bringing out the essence of the Upaniṣads, which they treat more or less as a system of speculative philosophy. While, therefore, all additions to the literature on the subject are welcome, great care is necessary to avoid detraction from the content and the efficiency of the teachings, or rather the commands, of these Vedic texts.

Considerable confusion is caused by failure to appreciate the practical aspect of these scriptures. They are not just treatises on metaphysics. They do not begin with wonder nor can there be any secrecy surrounding them, as the learned author seems to hold with Paul Deussen. Presumably the word

āścarya occurring in the *Kāṭhōpaniṣad* has been translated as 'wonderful' by the author. But *āścarya* in that context stands for 'rare', as would be apparent from the juxtaposition of the word *kuśala* with it. What it is intended to convey is that an expert versed in the lore of the Real is not met round every corner. Had the sages intended to throw a pall of mystery on their sayings they would not have narrated anecdotes wherein emblems of individuals are said to have discussed the highest truth in the sacred groves of India, with teachers evincing an eagerness to propagate it. Śaṅkarācārya, in his commentary on the *Kāṭhōpaniṣad*, defines Upaniṣad etymologically as *vidyā*, a science, the knowledge of which annihilates the seed of the manifold nature of experience and thereby moves or leads the aspirant to Ultimate Reality. Although the Upaniṣad is essentially the lore of transcendental Reality, it also takes in its stride the physical sciences, just as a pilgrim marks groves and wells on the map of his route, as Śaṅkarācārya says. The author defines the Upaniṣads as *rahasyam*, a secret or mysterious knowledge. The use of *rahasyam* in the context of Upaniṣads refers to its root meaning of 'solitude'. Contemplation of Upaniṣadic truth has to be practised in solitude, what is called *vivikta sevā* in the *Gītā*. But by no stretch of imagination could these holy texts be dubbed as constituting a secret, mephistophelean, cabbalistic cult.

Reality poses no problem, as the appropriate chapter of this book suggests. It is *bastu*, a given objective fact, to use anthropomorphic terms. In discussing Ultimate Reality the learned author echoes Keith in holding that 'contradictions and inconsistencies no doubt confront us at every step'. Perhaps he has in view sayings like, 'It is far and near', 'It is the subtlest of the subtle and the grossest of the gross', and so

on. But are these really contradictions or inconsistencies? How else can an infinite, all-pervasive entity be described in phenomenal terms? The concept of *ākāśa* (ether) is about the nearest approach to that subtle, all-pervasive, infinite principle, on the empirical plane. Is it not described as far and near? Is that a contradiction or inconsistency? To define the essentially undefinable, to qualify the unqualifiable is to attempt the impossible. The entity shorn of spatial and temporal co-ordinates is ineffable, too great for words. And so Yājñavalkya hinted at it by the negative expression *neti neti*. It only means that the Real of reals (*satyasya satyam*) is not anything perceived or perceivable by mind and senses.

This, however, does not lead us to the blind alley of metaphysical agnosticism. The Upaniṣads clearly say *ātma ba are draṣṭavya*, the Self has to be seen; *Brahma te jñāpayisyāmi*, I shall make Brahman known to you. Sri Ramakrishna was once asked by a group of learned men as to whether he had seen God. Prompt came his reply: 'Seen God! How silly, I see him everywhere and every moment, as clearly as I see you!' The eyes of the mind have to be closed and the eye of the spirit opened to see the inmost essence of Reality. Dr. Mukhopadhyaya, in his chapter on 'The Problem of Knowledge', says: 'In lifting the consciousness towards the self-shining awareness of the Ātman one has finally to wait here, in the plane of *vāc* before entering the domain of the Ātman.' And *vāc*, according to him, signifies the supreme faculty of reason. It follows, therefore, that the realization of self has to be attained through reason. In support he has quoted the anecdote of Yājñavalkya, in which the sage told the king, Janaka, that when all other lights fail, human activity is guided by *vāc*, and when that fails it is the inner light that directs. Here *vāc* stands for voice or speech. According to Śaṅkarācārya's in-

terpretation of the text, in enveloping darkness when visibility is poor or non-existent, man and beast function through voice, the dog barks, the ass brays, and the man shouts. By *vāc* is also implied the other sensations of smell, taste, and so on. In any case, the supreme Essence cannot be argued into existence. *Dṛśyate tu agraya buddhya*, the Self is apprehended through that one-pointed faculty of mind which penetrates through the gross and apprehends the subtle. That faculty is not intellect or reason.

The discovery of this entity, the Essence, the Ātman, is emancipation, a firm establishment in Self. In this unitive existence, there is no question of any moral responsibility. Ethical concepts apply to the area around us, the area of relations, while wisdom thrives in the area within us, the area of the Absolute, where subject, object, and knowledge fuse into one undifferentiated whole. In that sense Keith and other western philosophers are right up to a point. The activities of a liberated individual are restricted almost to biological necessities; being completely free from any egoistic motives they are therefore ethically neutral. But it is simply fatuous to hold, with Hume, that wisdom permits the individual 'unblushingly' to continue in what seems to be much evil'. Steeped as the wise are in eternal joy, they become psychologically and physically incapable of being corrupted by the limitless power they acquire in the process of liberation.

Irrespective of these details of interpretation, the author has to be sincerely congratulated on the excellent way in which he has put across the teachings of the Upaniṣads in this handy volume. The arrangement of the topics is very systematic, facilitating an easy evolution of the subject. The frequent references to western schools of thought are very helpful. The lucidity of style should make the book highly popular.

S. K. GUPTA

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

India's Tradition of Toleration and Coexistence

Mr. Mumayun Kabir, Union Minister for Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, delivered the first of two lectures on 'Lessons of Indian History' under the Mohini Devi Foundation at the Gauhati University, Assam, on 20 February.

India's past tradition and history have given a special meaning to her championship of the principle of coexistence among different peoples and outlooks of the modern world, Mr. Kabir stated. He expressed the view that perhaps the most important lesson of Indian history was the way in which Indian society had, throughout the ages, sought to find a way of reconciling the diversities in her life. Indian history, he said, had also taught that diversity need not be an enemy of unity.

Indian history does not bear out the criticism that toleration of differences has been a source of weakness for India. Mr. Kabir pointed out that India was perhaps the only country in the world today with a continuous tradition of culture going back at least six, and possibly, ten thousand years. Indian culture was also perhaps the most composite and complex culture that man had till now evolved. It was trite but true, to say, said Mr. Kabir, that India was an epitome of the world. It was the variety and diversity of her culture which had enabled India to survive. It was perhaps not accidental, Mr. Kabir suggested, that the decay of ancient India had begun with the decay of the broad toleration and liberality that characterized Indian life throughout the age of Buddha.

Mr. Kabir added that the progressive rise of the West since the beginning of the sixteenth century had profoundly affected Indian national history. The astonishing transformation of the human situation,

brought about as a result of scientific advances, had, however, brought with it attendant dangers that threatened the very survival of man. A situation had been created where different peoples with different outlooks must learn to tolerate if not also to respect one another. In the context of the technological unification of the world the principle of coexistence, preached by India through the ages, had assumed a new urgency and importance.

Summing up, Mr. Kabir said that the experience of India had shown, time and again, that the acceptance of diversity and coexistence of differences could alone ensure the survival of man. When Buddhism and Hinduism flourished side by side as in the days of Aśoka or Harṣa, India also flourished. When one sought to curb the other, both in the end suffered. Similarly, when Akbar found a formula for the coexistence of Hinduism and Islam, India attained the greatest height of medieval culture. When, in Aurangzeb's regime, their co-operation was disrupted, India again fell on evil days. Toleration and coexistence explain the astonishing continuity of Indian culture and they offer the hope that man can survive in spite of the ideological differences which today divide the world.

Experiment in International Living

Dr. Donald Watt, of the United States, founder-president of the Experiment in International Living, visited India recently with Mrs. Watt, and reported on the progress of the Experiment's programme of providing opportunities for young men and women of one country to live with the families of another—perhaps the best way to promote international understanding and acquire lasting friendships. The Experiment was founded twenty-seven years ago, has

gained wide acceptance in more than thirty countries, and over 15,000 young people have been exchanged under the programme. Mr. S. P. Desai, Indian representative of the Experiment, who participated in a recent press conference, said that during the last five years scores of persons from America, Britain, Australia, and Sweden had stayed with Indian families and had acquired first-hand knowledge of Indian conditions, which they had relayed to their countrymen through speeches, often numbering 100 per person. Dr. and Mrs. Watt are at present on a tour of fifteen Asian countries under a grant from the Ford Foundation to explore means of expanding the Experiment's activities, and to seek voluntary representatives who will handle the Experiment's programme in each country.

A German Dictionary

The two Grimm brothers, famous in literature for their collections of fairy-tales, started work on the compilation of *Grimm's Dictionary of the German Language* 112 years ago. The work was completed at the end of 1960. The contract for this difficult undertaking was signed in Leipzig in 1838. The first instalment appeared after fourteen years, and in 1853 the first volume was completed. In 1858, when Wilhelm Grimm died, the letter D was finished. Four years later his brother Jakob Grimm died too. In 1908 the editing was taken over by the Prussian Academy of Sciences in Berlin, where, after the first World War, it was carried on by the Central Office of the Dictionary. After the Second World War work was not resumed until 1950. In its extensive scope the Dictionary not only comprises the whole wealth of the German language, but offers, by means of quotations from works of literature, a survey of stylistic development.

Tagore Centenary News

To co-ordinate the centenary celebration

programme all over the Soviet Union, an All-Union Tagore Centenary Committee has been formed with the veteran writer Nikolai Tikhonov as its Chairman, and eminent Soviet writers, artists, scientists, educationists, and other public leaders among its members. In October, 1960, this Committee, in a joint meeting with the Central Committee of the Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, worked out a general programme for the centenary celebrations.

An anthology of writings about Tagore by eminent Indian and Soviet intellectuals will be published in Russian and other Soviet languages. There will be a new twelve-volume Russian edition of Rabindranath's selected works, including many writings not previously translated into Russian. A large number of novels, and poetry, essay and short story collections will also be published in several other Soviet languages.

All over the U.S.S.R. cinema houses will exhibit a short documentary film on Tagore's life. Theatres in many Soviet cities have already started preparations to stage Rabindranath's plays or dance dramas. Those who do not have an opportunity of seeing these productions on the stage will be able to view them on television in millions of Soviet homes or clubs. Radio stations throughout the U.S.S.R. will present programmes of Tagore's songs, readings from his poems and prose works, and lectures and literary discussions about him. Besides this, in thousands of clubs and libraries, and small and large cultural institutions in towns and rural areas, there will be photographic exhibitions, book displays, reading circles, and discussions to mark the centenary celebrations.

All this vast activity will culminate in three special sessions at Moscow's House of Friendship, at the Leningrad Institute of Oriental Studies, and at the Tashkent Institute of Asian Peoples.

INSTITUTE NEWS

Participation in the Fulbright Programme

Coming in close touch with the United States Educational Foundation in India through a succession of Fulbright scholars visiting the Institute, the Institute requested the United States Educational Foundation formally to approve it for general participation in the Fulbright programme. This approval has now been accorded. Closer ties between the Institute and the Foundation will help build up Institute work in the study and development of intercultural relations.

Dr. Helmut G. Callis as Visiting Lecturer

At the request of the Institute, the United States Educational Foundation has assigned to it Dr. Helmut G. Callis as a Fulbright visiting lecturer for the academic year 1961-62. Dr. Callis has been Professor of History at the University of Utah, U.S.A., since 1947, and in 1960 took part in the Fulbright Research Project on Cultural Change. The Institute appreciates the co-operation of the University of Utah in permitting Dr. Callis to extend his stay in India for a second year to work with the Institute.

In the January and March issues of the *Bulletin* mention was made of Dr. and Mrs. Helmut G. Callis and their close association with the Institute since November 1960, and of the generous help and valuable advice which Dr. Callis gave in connection with the development of the Institute's scheme of work.

In this issue of the *Bulletin* 'Observations' has been contributed by Dr. Callis under the title of 'Pathways to One World'. This is the substance of a talk given by Dr. Callis when he led an informal discussion on this subject at the Institute on 22 January.

Reception to the Rt. Hon. Earl Attlee

The presence of the Rt. Hon. Earl Attlee,

K.G., O.M., C.H., in India during March afforded an opportunity to the Institute to arrange a reception in his honour. It was, therefore, with particular pleasure that the Institute welcomed Lord Attlee, the former Labour Prime Minister of Britain, to a reception on Monday, 6 March. Prior to the reception Lord Attlee was shown over part of the Institute's building, including the library. He showed great interest in the varied activities of the Institute and asked many pertinent questions. Lord Attlee's visit to India was chiefly concerned with delivering the Azad Memorial Lectures under the auspices of the Indian Council for Cultural Relations in Delhi.

Those who attended the reception included :

The Hon. Mr. Justice P. B. Mukharji, of the Calcutta High Court, and Mrs. Mukharji ; Sri S. K. Mukherji, formerly Speaker of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly ; Dr. R. C. Majumdar, formerly Vice-Chancellor of Dacca University ; Dr. Radha-govinda Basak, formerly Professor of Sanskrit at Presidency College, Calcutta ; Sri Keshab Chandra Gupta, Advocate ; Dr. Sachindra Sarbadhikary, M.B., M.D. ; Dr. Jyotirmoy Ghosh, formerly Principal of Presidency College, Calcutta ; Sri D. N. Bose, Managing Director of Chittaranjan Cotton Mills, East Pakistan ; Dr. H. L. Dey, formerly Chairman of the UNESCO International Monetary Fund ; Sri J. N. Talukdar, I.C.S., formerly Chief Secretary, Government of West Bengal ; Sri J. C. Banerjee, Principal of Ashutosh College, Calcutta ; Mr. G. S. Whitehead, Acting Deputy High Commissioner for the United Kingdom ; Mr. P. J. F. Storrs, Regional Information Officer, British Information Service ; Mr. F. Matthews, First Secretary, British Information Service ; and Mr. A. G. Bartlett, Director

of U.S.I.S., Calcutta, and Mrs. Bartlett.

Illustrated Lecture on the Dead Sea Scrolls

An unusually interesting occasion occurred at the Institute on 18 February, when Professor H. Wright Baker, D.Sc., M.I.Mech.E., M.I.Prod.E., gave a lecture on 'The Discovery and Significance of the Dead Sea Scrolls'. Professor Wright Baker was until February associated with the Central Mechanical Engineering Research Institute at Durgapur, West Bengal, as a UNESCO field expert. He is Professor of Mechanical Engineering in the Faculty of Technology at the University of Manchester, England. He was himself closely connected with one of the technical aspects of the whole unfolding of the story of the scrolls which began thirteen years ago.

Professor Wright Baker lectured for about two hours illustrating his talk with forty-four lantern slides. The first part of his lecture was concerned with an account of the history of the Jewish people up to the founding of the monastic community at Qumran towards the end of the first century B.C. He explained how the scrolls have helped to resolve some of the discrepancies that appear in the writing of the Old Testament books due to the dispersal of the twelve Jewish tribes down the centuries. The earliest manuscripts of the Old Testament hitherto known date from about the year 900 A.D.; the texts of a great part of the Old Testament found in the caves at Qumran are about one thousand years older.

The lecturer, by means of the slides, gave a description of the buildings which this religious sect had prepared for themselves as a retreat in the wilderness prior to the great Jewish Revolt against Rome. He explained that the preparation of the manuscripts on leather and copper scrolls appears to have been the chief occupation of the sect. His descriptions helped to give some idea of the life of the sect, its means for community

living, and even some domestic details.

The part of the lecture which was of particular interest was that which was concerned with the scrolls themselves, and the technical difficulties involved in unrolling this ancient material for deciphering and translating its secrets. It was particularly in connection with the copper scrolls that Professor Wright Baker played a very important part.

In July 1955 the Manchester College of Technology was approached by the Jordan Department of Antiquities in the hope of obtaining help in the technical difficulties concerned in preparing the copper scrolls for deciphering. The work was placed in the hands of Professor Wright Baker with Mr. Mohammed Saleh as technical assistant under a British Council bursary. In a booklet written by the Professor called 'Notes on the Opening of the "Bronze" Scrolls from Qumran', published by the Manchester University Press, he explains in fascinating detail the delicate and ingenious process by which the metal was cut into strips and so released from its roll after, probably, some 2,000 years, with very little loss of the script.

In April 1956, the scrolls, completely prepared in manageable strips, were returned to the scholars in Jordan. And in June of that year an authorized statement was issued revealing that the copper scrolls contained 'a collection of traditions about the hiding place of ancient treasure, altogether about sixty hoards being described.'

Lectures on 'The Complexities of Liberty'

During the last two weeks of April a series of four lectures were delivered at the Institute by Dr. Robert Lee Gaudino, B.A., M.A., Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Political Science at Williams College, Massachusetts, U.S.A. Dr. Gaudino's subject was: 'The Complexities of Liberty: America 1961'. His main thesis concerned the modern dilemmas and ambiguities of freedom with

special reference to their manifestations in the United States.

Library and Reading Room

Mention was made in 'Institute News' in the April issue of the *Bulletin*, of a visit paid to the Institute by Mr. and Mrs. Laurence J. Kipp. The Institute was glad to have the opportunity of hearing both Mr. and Mrs. Kipp talk informally on Indian and American librarianship, on 27 February, in the Institute's library. The meeting, which followed a reception, was organized in collaboration with the Institute by the Indian Library Association, of which the Institute's Librarian, Sri Bimalendu Majumdar, is the Secretary, and the Indian Association of Special Libraries and Information Centres.

Mr. Kipp, who is Associate Librarian of the Harvard Business School, explained that he and Mrs. Kipp were on a study tour of Indian university and research libraries as part of an eight-month programme sponsored by the India Wheat Loan Educational Exchange Programme and the University Grants Commission. He commented upon the great growth in library resources in India since independence. Among the thirty universities visited, sixteen have new buildings, and nine are planning new buildings. In noting that book collections had grown greatly during the last twelve years, he remarked that such growth naturally emphasized problems of development, and one of the problems was training men and women to run these libraries. Since Mrs. Kipp is also a librarian who has had wide experience in public library work and in teaching library science, Mr. Kipp, at this point, requested her to speak about education for librarianship.

Mrs. Kipp spoke about some developments she had observed in American library schools, without any implication that Indian training would or should follow a similar pattern. She spoke of the transition period

in library training in the U.S.A., beginning with the Williamson Report in the 1920's. At one time, she said, teachers in library schools had been inclined to be perfectionists and they had given more attention to detail than was now the case. Theory and practice, however, had always been combined in American library schools; they had usually operated with a well-equipped library attached to the school to serve as a laboratory. Much borrowing from other disciplines in recent years had strengthened and broadened library education. Speaking of reference work in library schools, Mrs. Kipp mentioned that teachers found it more stimulating to teach the subject by presenting actual problems to students. This was also the case with the teaching method used in some administration courses in which an actual problem situation was presented to the students for discussion. This 'case method' had been developed chiefly at the Simmons College School of Library Science.

Mr. Kipp then followed with a discussion on staff development in university libraries in India.

A general discussion was held, and Mr. and Mrs. Kipp replied to a number of questions.

Visitors

Among those who stayed at the International Scholars' Residence during March were the following :

Father Ismael Quiles, S.J., Ph.D. (Barcelona), Th.M. (Argentina), from Argentine. Father Quiles is Vice-Rector of the University of Salvador, Buenos Aires, and is also Professor of Philosophy. He is in India on a six-month programme as a UNESCO Exchange Professor, lecturing and studying in connection with UNESCO's Ten-Year Major Project on the Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values. On 11 March, Father Quiles gave a talk on 'The

Ultimate Reality of Man'. This talk was much appreciated by the audience and roused a stimulating discussion ;

Mademoiselle Colette Dutilh from France, a civil servant in the Ministry of Education, Paris, who was making a study in educational planning for UNESCO ; and Mr. and Mrs. Eric Ludwig, writer and painter respectively, from Copenhagen, who were on a tour of India.

MAY LECTURES

At 6 p.m.

- May 6 **Rabindranath Tagore : a Legend and a Symbol**
Speaker : Sudhansu Mohan Banerjee, M.A., B.L., I.A.A.S.
President : Srikumar Banerjee, M.A., Ph.D.
- May 13 **Buddha's Message and Modern Man**
Speaker : Shashi Bhusan Das Gupta, M.A., Ph.D.
President : Sacchidananda Bhattacharya, M.A.
- May 20 **Education in the United Kingdom**
Speaker : A. P. Weaver, M.A.
 Education Officer,* British Council, Calcutta
President : P. K. Guha, M.A.

At 6-30 p.m.

- May 27 **The Message of Sankaracarya**
Speaker : Principal Anniya Kumar Mazumdar, M.A.
President : The Hon. Mr. Justice P. B. Mukharji

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OBSERVATIONS

THE WEST LOOKS WITHIN

THAT India has a special role to play in the comity of nations today is clear to anyone who cares to read the signs of the times in both East and West. As we have shown in these columns in recent months, India has the immediate task of restating, in the modern context, those basic spiritual principles that have ever been the foundation of her national life. The ideal of the manifestation of spiritual power as the basic aim in life must now become the basis of national reconstruction. Through education, and the whole network of schemes for social progress, must shine forth the conviction that man by his very nature is pure and perfect, infinite in power, and ever blessed, and that man's only task in life is to manifest more and more of that power and that perfection.

Because these principles rest in the eternal nature of man and the universe, they are as potent for working for the good of the whole human race as they are for the good of the Indian nation. It is this truly universalist character of Indian thought that places India in a position of particular re-

sponsibility in the world today. The development of Indian culture will be incomplete without the establishment of a living relationship of give and take between India and other countries. The interplay between cultures that has been made possible and that has been encouraged by modern systems of communication is of special significance to India. On the one hand, India must take from other cultures whatever unique gifts they offer, as worthy and helpful to her. On the other hand, she must give her own unique gift, the gift of clearly stated universal, spiritual truths, truths which are being sought by nations that have understood that their existence now depends upon the re-establishment of their own spiritual foundations. In both these positions, as the one who receives and as the one who gives, India will be governed by her own universal outlook.

MAN'S APPROACH TO HIMSELF

Abundant evidence is to be found in current writing to show that thinkers in the West today demand that the crisis of the

times be met, with a changed attitude to the nature of man himself. Sir Norman Angell, formerly General Manager of the *Paris Daily Mail* (1905-14) and a Member of the Council of the Royal Institute of International Affairs (1928-42), now in his eighty-ninth year, gave a recent radio talk in London, entitled 'Dangerous Heritage' (*The Listener*, 2 February 1961). Recalling his undergraduate days in Geneva seventy-one years ago, Sir Norman spoke of a students' club at the university there, a club whose members included Russians, Poles, Germans, French, Greeks, Irish, Spaniards, Persians, and Indians. 'Our debates', Sir Norman said, 'were usually violent and confused, revealing fanatical partisanship, doctrinal intolerance, bitter national and racial conflicts. As these students would later form part of the intelligentsia of their respective countries, it all seemed to forecast a future of problems rendered insoluble by reason of the temper in which they would be handled. But why, I asked myself, did not the philosophies, old and new, secular and religious, which formed so large a part of the university curriculum, furnish a corrective to the defects of our debates? Which prompted the further question: Had those philosophies ever provided such discipline? Athens could produce an immortal political literature, but that did not enable the Greek city states to keep peace with each other, nor enable Roman statesmen to prevent the downfall of their empire. The religious philosophies had an even worse record. For nearly twenty centuries the Christian theologians had learnedly elaborated the message of the Prince of Peace. But the more learned the theologians became, the less did peace ensue. As students we had access to all the learning of the ages. But they were ages that had not learned peace. In short, I felt that our education, and the culture it transmitted, did not develop the quality of social and

political judgment our times demanded.'

In 1910, Sir Norman recalled, a movement was promoted to arrive at 'an understanding with Germany and Russia about our respective political purposes, so that we could avoid the war which was otherwise certain. It was (if anyone still cares to remember this) to be the war that would end war—and was followed within a generation by a second war even more disastrous than the first. It was also to be the war that would make the world safe for democracy—and was followed by an epidemic of dictatorships. The second war, which ended the Nazi dictatorship, vastly increased the extent of the Communist dictatorship; reducing correspondingly the power of liberal Europe, and accelerating the break-up of the British Empire. Both wars were to disarm Germany. We are now helping to rearm Germany. Thus, for the greater part of my lifetime, I have watched Western countries pursue policies which had results opposite to those intended.'

Looking for ways to achieve a humane and free society, Sir Norman expresses the belief that 'we do not need to change human nature, whatever that may mean, but human behaviour; and behaviour and feeling depend on ideas. ... It will demand: first, better understanding of the forces within ourselves; second, better understanding of the nature of modern society, especially the inter-dependence of its economic life; third, development of the habits of mind which enable us to discipline anti-social emotion and impulse. The education received by the mass of our people does not achieve these ends as effectively as it might.'

Although Sir Norman makes no attempt to explain what he means by 'better understanding of the forces within ourselves', it is significant that he places this understanding first on the list in his analysis of the ways to change human behaviour. His approach to the problem is neither philosophi-

cal nor religious. It may, perhaps, best be described as rational, and it indicates, at the same time, a deepened perception of that which can be brought within the focus of man's powers of reasoning. This marks a definite change in standpoint, for it replaces the old idea that man's control over his circumstances depended upon his control over the world around him, and that in this broad field of external nature lay the main, if not the only, field for the proper exercise of rational or 'scientific' thought. Now, however, the call has come, in Sir Norman's words, for 'better understanding of the forces within ourselves'. The assertion that 'you can't change human nature', an age-long theme of debate, now gives place to the recognition of the primary need to understand human nature. Man's struggle for freedom from the domination of nature, now, for the westerner, therefore enters a new phase. For expression of the need to understand human nature springs from the recognition of the supremacy of mind over matter.

In this new phase of western thought, Indian thought can play a helpful role. The supremacy of mind (or, more strictly speaking, spirit) over matter was made in India the subject of detailed study, and in time became a science based on observation, experiment, and actual experience.

In his commentary on Patañjali's Yoga Aphorisms, Swami Vivekananda writes : 'Until we can free ourselves from nature, we are slaves ; as she dictates, so we must go. . . . The internal nature is much higher than the external, and much more difficult to grapple with, much more difficult to control ; therefore he who has conquered internal nature controls the whole universe ; it becomes his servant. . . . Forces higher than we know in physical nature will have to be subdued. This body is just the external crust of the mind. They are not two different things ; they are just as the oyster and its shell. They are but two aspects of one

thing ; the internal substance of the oyster takes up matter from outside, and manufactures the shell. In the same way the internal fine forces which are called "mind" take up gross matter from outside, and from that manufacture this external shell, the body. If, then, we have control of the internal, it is very easy to have control of the external. Then, again, these forces are not different. It is not that some forces are physical, and some mental ; the physical forces are but the gross manifestations of the fine forces, just as the physical world is but the gross manifestation of the fine world.'

The principles underlying this view of the relation between internal and external nature hold out to the West far-reaching possibilities. The knowledge that these principles are working for all people all the time is of the utmost importance and significance for everyone. Coming into acceptance with all the force of a new idea, recognition of the truth that external forces are but the gross manifestation of internal forces offers to the West an entirely new approach to present-day major political and social problems. Without entering into religious or philosophical concepts, it will be possible for the West to see that what it has so far regarded as the pivot of social progress, namely freedom, has been based upon a very limited conception of freedom. For freedom itself, true freedom, lies not in external nature alone, but also in internal nature.

THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

The desire for freedom, and the importance of freedom to man, figure very largely in modern western ideological discussion. Freedom is held out as a social ideal and as a cause for which to struggle. This conception of freedom includes not only political freedom, as the freedom of one country from the domination of another, but it includes also individual freedom, the freedom of every individual to think and speak and write

and act in accordance with his own personal viewpoint, and not merely to the dictation of some superior authority which seeks to impose uniformity on all. The cause of freedom, thus conceived, is the central goal of modern endeavour, taking its place in the long list of goals held by previous generations, goals which, it was thought, would bring, when achieved, lasting peace and happiness to the world. As Sir Norman reminded us, 'the war to end all war', 'making the world safe for democracy', 'putting an end to Nazism' were some of these previous goals; but the result of striving for them was failure after failure.

If, then, the present struggle for the freedom of the individual is not to lead to the same unhappy impasse, or to some even worse condition, heed must be paid to Sir Norman's plea for better understanding of the forces within man.

The clue to the first step towards better understanding of those inner forces lies in the assertion set out in Indian thought that external forces are but the gross manifestation of internal forces, the two are really one. For from this it may naturally be deduced that true freedom lies not only in freedom from external controls but equally in freedom from internal controls. The freest man is not the truest democrat, but the man who has ceased to be subject to the forces within himself. Objective freedom is but one half of freedom, for it must be complemented by subjective freedom. Then alone will freedom in the truest, fullest sense of the term be attained.

This viewpoint changes entirely the whole picture of the struggle for freedom. It now becomes clear that a man's freedom is not merely a thing which may be wrested from another man or group of men, from a dictator or a particular form of government. Although it is true that curtailment of individual freedom can and does exist regardless of whether the individual is subjectively free

or not, and although it is true that the struggle for freedom on that level is therefore not merely justified but urgently necessary, it is equally necessary to bear in mind the fallacy that Sir Norman Angell sought to explode. 'For the greater part of my lifetime, I have watched Western countries pursue policies which had results opposite to those intended.' This simple statement of facts observed carries more weight than volumes of theoretical discussion to prove that reform cannot be effected only on the objective level.

Man is now learning that the objective world is governed by the subjective world. This, however, does not imply that the attainment of subjective freedom will automatically, or in some magical way, bring about freedom for all in the objective world. That cannot be. What it does imply is the correct approach to the attainment of freedom, or anything else, in the objective world. The only way to achieve real and lasting freedom in the objective world is to achieve it also in the subjective world.

The fact that the objective world is governed by the subjective world is a simple psychological principle that anyone may easily prove for himself. We in fact prove it every day of our lives in our ordinary relations with those around us, for we know that our behaviour to others governs their behaviour to us. The same principle may also be seen working in evolution. The fish that wanted to fly from its enemies in water did not try to change either the water or its enemies. It changed itself by evolving wings and becoming a bird. The change was in itself, not in its environment. So, too, will this principle be found to be working on the plane of morality and social good. The conquest of evil can only be brought about by a change in the subjective world.

Here, then, we have an excellent example of the way Indian thought has taken up principles which are universally true, and has set them out in a clear and simple man-

ner that they may work for the good of the whole human race. While other nations create channels of communication throughout the world, India's task, her quota towards the sum total of human progress, is to use these channels to send out knowledge of those simple universal principles. But this she can only do if, at the same time, she cultivates those principles in her own life. This fact was pointed out by Chester Bowles, former Ambassador to India, writing recently on 'India and the Free World' in a special number of the *Journal of the Stanford Research Institute* (second quarter 1960, Volume 4: 'India in Tomorrow's World'). 'We seem today to have entered a new phase in our relations with India', writes Mr. Bowles. 'It is a phase characterized by ever growing interest, by increased "people-to-people" contacts through travel, and by an expanded effort in co-operation. We must hope that our relationship in this new era will be built on solid foundations. We must hope that we can move from a concern with immediate problems to a long-range view of our stake in India's development.'

'A prerequisite to any such approach is a clear understanding of why India is important to us. Is our primary interest in winning an ally for some eventual war? Or is our primary interest in developing a pliant nation of raw-material producers for our industrial plant? Or is our primary interest in patronizing an ancient culture and a colourful vacation spot?

'If our objectives carry us no further than such considerations, our relations with India are doomed to failure. For our interest in India must be rooted in a far deeper understanding. . . .

'Whatever India's political aims, the historical impact of 400 million awakened people is bound to be very great indeed. This fundamental fact is compounded, how-

ever, by the significance of the experiment which is now under way in India. It is an experiment to discover whether rapidly expanding economic opportunities and a rising national output can be successfully achieved through democratic institutions and the continued guarantee of individual liberty. This is an experiment which commands the attention of the entire world. . . .

'Indeed, it is not too much to say that India's future will largely determine whether the gradual retreat forced upon liberty in the years since World War II will actually turn into a panic-stricken rout. . . . India's survival as a free nation will not depend upon its ability to match Communist Chinese production of steel or rice or fertilizers. It will depend, rather, not only on properly growing material production, but also on India's capacity to produce a society with a higher order of human satisfaction, a society infused with deeply rooted human values. . . .

'And so let us look upon India not merely as a prospective ally, not merely as an economic partner, not merely as a beautiful land with a venerable culture. Let us regard it instead as a crucial laboratory where free men must prove that the dignity of the individual and the brotherhood of man can still be achieved democratically—even during an economic revolution.

'If we can do this, and if India can succeed in this great mission, the peaceful future of our complex, awakening world will be immeasurably advanced.'

The deeply-rooted human values referred to by Mr. Bowles are India's own values. For her own sake and for the sake of the whole world, India must manifest these human values and help the world forward in its endeavour towards better understanding of the forces within man. In the worldwide struggle for freedom, this understanding will prove to be a decisive factor for success.

W. H. DAWES

Given below is the fourth of a series of seven lectures on 'Spiritual Foundations of Western Culture' given early this year at the Institute by Miss Winifred H. Dawes. Publication of this series in the Bulletin commenced in the March issue and will conclude in the September issue.

SO FAR we have discussed the scientific view of life which gives us our modern advantages—the tools of life, comfort, and easy communications but no morals nor soul links. This is civilization. We have also discussed the way words come into being and the part the poet-philosopher plays in knitting the ways of our accustomed responses so that mankind may grow to fulfil its highest potentialities. This is culture: real communication and real community. The first may lead to aggression as egotistical individuals and groups monopolize the products of civilization. The second and the greater, culture, can never lead to war. Although it is the most exclusive in its growth, the most individual in its expression, its final product is for all; in fact, it grows more perfect with the response from the rest of the world. It is ultimately a thing of the spirit, and the more spirit is shared the more it has to offer.

Although I have made some attempt to define civilization and culture as two distinct activities of the human race, I do so to distinguish them more clearly and not to divide them. They are the outer and inner manifestations of the striving for perfection. The confusion of the two is responsible for much loose thinking in newspaper articles, political articles, and all those writings which, with almost monotonous reiteration, draw our attention to the dangers of war and conflict because of our legitimate desire for the freedom to grow as different cultures, as we were

intended. It is possible that we may be fired to fight for our share of the products of civilization—these are of human making and are subject to human sharing. But even here there is no earthly reason to fight, for we have the means at our disposal for adequate sharing, and the wonders of science to make even more of the goods. Sanity and good judgement are required here. But the real danger arises when those sacred things which belong by right to culture are dragged in to justify the propaganda. There is a mystery about a culture, the mystery of the spirit, the uniqueness of personality, the secretness and sacredness of growth; and yet, in all this exclusiveness, it has more to give to the personality and growth of its neighbours. Language, too, is sacred; the more different in its uniqueness, the more it has to offer.

We all have a natural tendency, as immature beings, to wish to withdraw from others different from ourselves. It is easy enough to inflate this into fear of the other. But maturity recognizes in the other's differences—in his language, art, way of living, customary attitudes—a source of extreme interest and, eventually, when the cultural links are extended in confidence, one of brotherly accord. The fault which prevents this development often comes about by confusing the different functions of culture and civilization.

There is also, I feel, an even greater confusion between history and time. Time belongs to the cultural side of our development. History is the record of our civilization.

tion. Cultural time is the receptacle of eternity continuously manifesting. We often speak of matters which are appropriate to time in this aspect as if they were events in history, and therefore may become old-fashioned and superseded by new events. We cannot understand the great event of Christ in time—the advent of a new way of interpreting life by the light of His power. This event is not subject to that judgement which sees things as fading into old-fashionedness. Never again can we forget the illumined consciousness which gave us new eyes to see. We may attempt to blind ourselves, but the consciousness of our loss and our foolishness remains. We are 'in awe of ourselves'.

Events in time may lose importance, but not the event in the soul which, like the event of the opening of a flower, has changed the whole direction. The petals can never be put back again into the bud, but this has not rendered obsolete or old-fashioned the guiding soul of the flower nor the order of bud, flower, seed-formation of which it is a part. The event of Christ changed nothing of this order, but it did bring the event of awareness into the budding generations of men. History on the other hand is the record of the debris of events which are found left in the world and which are imaginatively interpreted by the historian. If the historian is bound upon the view of time as a straight line running from past to future, such also is his interpretation. But it is the imaginary line of events which he is talking about, and not the growing consciousness of mankind in time. There is a fallacy which confuses time as a continuous process of man's measuring, and time as a partial manifestation of eternity. Such a confusion of these two accounts, perhaps, for the amusement, but also the essential fallacy, in such fanciful inventions for the future as described in Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World*. Thus the research sci-

entist is the counterpart of the poet-philosopher—the one to give us our civilization, the other to enlighten us in our culture. Today the recognition of the specific contributions of these two, and the special functions they serve towards our well-being, is badly needed to restore the broken links and jagged nerves of the world.

THE POET IN ACTION

Nevertheless in earlier cultures this separation of function had not occurred and poet-philosophers, as bards, were something like senior civil servants in the land. We shall now pursue our enquiries to a more practical plane. The specific western approach to life is practical, and I wish in this lecture to point more directly to the 'spiritual foundations' supporting the practical. Perhaps I need hardly say now that this is the particularly personal and practical approach which we have traced by way of Greek and Elizabethan drama. It is respect for the sovereign Self which inspires all our democratic ideals, and our desire for freedom. The same respect which denotes responsibility to establish the laws—Magna Charta, habeas corpus, the Reform Bills,—all these are derived ultimately from the cultural ideal of the Self in man. The poet-philosopher in action, who knits the links here, was the one who dealt with more than the mere words—Christ himself.

So far, Equality and Liberty have brought us far in establishing man's right to the good things of life. We still await the third great ideal, Fraternity, which, like charity, is greater than all the others because it enfolds, transforms, and enlarges them. The great 'union leader' to give us freedom and our rights here is Christ, the carpenter—a poet-philosopher of fraternity in action. Here then is the essential westernness of our spiritual foundation, not yet achieved, by any means, but it establishes our foundation, one that is laid firmly on the earth and is also

a star over the cradle of our cultural growth.

To consider now our human poets in their rightful place in the field of action let us look at the work of Milton, Secretary of the Council of State for Foreign Affairs for Cromwell's government; probably the last bard to act as senior civil servant in the affairs of State.

The change in Europe's destiny which we call the Renaissance marks the coming of age of the Christian spirit. It is the emergence of self-consciousness showing itself in nations, in individuals, and, in consequence, all the institutions which bind these together in efficient moral and political government. Self-consciousness involves moral choice and thus responsibility. Everywhere we look in these troubled but fertile centuries we find the effects, good or evil, attendant upon this choice. There are pride and ambition for the egoists, machiavellian tactics for the schemers for power, melancholy for the sensitive who feel keenly the responsibility involved, and voluntary choice of the way of the cross for the few; and one man in his lifetime may play all these parts at different times.

The medieval way of life had not imposed such heart searchings of choice upon ordinary men, for society was firmly planted on the earth in agriculture, and the rhythm of life depended mostly upon the seasons with duties allotted to men in accepted hierarchic degrees rising to an apex of a royal servant; king and father to his people and servant to his God through His Church. Everyone knew what was expected of him by his neighbour and also to whom his loyalty was due. The Church, through its miracle plays and mysteries, and society, by its bards and minstrels, pilgrimages, and religious feasts and rituals, kept alive the traditional ideals and contributed also to the joy and beauty of good stable relationships between men and women. Within this framework men were still free to torment themselves by

scandals, jealousies, feuds and sundry other distractions à *discretion*, but the earth under their feet was still solid and fruitful, the heavens were still dominated by a royal sun, and one could still sleep the sleep of the innocent. Into this state, a growth from the family and the tribe inspired by the Christian teachings, by increasing degrees, there enters the disintegrating renaissance thought; self-conscious and questioning, by the light of man's individual reason, all that had been previously accepted. Individuals wish to know for themselves and demand the right of their own experience, right or wrong.

The sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries in northern Europe mark the peak of this development; the sixteenth characterized by a flinging off of bonds to seek fresh fields in a spirit hopeful and exaltant; gold and empires, adventure and knowledge are the prizes for the strong and venturesome, although there is already some apprehension on the part of some of the wise. By the seventeenth century, for all there is mingled with this joy some taste of the ashes of responsibility, for it is now clear beyond doubt that these new gifts have changed the harmony of the pre-existing institutions. Gold may not always buy bread. Empires need keeping and governing, knowledge is a 'two-handed engine' of difficult, perhaps doubtful, power, and loyalties to knight, king, or priest, who may not now be God's servants but may be scheming on their own account like other men, are all questioned. Paul Hazard finds the crucial years of the change to be from 1680 to 1715, years which mark an almost complete restatement of moral values. No-one can understand, he tells us, what has happened in Europe since, who disregards the significance of these critical years. At the same time that we accept his judgement, we must also bear in mind that throughout society acceptance of new values takes place very slowly, and everywhere and at all times there will still exist

pockets of the old way of life going on at the same time as the new. In fact, in the life of one man there will be periods when he accepts one or the other, and between which a painful period of questioning, uncertainty, melancholy, even of illness ensues before he assents to change. Likewise, in nations there will be the same psychical development. This is stating nothing new, but what is not often appreciated is the part played by the poet-philosophers in earlier times during the difficult periods. Older societies did respect their function as bards, but human nature does not change, and even in more sophisticated societies their need is felt, but too often delegated to soothsayers or charlatans or resigned to blind bureaucracies. The true poet shines like the moon that illumines the dark night of the soul; the reflection of the greater light of the sovereign will of the people. In the torture of mind with its dual vision (the eternal 'either or' by which it knows) here is a spiritual wealth and also a medium of communication of ideals, which stand a chance of acceptance, between men; and this communication is thus able to relieve the appalling solitariness of the individual choice. In the Celtic races poets were civil servants ready to advise or admonish the king; in the Hindu they were gurus who dispensed moral strength to princes, and in so doing were the instruments of the divine will upon earth. In the Old Testament we learn that among the Hebrews they were the prophets.

In Johnson's words: 'To exalt causes into agents, to invest abstract ideas with form and animate them with activity, has always been the right of poetry.' (Johnson on Milton in *Lives of the Poets*). Some of this traditional function of the poet survived in renaissance Europe. We find Ronsard taking it upon himself to criticise the king. Ben Jonson's attitude to royalty suggests the same spirit. Poets still remembered that they were people of consequence and power in

society. John Donne, companion of the Earl of Essex, and Dean of Saint Paul's includes them in 'The Litanie':

Thy Eagle-sighted Prophets too,
Which were thy Churches Organs, and
did sound
That harmony, which made of two
One law, and did unite, but not confound;
Those heavenly Poëts which did see
Thy will, and it expresse
In rythmique feet, in common pray
for mee,
That I by them excuse not my excesse
In seeking secrets, or Poëtiquenesse.

Society itself, by the seventeenth century, badly felt the need of the binding and stabilizing force of poets, and turned nostalgic thoughts to the old pre-Christian epic poetry which had at that time such power to stir men's souls, to inspire them to establish a city as glorious as Rome. Why could not other nations find the same inspiration? Ronsard had tried his *Françiad*, and failed. The times were not quite in accord for, since the old epics, there had already been a move in another direction led by Dante, who had followed Virgil and beyond to a paradise of his own soul. The old epics had glorified fame, but Dante goes beyond fame to humility, a progress which indicates a further step in self-consciousness, its willing renunciation to the will of God. Shakespeare, through his drama, had also questioned the value of sovereignty and came to a similar conclusion that it exists in the divine light which shines, diversely and imperfectly, but, even so, it shines even in the least of his characters. Here is the true wealth of personality, clearly distinguished from the double-dealing wealth of merchandise and money-lending. Wealth of this sort is evidenced by fruition—the results of a partnership between God and man. Shylock can make his ducats breed by another contract, but their value is false by the side of mercy.

But by the seventeenth century, society, already disintegrated by the advent of this Faustian contract, felt all the more the need of a covenant with God, and, in England, felt constrained even to take arms for this purpose before all the adhesions of society broke apart altogether. Again the demand is to the poets to create the pattern for a new epic hero. Thus *Paradise Lost* is the counterpart of *The Aeneid*. *The Aeneid* was a trumpet call to found a paradise on earth—Rome. Milton sounds a call, as magnificent, to found a way whereby a humbled man and woman may emerge from paradise to take up the cross and find it again in their own hearts—the integration of reason and love.

We have noted that in a culture's progression there is never a clear-cut break with the past. Rather is it that one way of life falls into shadow in the communal consciousness, and another claims attention. All the time, somewhere, the old is still there, like the phoenix in its embers biding its time. As at any one time there are young and old in a family, so, too, in renaissance Europe the hierarchic agricultural, paternal way of life still existed alongside the growing commercial-economic, scientifically organized society centred in the towns which was, in time, to become world-wide as our scientific civilization of today. That the two did exist then side by side sparking off from each other, either as revolution or glowing as genius, is the measure of the vitality of the age.

This was a 'time of troubles'—it was also a time of new beginnings, a time of opportunity, of genius. It is interesting to contrast those two upheavals in our society, the Rebellion of Essex and the Civil War which established the Protectorate of Cromwell. Essex was probably the last leader of the old patriarchal way of life. David Mathew, in his work *The Celtic Peoples and Renaissance Europe*, gives a vivid and picturesque account of the way Essex dealt with O'Neill

in Ireland which shows his innate understanding of the proud, and by no means uncultured, chieftains. Essex had spent much of his youth in Pembroke and was intimately connected with all the old Celtic families. His rebellion was essentially one of the country against the city. The followers of Essex were zealous and courageous, but undisciplined. The binding force for his men was centred in the bards and their long tales of heroic deeds told in the inns or the hall through the long winter nights. The hero-warrior of pure heart was the ideal and there was often a lady as a focussing point to the story, be she Una or any other—perhaps even the Queen herself imprisoned in a dark tower of foreign thought, perhaps a dark lady of the sonnets still beloved of a court poet, though he knows of her apostasy from the bards of her land. These were sufficient to inspire a man upon a knightly quest where he must rely upon himself. But with growing armies, two generations later, some other discipline, to prune this colourful exuberance and wield men into an instrument of steel, was necessary—hence the puritan ideals and Cromwell's Ironsides. These courageous few were almost unique in the history of armies in their possession of the dual discipline: military and exterior, the product of intellect and drill, and spiritual and interior, the product of their inheritance from the knightly code and both now unified by the personality of Cromwell in the cause of conscience. Whilst they possessed this unity as a fighting force in war, and, later, in peace to find our first truly democratic parliament, they were indomitable. They possessed that quality which elsewhere in our times has been called *satyāgraha*. This puritanism was essentially English. It recognized discipline, and its very breath was freedom. It is significant also that these two rebellions, of Essex and Cromwell, drew their main supporters from the two pockets of our

most ancient cultures remaining east and west after the sweep of the new influx from the Continent: those of Essex from the Celtic West, and Cromwell's from the Anglo-Saxon East.

THE POWER OF PERSONALITIES

One other quality which the seventeenth century inherited from the old patriarchal way of life was the commanding power of personality. Persons were more important than policies. This made for spontaneous action, and it made for the formation of close friendships as well as bitter antagonisms. When such friendships were formed by King or Cardinal they constituted a power which might be dangerous to the national good. We recall the influence of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, upon Charles I. Aldous Huxley's novel *Grey Eminence* describes the same power in the friendship of Richelieu and Father Joseph. These friendships, whether as influences for good or bad, supplied a need of the age for spiritual support, and seem to owe something to the bardic training in heroic ideals sanctioned by the idea of the Person of Christ, although inadequately comprehended. Later, in politics, this power of personalities was to be diminished by representative parliament. Whilst the power itself remained, purified and directed aright by self-discipline, this was all to the good. The age demanded discipline: thus puritanism. It demanded also magnificence of language and the justification by reason of the symbols, which are the language of the spirit, to keep alive the ideal: hence Milton's epic poetry. Thus in Cromwell and Milton the two sides of man's contradictory nature were catered for and harmonized, the former to make it an instrument of war, the latter to make it an instrument for enduring peace. The keynote of Milton was Platonic and Christian; the keynote of Cromwell, the child of his age by reason of his

role as man of action, was Platonic and Old Testament—'know thyself'; 'quality counts'. The disciplined 'few enow to do their country's honour', and the 'fit audience though few' were the aims, but the effect was to the whole. Cromwell had no belief in the rule of numerical majority. 'The business of government', he said, 'was to put quality into the nation, to educate the people to a nobler life, and not merely to bow to and interpret the brutish commonplaces of the average man.' But the application of the policy as a soldier was of necessity *exclusive* by means of the sword of steel. For Milton it was *inclusion* of all by way of the sword of the spirit, finely tempered, true, and of enduring power, as poetry in his right hand, and, in his left, as a spade of home-spun reason and invective, as prose for the average man, suitable for that age that 'hated learning worse than toad or asp'.

Let us now look more closely at Cromwell and Milton, for it was through the instrument of these two great personalities acting upon each other that the government for the new age was formulated; the one in its active, and the other in its passive, aspects. I feel sure that it was not by accident that Cromwell chose two poets to be important members of his Council of State for Foreign Affairs, John Milton as its Secretary and Andrew Marvell as assistant. In this position they occupied the poet's traditional role as counsellor and instrument of communication by the written and spoken word linking the Lord Protector with the nation and with the Continent. In 1642 Milton had written: 'Poetical powers are the inspired gift of God rarely bestowed... in every nation, and are of power, beside the office of a pupil, to imbue and cherish in a great people the seeds of virtue and public civility, to allay the perturbation of the mind, and set the affections in right tune: to celebrate in glorious

and lofty hymns the throne and equipage of God's almightiness, and what he works and what he suffers to be wrought with high providence in his church; to sing victorious agonies of martyrs and saints, the deeds and triumphs of just and pious nations doing valiantly through faith against the enemies of Christ; to deplore the general relapses of kingdoms and states from justice and God's true worship.'

Not only was this role traditional, but it was a psychological necessity which we can still observe. No great human creative act is performed alone—it is the result of inspiration and of material, neither of which are contained within the maker himself. A study of the great creative friendships of the world would be interesting. Plato and Aristotle, Coleridge and Wordsworth, St. Teresa and St. John of the Cross, Gandhi and Nehru, are all examples of a mutual dependence of inspiration and action dwelling in different bodies to produce the 'names and forms', and the best part of their work, that which provides the impetus of which all the rest is but the detailed application, is performed during the time of the intercommunications of friendship. This communion of spirit is a necessity not only for individuals but for society as a whole, for it provides an organic coherence of thought which earlier cultures understood instinctively—hence the need for the bard and the epic hero in poetic form. The bard acted as mediator of the spirit. To Milton he was as Moses leading the tribes to the promised land. In *Paradise Lost*, Book XII, ll.238-41, we read:

To God is no access

Without mediator, whose high office now
Moses in figure beares.

It was in this role of a contemporary Moses that Cromwell must have regarded him.

It was natural that Milton should now regard his aims to be threefold: firstly, to

write a *History of Britain* which would embody the traditional myth as well as the record of known events; secondly, to write his great epic *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*. This would put before people the new hero together with a working philosophy for the new age. Before coming to his third aim we must pause here to consider what a complete reversal of values from those of the warrior hero this meant. To the Elizabethans this hero was something of a merchant adventurer to whom the Sovereign was protection and inspiration and a link with God, but not with all his fellow men, and to whom wealth was still mainly the product of the land, and gold an El Dorado's perquisite which embellished it and added the glory. Sensual beauty was thus the ideal, glowing in an aura of lustre round a flamboyant head of the hero who was warrior, courtier, and schemer by turns, but still mainly a likable, loyal countryman if a little adolescent. In contrast to this picture, Milton presents the unseen Christ working through all men as conscience, who is represented in his poem by an hierarchic succession of angelic figures, viz. Abdiel, who fell with Satan and then turned to journey back into Paradise along the bridge Satan himself had made (the redemptive progress of a divine Prodigal Son); Gabriel, the pure spirit of nature, and guide of the natural Adam; Raphael, the Intelligence of Heaven and guide of the Adam of reason; and Michael, the intuitive flash of divine light in the humblest and purest human heart, which unites all men in purposeful action and being. Arrived at this stage through the experience of body, mind, and spirit, sovereignty is established in the pure heart which links all men as brothers to God. *Paradise Lost*, Book III, ll.409-15, hails this hero:

O unexamp'd love,

Love no where to be found less than
Divine!

Hail Son of God, Saviour of men, Thy
name,
Shall be the copious matter of my song
Henceforth, and never shall my Harp
thy Praise
Forget nor from thy Father's praise
disjoin.

In response to this song the colours of sensual beauty fade, but a brighter light of intellectual beauty glows upon the extreme and darkest wall of Satan's realm. Here, like the rainbow upon a cloud, God renews his covenant to men. Wealth still resides in the natural products of the land, but there is a greater, intellectual wealth also which adorns this new Adam for, by communion with his fellows, mind, language, science, poetry can all flourish and be communicated. The arts of sense and utility belong rather to the previous hero, for these can still flourish in spite of the disintegrating effect of suspicion and ambitious scheming which would tarnish the lustre and eventually destroy the fine, maturer arts of the new. When this new wealth of the mind and spirit is truly known it will be striven for, even at the expense of the material goods. Enlightened, healthy poverty thus acquires a value of its own.

Milton's turning point towards puritan ideals occurred about 1637 at the time he wrote *Lycidas*. These are the 'fresh woods and pastures new' to which his 'uncouth swain' turns. We must stress, in passing, that Milton's puritanism is a truly native product and has little to do with the stern Calvinistic creed which infiltrated later into England and with which he came heartily to disagree. It has more in common with John Donne: something between 'damp clouds of sadness and light squibs of mirth'. The native product is not kill-joy, but transfers the joy to the inner spirit where it finds expression in love, wisdom, and art. *Paradise Lost*, *Paradise Regained* and *Sam-*

son Agonistes, as a harmonious whole, have a design which recalls an Illuminated page of the Lindisfarne Gospels. The giant cloud of nothingness that was Satan is dispelled by the work at the end and, over a pattern of individual serpents biting their own tails, indicating the disciplined many Satans in individual Samsonic hearts, 'the sting in the tail' is endured and overcome. Then we see, rising over all, the four arms of the cross of salvation in the form of the four books of *Paradise Regained*. It is to this essential Englishness of Milton that, I think, we may attribute the 'tenderness' of Charles towards him upon his restoration—a fact which Johnson noted had been the cause of much controversy. Milton was prosecuted and exonerated.

Milton's third professed aim as bard of his country was to write his Latin Grammar. Latin was still the diplomatic language of the Continent. By these three aims Milton linked England with her neighbours in space and her ancestors in time—and by the exaltation of the new hero he points the way onwards and upwards. With his 'Grammar' we should, I think, link his 'Logic' and mention in passing his treatise on Ramus. Ramus was a French humanist, son of a charcoal burner, who rose by his own efforts to be a scholar at the College of Navarre. He lived from 1515 to 1572. He wrote a thesis for a degree at the Sorbonne on the subject, 'All that Aristotle had said was false'. This is somewhat equivalent to presenting one today on the subject, 'All that science tells us is false'. When the scholastic shudder had subsided, there was seen to be some truth here, for unless the analytic thought of Aristotle is related to the unifying philosophy of Plato, it is but one half of the picture and as such is out of focus and, consequently, false. Ramus is said to have had some influence upon Bacon's philosophy. The same falsity exists in the thought of science unrelated to

the philosophy of the Person of Christ.

The Cambridge Platonists performed an important work to keep alive the balanced view. Both Cromwell and Milton were in Cambridge when Cudworth and Whichcote were there and were sympathetic to their views. Ralph Cudworth delivered a famous sermon to Cromwell's Parliament in 1647. We have had to wait till the nineteenth century for their ideas to be again expressed in Kant's transcendental logic, in his *Critique of Pure Reason*, but we must not lose sight of the practical and spiritual part they played in England in the seventeenth century.

CROMWELL - THE PRACTICAL PHILOSOPHER

As we study the speeches and letters of Cromwell almost all we possess of him as authentic fact—we can see him taking upon himself the active application of the values of the way of life which the poet has expressed. We see him living within himself the conflict of the dualities of thought, and resolving them in the intense suffering of his soul. It is strange that he should be judged of small intellect by those who nevertheless are impressed by the greatness of his character. Strange also that his arguments should be considered tortuous and wandering by such a biographer as John Buchan, who himself falls under the spell of his personality. That a man of thought should be able to see so clearly as to renounce thought at certain times and to wait in darkness for the intuitive flash, and still in that waiting hold men as brothers to act to the death upon his command—is this lack of intellect? It may be unfashionable in these days of five-year plans, but before we judge him of small intellectual power let us look closer and try to understand his arguments, which will reveal once again that all great leaders are more than men of intellect. They are spiritual men.

We have seen that Charles I was under

the influence of favourites which isolated him from the spirit of his people. In 1648 he was in Carisbrooke Castle, a prisoner and, strangely enough, in this imprisonment he was far more potent as a sovereign than as a roving warrior and many were reverting to him. During this time Cromwell was passing through a period of profound unhappiness. He was perplexed whether worldly common sense in his acceptance of honours was not a forsaking of his ideals of simplicity. His ponderings gradually led him to the view (and in this we can imagine some converse with Milton, for the same struggle is the subject of *Samson Agonistes*) that having had responsibility thrust upon him at a time when events were not yet ready for a New Jerusalem, he must act in accordance with his destiny and lend himself as an instrument of God's vengeance. It is not difficult to see why the idea of the Fall should dominate the thought of both poet and man of action. The Fall was a painful necessity before a new creation in which man, now of age to take responsibility in co-operation with God, could take his share. That painful necessity performed, then man could turn his efforts to the issues of peace later. Milton's sonnet to Cromwell confirms this:

Yet much remains
To conquer still; peace hath her
victories
No less renowned than war.

These victories were, however, to be the patient work of Milton himself and of future generations.

Charles was well aware also of the paradox of his position, for he said during his conflict with the Kirk, 'The nature of all presbyterian government is to strike or force the crown from the king's head, for their chief maxim is (and I know it to be true) that all kings must submit to Christ's kingdom, of which they are the sole governors.'

The Regicides were guilty of no more and no less a usurpation of power, and it was with this sense of guilt, and the intense inner struggle of moral choice which it involved, that Cromwell was brought face to face with the greatest crisis of his life. He was by nature a soldier and a man of action, and one whose actions had impelled him by destiny towards the issues of kingship they had opposed, and yet he was possessed of a sensitive human heart which in peace urged him to appeal: 'We should be pitiful . . . and tender towards all though of different judgements . . . Love all, tender, cherish and countenance all, in all things that are good. . . and if the poorest Christian, the most mistaken Christian, shall desire but to lead a life of godliness and honesty, let him be protected.'

SOVEREIGNTY AS A SPIRITUAL LINK

Step by step Cromwell was led to the position of supreme authority in the State, but he refused the kingship and would only accept the Protectorate providing his power was strictly bound by Parliament. In this decision we can see Cromwell coming to terms with the concept of sovereignty, the spiritual issue of his task. This delegated it to the representatives of the people and established the qualities of the head of the State to be those of willing renunciation of the fruits of office. Although later, in response to popular demand, he consented to carry the 'baubles', as he called them, of State and wear the accoutrements of a king, his own view is clearly expressed in his words to his brother officers as related to us by Berkeley: 'The glories of this world had so dazzled his eyes that he could not discern clearly the great works the Lord was doing; that he was resolved to humble himself and desired the prayer of the saints, that God would be pleased to forgive his self-seeking.' Cromwell was accused of dissimulation by some, and regarded as a fool

by others, but he did not answer the attacks. 'I know God has been above all ill repute and will in His own time vindicate me', was his sole response.

Although he could not have been fully aware of it, Cromwell's act of renunciation of glory foreshadowed the position of the British sovereignty today, which is unique in the world. The sovereign today is a spiritual link with the British people and the Commonwealth. Its power, adorned and expressed by all the beauty that mankind can bestow, does not reside in this. Although protected by all the forces of arms at our command, it is not dependent upon these. But, in Cromwell's own words which he used for his first Parliament, it is an 'instrument', a living, thinking reed, which becomes the channel for the spirit between all men and women, linking them in communion with a divinity beyond themselves, and in this function it is the representative of a *divine right* which resides in the unity of mind which gives us our language, our poetry and art, our science, and, at the same time, it is the representative of the *divine light* residing in the pure ideals of our individual hearts, hearths, and homes which gives us our democratic sanity. For the creation of this ineffable ideal, Cromwell, in his stark sincerity, and Charles, in his loss of physical life were the blind, suffering instruments. Their position was not unlike that which faced Arjuna on the field of battle.

Following the Navigation Act of 1652 which brought Britain into war with Holland, who held something of a monopoly of shipping, the mood of the nation became more mundane. Commercial interests of the rising middle classes were now more loudly heard and Cromwell put his trust in Providence revealed in time, Providence, he says, is more to be trusted than the 'logic of fleshly reasonings'. The Fifth Monarchy levellers are somewhat too strictly on the

side of Providence and would inaugurate, then and there, the Rule of the Saints, abolishing the Common Laws and substituting the Code of Moses. Cromwell remarks that he is now more 'troubled by the fool than the knave'. He now agrees to accept a certain amount of worldly wisdom, narrows his horizons, and becomes at the same time more humble. He submits himself to the will of the people, now chiefly the middle classes, but sharp cries escape him still, from time to time, that his spiritual life is stunted. But Oliver has made his second great choice, that between the visionary and the practical man, and has chosen the latter. Here is the mental issue of his life's task. It comes at the time when supreme authority is his. Now, more than ever, has he need of a man of Milton's foresight, particularly in view of the growing importance of foreign affairs. The poet-philosopher stands for eternal values. The soldier-politician stands for contemporary ones. We see, in their writings, the soldier pondering on the eternal values and the poet condescending to 'left-hand' logic in prose. This was the time of Milton's *Defensio Secunda* which was written as a counterblast to *Glamour* published against him in Holland.

In the fight by physical means for physical things we seem to see Cromwell also lowering his standards, and we might be impelled to regard his rebellion as a failure. Are all his arguments then invalid?

It is interesting to follow Cromwell's reasoning concerning 'Authority' and 'Power', and to see how closely he follows Milton's two logics as portrayed in *Paradise Lost*. 'Authority' is by way of an institution in time by a logic concerned to 'save the appearances', at which God sometimes smiles. 'Power' is providence working through time. 'Authority' is held by human law; 'Power' by the principle of suffering. 'Authority' demands action and the disposal of the fruits,

'Power' demands action without the fruits; they belong to God. In fact, 'Power' is a truer action because it is that which creates the fruits. He refers to God's right hand which creates; His left hand distributes. We have noted already that Milton also divides his own functions; poetry is his right hand, prose his left. His two logics likewise concern the two functions. That which connects them is the ineffable person of Christ-in-man—Adam in trance listening to Raphael, the Intelligence of Heaven, and Christ in the wilderness resisting temptation—these are the complementary aspects of divinity in the world.

With this left hand logic, or 'fleshly reasoning' as he sometimes calls it, there is honourable accord in its own time. In *Paradise Lost*, Book XII, Michael explains that although God does not 'reside' in such laws, in their own time they delight Him. They are the cloud that follows the tents by day, but in the night of doubt, when laws do not fit because a secret growth and development is taking place which is God's action in the soul, then Adam is justified in not placing his faith in them but in the flame of the spirit. Thus is the Ark of God saved from the chaos of waters and is carried onwards until it is enshrined in a glorious Temple; but even this is part good, part bad, subject to a law that is imperfect and will pass away into the chaos also, until the Ark itself is enshrined in the heart of man. These arks, or union-points of the many to the one, evolve in an aspiring progression which does not exclude what has gone before but takes it up into the higher unity.

This interpretation seems to owe something to Plato and in this connection it is interesting to refer here to Cromwell's use of the 'instrument' which is elucidated in his Homily to Members of Parliament on 22 January 1655, in which he faces the problem which attends all military leaders turned leaders of State. He is seeking here a disci-

pline in Parliament, where freedom is the motive as a counterpart of that in the Army, where a person was removed if guilty of betrayal of a military principle. Here we first note that he speaks of his conscience, judgement, and actions, in that order, and then faces the 'prospect of his encounters' in life. If these latter should be 'of an old plotting and contriving to bring things to this issue and that, they are not the Births of Providence - then they will tumble'. He relates his view to Isaiah. 'The function of Parliament is as a trustee between God and man, and thus it is as a function of the First Cause that it frames the constitution which the Government 'settles' upon the people. In his mind 'settling' is the settling of principles to give liberty to good men of different judgements. It is an idea akin to the settling of fruit, which in good time will reach maturity in a partnership with God. Only in this second function of government is man allowed freedom of choice and in this Cromwell stresses that there is as much need now to keep the Cause as to get it. He adds, that we, in this land, 'have been instructed ... even by the Word, and Works, and Spirit of God'. In these last three attributes of God, again, we see reiterated the three aspects of creation reflected in man's character as conscience, judgement, and action ; and in government as principle, settlement, and the people's responsibility.

In none of this is there mention of goods, or production, or commerce ; those were the encounters with life which men could be trusted to fulfil in the right spirit provided that all the rest was functioning properly. We know, of course, how later ages took the bit of worldly success between their teeth and ran away with it, disturbing the ideal harmony between man and man, and, because of this, Cromwell's career has often been looked upon as an epic of a lost cause. But if it was lost, which is not yet proved, it was a noble cause, that of the philosopher-

king. Still, something was bequeathed to us in our present constitutional monarchy and in the ideal of freedom and toleration which we still cherish in our hearts. T. H. Green says that in the work of the Revolution of 1688 Puritanism did the work of asserting civil liberty, which it had failed to do in 1642 ; and we, in our time, might say that some of its spirit has come, through Ruskin, to India and Gandhi who achieved a similar revolution for his own country without the previous need of war.

We have hinted that in Cromwell's arguments, as he endeavours to face the action of the Reformation in the world, and in Charles I's submission to the consequences in the historical event of his execution, there is some resemblance to the story of the *Bhagavad-Gītā*. The reason is that the problem is centred in a mystical view of sovereignty. Arjuna also stands for the sovereign principle of a people and of man. If the king does not himself pay loyalty to his own sovereignty, how can he stand for it, or even understand it in the individuals of his people? Failing this understanding of loyalty, he will be devoured by the sovereignty there. He is his people's destiny and they are his ; in this he is absolute. He is also a man and must suffer as a man, but as a king his manhood comes second to his allegiance to this royal principle. Kings in the Christian sense are 'doorkeepers' between man and God. 'If a man take not his own burden well he shall hardly others', writes Cromwell, and here is the secret of Christian personality as well. So, likewise, does Milton discuss the One and the Many. The divine is in both. Brahman and Ātman are two views of the one mystery. There will be many who cannot yet grasp this principle. These are also not able to grasp the true principle of reason, which is unity among men. 'Some look upon the Self as marvellous. Others speak of It as wonderful. Others again hear of It as a wonder.

And still others, though hearing, do not understand It at all', says the *Bhagavad-Gītā* (II, xxix). Here are different intensities of knowing; direct, as expression, as hearsay, and of a dull incomprehending awareness.

In an age of reason, to whom should we look for a balanced judgement upon the facts? The *Gītā*, like Milton, shows that loving guidance is necessary to those of least understanding. There are ideals for each stage; natural man, emotional man, man of understanding, and reasonable man. 'Better is one's own Dharma imperfect, than the Dharma of another well performed. Better is death in one's own Dharma; the Dharma of another is fraught with fear.' (*Bhagavad-Gītā*, III, xxxv) All this is in *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained* as well. Cromwell, like Samson Agonistes, performed the first task of clearing the ground. In our

day we are again at a crisis point in rebuilding, a point which means opportunity. The great leaders and builders of our day are men and women like the highest *Gītā* ideal; free, super-social personalities who act with modesty and conviction. Many of them are unknown. They are sovereigns in themselves, both in their power and in their acceptance of the responsibilities of that power. Of the three paths towards this - Jñāna, Karma, and Bhakti - we might say Milton took the first and Cromwell the second. That of Bhakti remains.

Following his *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*, Milton gave us in *Samson Agonistes* a study of the partial fulfilment of his own time. But there are still the remainder of the twelve books of the cycle of time to be fulfilled before that humbled man and woman from the garden of paradise come into their own.

As therefore the state of man now is, what wisdom can there be to choose, what continence to forbear, without the knowledge of evil? He that can apprehend and consider vice with all her baits and seeming pleasures, and yet abstain, and yet distinguish, and yet prefer that which is truly better, he is the true warfaring Christian. I cannot praise a fugitive and cloistered virtue, unexercised and unbreathed, that never sallies out and sees her adversary, but slinks out of the race, where that immortal garland is to be run for not without dust and heat. Assuredly we bring not innocence into the world, we bring impurity much rather: that which purifies us is trial, and trial is by what is contrary.

JOHN MILTON

IMPRESSIONS OF VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE IN INDIA

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A FAMOUS European statesman, about two hundred years ago made the following statement : ' If, in a country, all its talents were known, and if they were all developed and made use of to their full extent, then that country would soon become the foremost in Europe.' His words contain such a deep, general, and timeless truth, that they are just as applicable in our own day. Many people have since then also seen the same vision as he, and they have tried to find out ways and means to draw out different talents and to give them that place in the vocational world where they could be of the greatest use.

It was specially with the industrialization of western European countries, that the cry for ' the right man for the right job ' was heard. To begin with, this cry arose in connection with the newly-established employment services which had to provide the industries --and thereby indirectly the State -- with the best and most suitable workers. As the work of selecting the right man for the right job grew, the variety of problems became clearer and more crystallized, bringing forth a separate movement, namely, vocational guidance. It became clear that not only the interests of the State, the public, or industry were to be considered, the in-

terest of the other side, namely the individual, was just as important so that he might develop his innate talents and abilities to the highest degree. It became possible to say that the State's interest was dependent on the individual's. The individual's interests and rights were strongly emphasized in Recommendation No. 87 of 1949, of the International Labour Organization. This recommendation has since been adopted by one country after another. It says : ' (1) For the purpose of this recommendation the term "Vocational Guidance" means assistance given to an individual in solving problems related to occupational choice and progress, with due regard for the individual's characteristics and their relation to occupational opportunity ; (2) Vocational Guidance is based on the free and voluntary choice of the individual ; its primary job is to give him full opportunity for personal development and satisfaction from work, with due regard for the most effective use of national manpower resources.' Note that the words ' vocation ' or ' vocational ' are taken in their widest sense, that is, including all kinds of work and jobs, careers, professions, and occupations.

These two views, the individual's and the State's, may at first seem contradictory and

incompatible. It may be so when one side is too much stressed, which is the case in totalitarian countries where the State's interests are the decisive factors. It can also happen in democratic countries in extraordinary situations, as in war-time. But in peace-time and under ordinary conditions, the two views support one another. It is obvious that a person who feels satisfaction in his work because he realizes in it the opportunity to develop fully his aptitudes and abilities, will also thereby contribute to the nation's welfare to a much higher degree than one who feels that he is a misfit. This double aspect, which secures mutual benefits for both the State and the individual, is the main reason why vocational guidance, as a thoroughly systematic movement, has spread more and more during this century. Today it has been introduced, and more or less developed, in most countries of the world which claim to be progressive. In India, vocational guidance as a systematic movement started a few years ago and is now going forward by leaps and bounds, in spite of the special difficulties and obstacles it faces in this country. The two views stated are fundamental for all vocational guidance, work in whatever country it is developed.

Vocational guidance can be compared to a bridge over a gulf, the gulf between school life and vocational life. It helps young boys and girls over the gulf, so that they may cross over smoothly from school life to vocational life. As we all well know, life in school is different from that in the world of work. In the former, the children, up to adolescence, are protected, and have no other special responsibilities than to do whatever the teacher tells them. In vocational life, they have to take on responsibility, often for others, and have to carry on their work more or less independently. When children become adolescents and have to leave school and start working, we seem to expect them somehow to develop overnight the ability to

act and behave as mature adults. We forget that they must be prepared beforehand for this change-over. Unfortunately, today as before, many children jump blindly, so to say, from school, and land quite unprepared and often not with impunity, in a vocation wherever chance may place them. It is in this regard that vocational guidance has its great task : to help school-leavers to choose the right career and to adjust themselves to vocational life. It must be stressed that the guidance authorities, bureaux, or individual counsellors should not decide for the individual boy or girl, except in special cases. As mentioned above, the I.L.O. recommendation is very definite when it lays down that : 'Vocational guidance is based on the free and voluntary choice of the individual.'

The help to choose one's vocation is given in many ways, and, as this task is common to guidance work in all countries throughout the world, many of the guidance problems and methods are similar. The details, however, of methods, organization, and administration depend on the local conditions of the country or its situation in the world, and have to be adjusted accordingly.

IDEALS AND PROCEDURE

The aims of guidance are : (1) to prepare the minds of school-leaving youth for their choice of career, so that they may be able to make a well-considered decision in a mature way. This can be difficult enough if the youngsters have never learnt to make a decision by themselves but have only automatically followed the orders of others. It can also be difficult if they have very little or no schooling and therefore have a limited possibility of understanding their own problems. An important prerequisite for independent vocational choice is a clear view of oneself and sufficient knowledge of the vocational world ; and (2) to counsel young people in their choice, giving regard to their individual situation, so that they are enabled

to find a suitable job in the field of work desired and to adjust themselves to their work.

The guidance procedure consists of two clearly defined stages. The first stage is mainly group guidance, which introduces the whole subject about choice of careers to the pupils in school, preferably a couple of years before they leave school. The individual pupil is not given the task of making an immediate choice, but his attention is drawn to the decision he will have to make later. This preparation of the minds of the pupils is very important and must be considered as one of the fundamentals for a right choice of career. This preparation is important from society's point of view as these young people will soon be the new recruits for different occupations and it is vital for society's prosperity that these youngsters fit in smoothly into 'the world of work'. It is also important from a psychological point of view, as there is a much greater hope of satisfaction and success in a career which has been chosen after due consideration of all the relevant facts, than in one which has actually not been chosen but into which the individual has merely landed by chance. Finally, from the Christian point of view, Jesus Christ teaches that it is our responsibility in life to make the best use of the talents given us by God and thus to glorify God. The well-known parable about the talents in St. Matthew, 25, 14ff., shows how essential it is that every one of us uses the gifts that God has given us, and, this is also important, in the measure that these gifts are given to us.

Realizing the importance of preparing the minds of youth for a right choice of career, group guidance uses suitable methods. A common feature is group talks to a whole class, either by the counsellor or by specially invited representatives from various vocations. In these class talks the consequences of the vocational choice are made clear to

the pupils in regard to personal satisfaction, health, economy and so on. The pupils are given some general information about aptitudes and other qualifications, such as interests and temperament, which are decisive for the choice of a career. This is called 'aptitude orientation'. Aptitude orientation should help the pupils to get an idea about themselves and their different abilities, both mental and physical. They should learn what are the most important factors to consider for the choice of their future work, namely their innate abilities and aptitudes, health, temperament, and so on. These are far more decisive for satisfaction and success in a vocation than a so-called well-paid job. If a vocation, be it ever so lucrative, does not suit the individual, and if he is not fit for it in one way or another, he may soon be out of employment or he may have to pay for his being a misfit by, for instance, broken health.

The pupils are also given general information about different vocations, and representatives of different careers are specially invited to give a vivid picture of their own work. This is 'vocational orientation'. Besides class talks, vocational orientation can also be done in various other ways: by taking the pupils to different work places, as for instance to factories and workshops, large commercial offices, and training institutions; also by giving the pupils different tasks to carry out, for example, sending them with a questionnaire in their hands to people working in different occupations. The pupils are later expected to give reports in class on what they have learnt through their interviews. This method gives them an opportunity to be active and will therefore be a good means of stirring their interest. Vocational orientation in school should also give the pupils an idea about conditions in the labour market, how to apply for a job, different kinds of wages and salaries; con-

tracts between employer and employee and trade unions.

In some countries, as in Sweden, vocational orientation is regarded as a school subject so that it gets its proper time on the school time table. For instance, in the recently introduced 'comprehensive school' which is organized in some parts of Sweden, vocational orientation covers ten periods in class 7; thirty-five, that is practically one period per week, in class 8; and ten periods in class 9. Besides this more or less theoretical orientation, Sweden has started what is called 'practical orientation', which means that the pupils get the opportunity during school-time to practise for a few weeks in different jobs and thus get a realistic idea of what vocational work is.

It is obvious that in all these methods for vocational orientation and for preparing young minds for their future choice, it is of great importance that the work is carefully planned. The right representatives of vocations must be chosen for giving talks, so that the information given is reliable and not biased; study-visits to factories and other work-places must be prepared beforehand, so that the pupils know in advance what is essential for them to see, and that the guides in the work-places give the right kind of information. Otherwise, the information given can be more misleading than useful.

The second stage of vocational guidance work, the individual counselling, comes at the end of the school years when the individual pupil must be helped to a decision about his future career. It is certainly good if this choice need not be taken at too early an age, as every year of development makes the adolescent more mature for a thoroughly considered choice. One of the most natural methods in counselling is the personal interview between the individual and his counsellor. It is essential that the counsellor meet the pupil in such a manner that the pupil feels at ease and is able to speak with con-

fidence about his problems and to discuss his choice of a career. There may be financial problems, social problems, and parents' dreams which do not coincide with the young boy's own wishes. There may be many other things which the young boy or girl wants to discuss confidentially and in a private manner with the counsellor. Besides the interview, the counsellor has the possibility of testing the pupil or the pupils, either with group tests, paper and pencil tests, or individual performance tests. On the basis of the results of these tests the counsellor is able to give advice, and the young boy or girl will also get a clearer picture of himself or herself. More detailed information about vocations and training is given at this stage than at the orientation stage.

The training for a vocation or a profession does not fall within the scope of the counselling, but the counselling work must thoroughly consider the possibilities of training for different vocations and should try to find a suitable training for the counsellor in question. Training for a special vocation or profession is nowadays very important as a person who tries to get into a job without suitable training will soon be considered unfit and will join the crowds of unemployed. He will not be able to stand the hard competition in the vocational life of today.

The individual counselling must also consider what the possibilities are for the boy or girl to get a job in a vocation after training. The counsellor must know about the situation in the labour market, which vocations are overfilled and which lack competent workers. The placement itself in a proper job is not the work of vocational guidance. The finding of a job after training belongs to the Employment Bureaux, but it is clear that close co-operation must be maintained between the Counselling Bureaux and the Employment Bureaux.

After this survey of vocational guidance, its aims and methods, we find ourselves be-

fore the important question : Can vocational guidance be of any help to India in the building up of the nation ? Are not the conditions here so different from those in western countries that trying to develop it here is more an unrealistic dream and wishful thinking than a practical proposition ? It is quite natural that such questions should arise, but there are also many reasons for developing guidance. We will deal with some of the difficulties for guidance arising out of Indian conditions and also with the answers which fully motivate the development of guidance in India.

INDIA'S SPECIAL PROBLEMS

One of the great difficulties in this country is to materialize the advice given or choice made, because of the great unemployment problem. In India, the primary need for every young boy or girl is to find a job, whatever it may be, so that they can maintain life. A parallel line could be drawn to the situation which existed in Germany shortly after the war when the great question for the guidance services was, how to help young people to find work, whatever it might be, but as good and as suitable as possible ? That situation is now completely changed, thanks to rapid economic progress during these last few years. Now the question is not how to find a job for the young boy or girl, but how to find a suitable boy or girl for a certain job ?

It is true that unemployment in India is a great problem for guidance work, but it should not be used as a pretext for believing that guidance work is not needed here or is practically useless. On the contrary, guidance is so much more needed. Every vocation, every profession, however overfilled it may be, will, after some time, need new recruits. It is then important that suitable young people come forward so that standards will be raised through the new recruitment. Another fact is, that although many

vocations and careers are overfilled at present, there are many occupations which cry out for qualified workers. As India is going forward in industrialization new fields for employment open up, and new vocations are created through new inventions. It is the task of vocational guidance to try to maintain a better balance in the employment market by giving information to young people about employment conditions, about overfilled vocations and about those that need new recruits. If young people on their own succeed in getting work without any guidance, there is much danger that they will not be able to carry on the work due to the lack of necessary aptitudes and abilities or due to lack of proper training. They will soon be thrown out of work and will find themselves among the unemployed. Perhaps the same thing happens a second or third time, and every time there is failure confidence is undermined, and it becomes more difficult to get a job next time because of previous failures.

The 'educated unemployed' is also a well-known tragic factor in this country. We need only look at the high percentage of failures at the matriculation or intermediate level. Is not this high percentage largely due to lack of ability for studies ? Perhaps many of those who fail in the academic examinations would have done excellently in more practical, manual vocations, after suitable training. Perhaps the failures are not due to lack of ability to study on the whole, but that these students have chosen subjects for which they have very little interest or aptitude. It is also clear to see how the choice of faculty or subjects at a university is dependent on local factors. A certain group of subjects become so popular, *en vogue*, that the students do not think of studying any other subjects. The result is not only that many students fail who could probably have done better in other subjects, but also that some vocations,

to which the combination of these subjects and the degree leads, become overfilled, while other vocations are calling out for qualified workers. Such conditions increase rather than reduce unemployment. Also, how often is it the parents' will which is reflected in the pupil's choice of job or subjects rather than the pupil's own interests and aptitude. In all these cases guidance would be of great help in widening the horizons of the youngsters so that they would have more vocations to choose from, in helping them to make their right choice of subjects and vocations in regard to aptitudes and by drawing their attention to careers which are not overfilled. As in Germany, the situation may change so that the problem will be not to find a job for the individual, but to find an individual for the job.

Another grave situation in India is lack of understanding about the necessity for training for a vocation or career, whatever it may be. The old idea that one has first to get a job, and then one fulfills it by learning little by little what is needed, is still strong, and people do not realize that the structure of Indian life is rapidly changing to that of an industrialized country and that India has to compete with the foremost countries of the world if she is to progress. Lack of finance is, of course, one great reason for lack of vocational training. But another reason is lack of proper training institutions. In this country much ought to be done by Government or by large organizations in creating training possibilities and giving scholarships and other means of help. But scholarships, it must be noted, should not be handed out without thorough counselling.

Counselling in India is also complicated by the vastness of the country, with its variety of peoples, languages, development, traditions, and customs. Although, as was stated before, the basic tasks and also methods of vocational guidance are the same all over the world, the local conditions in-

fluence its organization as regards detail. For example, psychological tests used in Bengal for Bengali-speaking youth cannot be used, as they are, in Kerala. A simple translation, when it is a question of verbal tests of any kind, is not satisfactory. A word which is well known and much used in one language may be nearly impossible to translate into another. Perhaps the other language lacks just the equivalent expression, or the equivalently translated word has another shade of meaning than the word in the first language. Therefore verbal tests must be not only translated, but also adapted and adjusted for the language into which they are being put, if they would be used for the same purpose as the original tests. English tests from America or Britain can be used for English-speaking youth all over India, but they have to be adapted to Indian conditions. Many words which are natural or well known to western youth are unknown to India's youth because of different technical and other developments. When adapted tests in English are used we must also consider if it is the mother-tongue of the young people involved, or if they have learnt it later, and how many years they have been speaking English for everyday use. It is often desirable not to use verbal tests but to use non-verbal tests; then a difficulty appears in the fact that there are not so many non-verbal tests existing as verbal ones. And again, the figures or drawings used in non-verbal tests must be well known to Indian youth. The environment of youth in a city like Calcutta is so different from that of youth out in the jungle areas of, for instance, Madhya Pradesh, that the same tests cannot be used, or must be used with great care.

Another great difficulty for vocational guidance in India is the different development of vocational life itself in different areas. In Bengal, for instance, which is one of the most developed and industrialized

states in India, the young people have a great variety of vocations to choose from with great possibilities of adequate training. On the other hand, an isolated part of the country up in the tribal hills offers few opportunities for choice of vocations, and the young people with special aptitudes must leave their own home environment and go to some other state to get training and employment, then immediately the language difficulty arises for those young people.

There are also great difficulties to be overcome by the guidance movement because of many old traditions and customs. We find this specially in regard to the vocational desires expressed by the young boy himself and the tradition of the parents' will. According to the traditions of the family, or of the social level of the class into which he is born, the boy ought perhaps to choose a particular vocation, but his own aptitudes and interests may go quite contrary to this. As regards girls, the difficulties are often still greater because of old customs and rules of society. But it must be noted that the situation in India is changing fast. Old traditions and customs are breaking down and new patterns are being built up. The industrialization of India has already considerably changed opinion regarding different kinds of work, and, with increasing education, women are claiming more freedom to decide on their own lives.

If we look at the possibilities of developing vocational guidance in the schools, one difficulty must be stressed in this connection, and that is the tendency in India to put the children to school at a very early age. This is not the place to discuss the advantages or disadvantages of this tendency from the educational point of view, but one consequence is that, if the children are able to carry on through school without failing, they will reach the stage where they have to choose subjects to study for their future career in the school-leaving class or the delta class,

at a much too early age. This preliminary choice influences their future vocational choice. From a psychological point of view one should not expect teenagers to become stable enough for a more or less definite choice before the age of fifteen or sixteen years. In India there are children who take their Senior Cambridge or Matriculation examinations at thirteen or fourteen years of age. How can a child be mature enough for a choice of career at that age?

A problem which has arisen quite recently has been created through the introduction of multi-purpose schools with different sections in which the children are confronted with the necessity of making a choice of subjects which will greatly influence, and sometimes decide, their future choice of a vocation. The difficulty is that this choice often has to be made at such a young age.

THE PLACE OF GUIDANCE IN INDIA

Can vocational guidance, then, be of any help in India with all these problems? Certainly it can help to clear up many problems, and can contribute to a better balance between demand and supply in the labour market by collecting information and carrying out research. It certainly can contribute also to the individual's satisfaction in work by helping to find out aptitudes and by giving more information about existing vocations. The problems of different languages, different traditions, etc., only means that the building up of the guidance movement will involve much research work so as to adapt methods to local conditions. It is clear that, as the fundamental tasks of guidance are the same, one country can learn from another, and the countries which have recently taken to it can profit from the experience of others which have carried on for many years. The guidance movement can therefore be developed more quickly in India and many mistakes may be

avoided which have been made by the pioneering couftries.

Vocational guidance in West Bengal has been in existence for quite a few years. Pioneering work was done many years ago by the Psychological Department of the Science College of Calcutta University. At present there are under the Ministry of Labour, six Vocational Guidance and Employment Counselling Centres : under the State Education Department there is the Bureau of Educational and Psychological Research at the David Hare Training College : and there is the Bureau of Vocational and Educational Counselling supported by a small private Society called the Vocational Guidance Society.

The work of the last-mentioned Bureau has been concentrated on the Anglo-Indian schools, but, of course, is open to pupils of all communities in these schools. If possible, the work may be extended to all English-medium schools. The Bureau concentrates on practical counselling work in the school-leaving classes with orientation talks, aptitude testing, and personal interviews. But it also carries out research work on adapting tests to local conditions, on collecting and classifying vocational information, and on other methods necessary for counselling work.

It may be pointed out that counselling is a highly qualified job. The counsellor must have both a thorough knowledge of psychology in order to understand the young people he is dealing with, and a thorough knowledge about the vocational world. He must know of not only as many vocations as possible but he must know also the aptitudes and qualifications required in those different vocations, as well as the training needed for them. It is qualified work to try to find for young boys and girls suitable types of work which correspond to their intelligence levels, to their different aptitudes, to their interests, and to their temperaments. It is multi-dimensional work, and the more

complicated the situation, the higher is the competence needed for counselling.

As regards the individual's satisfaction and the place he has to fill in vocational life, there are two parables which seem to give the best idea. The first is the parable of the unity of the body and its many different parts which we find in St. Paul's first letter to the Corinthians, Chapter 12. There he says among other things : 'Now there are many members indeed, yet one body. And the eye cannot say to the hand : I need not thy help ; nor again the head to the feet : I have no need of thee.' And again : 'If the foot should say, because I am not the hand, I am not of the body ; is it therefore not of the body ? And if the ear should say, because I am not the eye, I am not of the body ; is it therefore not of the body ? If the whole body were the eye, where would be the hearing ? If the whole were hearing, where would be the smelling ? But now God has set the members every one of them in the body as it hath pleased him.' Does not this teach us the respect we must have for each other, for the various gifts God has given to each individual and for the different work he has given us in this life ?

The other parable is that of a symphony orchestra. The orchestra never sounds so full and so beautiful as when every individual instrument in it is playing its part in the fullest and richest way. One of the greatest conductors who has ever lived, Arturo Toscanini, prepared every concert performance by extraordinarily detailed work during the rehearsals. He was extraordinarily particular that every tone should get its right value, every instrument come in at the right time and play its part, soft or strong. This is how it also should be with us in our vocational life. This is what vocational guidance in all humility is trying to express, to develop everyone to the fullest extent and use in full harmony with the other members of the orchestra of life.

AMERICA'S INTEREST IN INDIA

ROGER ERNST, B.A.

Mr. Roger Ernst is Assistant to the Minister for Economic Affairs in the United States Government, and is Director of the United States' Technical Co-operation Mission. The lecture given below was delivered at the Institute by Mr. Ernst on 19 March.

IT IS particularly gratifying that understanding between America and India is growing by leaps and bounds and that old stereotyped ideas about each other's country are vanishing. The 21,000 American tourists who came to India last year will have carried back accurate impressions of this great democratic nation. And, hopefully, the 5,000 Indians now in the United States will bring back to this country a new and accurate view of America.

America's interest in India is many-sided. To begin with, our thought has been influenced by Indian philosophies and this influence shows clearly in the writings of Emerson, Thoreau, and Whitman. The Theosophical movement in America had its origin in India. In recent times there has been a phenomenal growth of academic interest in things Indian. While Sanskrit and other Indian classics were taught in our older universities, it has only been in the past few years that a large number of institutions—Pennsylvania, California, Chicago, Wisconsin, Harvard, Yale, to name a few—have begun to offer courses on a variety of Indian subjects so that a student may be knowledgeable in the languages, anthropology, art, history, geography, and social problems of India. Indeed, consideration is even being given to setting up an American Institute of Indian Studies here in India to further the understanding by Americans of this great land.

Other areas of Indian culture from which

America gains include, of course, the films in which Satyajit Ray's efforts figure prominently, and the dance in which America has been fortunate to have seen Indrani Rahman and other great artists. In addition, American art galleries and museums are increasing their collections of Indian art, and the Philadelphia Museum of Art includes, for example, a beautiful reconstruction of a South Indian temple.

Then, too, there are over two hundred American technicians in India helping in the process of economic development, who are learning about India and who will carry back vivid impressions of the sturdy people of this country and their works.

INTEREST IN SHARED OBJECTIVES

It is not only in things cultural that America has an interest in India, however. News of developments in India are followed closely and a number of major newspapers and radio networks in the United States now have permanent, top-flight representatives in India to report on-the-spot developments. Hardly a week goes by without some new book being published on one or another aspect of Indian social and economic development. America, as evidenced by our assistance during the past decade, is vitally interested in what Prime Minister Nehru has called 'this noble experiment', this pilgrimage to prosperity on which India is embarked.

Americans are interested in watching the

success which attends the measures taken by India because, it is the largest democratic nation of the world. They appreciate the way in which Indians have gone about fashioning a new life, a better life, a life full of the progress people want, while at the same time preserving the best of her traditions, art, and culture. Our two nations are equally dedicated to the proposition that the State is the servant of the man, and to the equally important concept of the right of self-determination of all peoples—indeed, the right of people to choose their own government and, as I like to put it, to make their own mistakes.

We share not only these broad common objectives and principles, but also our two nations are increasingly coming to share similar and complementary conclusions with regard to some of the more transient but perhaps currently urgent problems of the world. Together we are stout in our support of the United Nations as the best hope of man for the establishment of the rule of law in the world. Even where there are differences, and of course there always will be between any two countries on specific points, whether in the field of arms control or in the actions to be undertaken in a particularly troubled area of the world, we are finding our representatives in the United Nations increasingly able to understand each other and to come closer together.

America's interest in India also extends importantly to the economic and social sphere, for we understand the urgency with which the Government must tackle the problems of economic and social development. We understand the undeniable quality of the needs of people for education for their children and health for all, for warmth when it is cold, and for a pure water supply.

President Kennedy in his inaugural address asked and answered the question about why America helps countries such as India in their economic development efforts. He

said: 'To those peoples in the huts and villages of half the globe struggling to break the bonds of mass misery, we pledge our best efforts to help them help themselves, for whatever period is required—not because the Communists may be doing it, not because we seek their votes, but because it is right. If a free society cannot help the many who are poor, it cannot save the few who are rich.'

This, I believe, is an important formulation of American policy, for it is grounded in a basic moral precept which found a much earlier expression in the classic writings of ancient India. America understands that the fulfillment of India's economic and social aspirations is important to America's own interests and indeed to those of all free countries. Even as we in my country fought a civil war over the proposition that our nation could not exist half of it free and half of it enslaved, so it is today broadly understood that the free world cannot exist half of it poor and the other half rich.

UNDERSTANDING THE DIFFERENCES

Among my earliest memories is a consciousness of two great men, Gandhi and Tagore. Although very young, I remember their names being discussed around the family table, and although I was far from understanding the full significance of these men, I grasped that they were great because they fought for the individual, for political freedom, and for the cultural expression of peoples everywhere.

Among the men who contributed to the early growth of understanding of India among Americans was Rabindranath Tagore. Those of us who did not have the great good fortune to come into his presence can only dip in the books that he left and see the drawings and other works which remain. This man understood the differences between Indian and western civilizations and yet at the same time had a well articulated appre-

ciation of what each could do for the other. Here is a letter written in 1914 by Tagore to a minor English poet. The language is exquisite and the thought most pertinent : 'It will be difficult for you to imagine this blazing summer sky of ours with hot blasts of air repeatedly troubling the fresh green leaves of a tree whose name will be of no use to you. This is as unlike the climate and the country where your poems were written as anything could be. I feel your environments in your poems. There is in them the reticence of your sky, the compactness of your indoor life and the general consciousness of strength ready to defy fate. Here in the East the transparent stillness of our dark nights, the glare of the noonday sun melting into a tender haze in the blue distance, the plaintive music of the life that feels itself afloat in the Endless, seem to whisper into our ears some great secret of existence which is incommunicable. All the same, nay, all the more, your literature is precious to us. The untiring hold upon life which you never lose, the definiteness of your aims and positive reliance you have upon things present before you, inspire us with a strong sense of reality which is so much needed both for the purpose of art and of life. Literature of a country is not chiefly for home consumption. Its value lies in the fact that it is imperatively necessary for the lands where it is foreign. I think it has been the good fortune of the West to have the opportunity of absorbing the spirit

of the East through the medium of the Bible. It has added to the richness of your life because it is alien to your temperament. In course of time you may discard some of its doctrines and teachings but it has done its work -it has created a bifurcation in your mental system which is so needful for all life growth. Western literature is doing the same work with us, bringing into our life elements some of which supplement and some contradict our tendencies. This is what we need. Therefore, we seek in your writings not simply what is artistic but what is vivid and forceful. That is why Byron had such immense influence over our youths of the last generation. Shelley, in spite of his vague idealism, roused our minds because of his fanatic impetuosity which is born of a faith in life. What I say here is from the point of view of a foreigner. We cannot but miss a great deal of the purely artistic element of your literature but whatever is broadly human and deeply true can be safely shipped for distant times and remote countries. We look for your literature to bring to us the thundering life flood of the West, even though it carries with it all the debris of the passing moments.'

And so I hope and am confident that, as the years go by, our two nations will increasingly export to each other 'what is broadly human and deeply true', for, if this is our common course, then together we may make an even greater contribution to the freedom of man.

BOOK REVIEW

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE SRIMAD-BHAGAVATA. Vol. I. By Siddhesvara Bhattacharya, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt., Kāvya-Tīrtha, Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika-Ācārya. (Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan, 1960. 389 pp. Rs. 21)

A time has come when India should seek a fresh assimilation of her age-old traditions and culture, so that their thrust and flow may enrich the living thought-currents of the present day. We thus may put ourselves in touch with the eternal principles visualized by the venerable sages of India through their revelations of Truth. These are the radiant principles which should be 'embalmed and treasured up for the use of posterity'.

Against this holy background of Indian tradition, we have had the pleasure of reading the scholarly book under review. It presents an unbiassed insight into the philosophy of the *Bhāgavata*. In this book the windows of criticism are kept wide open. No glass pane of sectarianism screens our vision. In its critical study no particular creed has been allowed to stifle the brain with prejudice. By putting the pros and cons of every aspect of the subject on the scales of balanced judgement, a true valuation has been sought by the author. We are, as it were, shown round the whole structure of the *Bhāgavata* by the author, who, with an open mind, whispers no word of restriction against our free movement within the precincts of the sacred temple of that great book, the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.

Take for example the vexed question of *rāsa līlā*, the divine sport of Śrī Kṛṣṇa with the *gopīs* (the cowherd maids) which invites strong criticism from various quarters.

The question has been thoroughly scrutinized in this book. In the course of giving explanations culled from various commentaries, the author has given also his own, and upholds and extols the ways of the *Bhagavān* Śrī Kṛṣṇa. With the support of very many citations from the *Bhāgavata*, the author asserts : '... *rāsa* is to be understood as a feature of the eternal Kṛṣṇa ...' (p. 130). He also presents the arguments of Jīva Gosvāmin and others on this point, and shows that 'ideal love cannot be anything but pure'. Then, on the one hand, the words *rantum* and *reme* are often quoted from the text to show that the *rāsa-līlā* had something of sex in it, but, on the other hand, parallel passages from the *Bhāgavata* are given showing that those two objectionable words mean nothing but 'play'.

In the other chapters also, the author, actuated by a penetrating acumen and keen insight, has probed deep under the crust of many meaningful expressions in the *Bhāgavata*.

We strongly recommend this valuable book to our readers who are interested in the evaluation of the true wealth of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. It should prove stimulating to all with an inclination towards enlightening criticism.

A few more printing mistakes than those already inserted in the list of corrections should have the attention of the publishers while preparing the next edition of the book. In addition, the author's use of the word 'lute' for *venu* in connection with Kṛṣṇa, is not correct : it should be 'flute'.

SWAMI MAHANANDA

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

The India International Centre

The new building of the India International Centre in New Delhi is due to be completed in 1961. The general purpose of the Centre is to provide, in a city which has become one of the great crossroads of international contact, a forum where cultural and intellectual exchange can be intensive enough to be fruitful and can take place in a congenial setting where foreign and Indian leaders of thought may live together. The aims are, broadly, the same as those of this Institute.

The Rockefeller Foundation previously made grants for the establishment and general support of the International House of Japan, in Tokyo. The success of this centre in stimulating intellectual contacts between Japan and many other countries naturally inspired hopes that an organization of comparable purpose and effectiveness could develop in South Asia. Accordingly, the Foundation has made two grants totalling \$ 834,135 to the India International Centre, New Delhi.

International Institute for the Study of Religions in Japan

The Rockefeller Foundation has also been supporting, with an outright grant, the International Institute for the Study of Religions in Japan. This is a non-profit making educational centre in Tokyo which the Foundation reports as having been organized as a direct result of suggestions by Buddhist leaders interested in promoting religious freedom and related human rights. It is directed by Dr. William P. Woodward, long associated with Congregational mission activities in Japan, but is interfaith in character.

The Foundation reports that the Institute has served an important function by bring-

ing together in a single organization representatives of all the major religions in Japan. In addition, the Institute is one of the best channels for contact between foreign visitors, whether missionaries or scholars, and non-Christian religious organizations in Japan. It maintains a library and issues publications in both Japanese and English.

Tibetan Studies

The Rockefeller Foundation is also giving support to some efforts being made to advance the world's knowledge of Tibet. It is estimated that not more than two hundred Europeans have penetrated into Tibet in the past two centuries, and at present probably not more than a dozen westerners have fluent command of colloquial Tibetan. In spite of this, however, centres for the study of the country and its culture have come into being in a number of European countries, Japan, and the United States. Various institutions have been enabled by the Foundation to invite Tibetans to spend several years co-operating in cultural studies. Professor Rolf A. Stein, of the Fifth Section of the École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris, has received aid for visits to various centres of Tibetan studies and Tibetans in South Asia. Dr. Turrell V. Wylie, of the University of Washington, Seattle, has been enabled to survey the resources in South Asia for further research on Tibet and to visit major centres of Tibetan studies. Hugh E. Richardson, British and later Indian representative in Lhasa, has also been helped in the work of placing his extensive knowledge of the country at the disposal of centres of Tibetan studies, and in selecting and arranging the travels abroad of the Tibetan scholars now in India, Nepal, and Sikkim.

Further evidence of the steadily increas-

ing interest in Tibetan studies is the recent information from Germany that the Bavarian Academy of Sciences is compiling a Tibetan dictionary. The work is under the direction of Professor Helmut Hofmann, and this work also is supported by aid from the Rockefeller Foundation.

Ties of Friendship between Mongolia and India

A cultural agreement between the Republic of India and the People's Republic of Mongolia was formally signed in New Delhi on 9 March. Under the agreement, the two Governments desire to promote in every possible manner the development of close co-operation between the cultural, scientific, arts, educational, health, sports and other similar institutions of the two countries. This co-operation is to be developed through (a) the exchange of professors, scholars, educationists, and students; (b) the organization of exhibitions, theatrical and dance performances, film shows, and music concerts; (c) translation and exchange of publications; (d) exchange of films, newsreels, gramophone records, and photographic and written material; and (e) reciprocal visits of sports and athletic teams. The two Governments will also consider the question of establishing cultural institutes in their countries. The agreement also envisages the mutual recognition by universities and other educational authorities in the two countries of the degrees, diplomas, and certificates awarded by them.

The present agreement is the twelfth cultural agreement signed by India since 1951.

General Knowledge in the Netherlands

The Institute for Individual Education was founded originally to provide educational facilities for unemployed youth in the Netherlands. In 1937 the Institute took part in the educational programme for members of the armed forces. It also conducts educational courses for Dutch people living abroad. But perhaps its best-known

activity is the production of the AO booklets. AO stands for *actuele onderwerpen* which is translated as 'topical subjects'.

These booklets, written by scholars and technical experts, provide current information, with historical and other background information, on contemporary topics. These topics reflect activities, ideas, and discoveries in all parts of the world. There is hardly any field of activity which is not touched upon in one issue or another.

The booklets are read by hundreds of thousands of readers in the Netherlands and in Flanders, and they cost the equivalent of only a few pence.

Tagore Centenary News

A committee has been set up in Great Britain with Srimati Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit as Chairman, Lord Hailsham, Sir Malcolm Sargent, and others as Vice-Presidents, to organize activities concerned with the Tagore Centenary celebrations. An exhibition of Tagore's paintings and manuscripts is being arranged by the committee. Dame Sybil Thorndyke and her husband, Sir Lewis Casson, are proposing to stage *Chitra* in London. The committee also proposes to show at least two full-length films on Tagore's stories in addition to the film which has been produced by Sri Satyajit Ray.

The Tagore Foundation Lectureship, which has been instituted by the London School of Oriental and African Studies, will provide an opportunity to invite scholars from India, Britain, and elsewhere to deliver lectures on some aspects of human civilization and culture. The School will co-operate with the Indian Council for Cultural Relations in providing the necessary funds for the purpose.

The Royal India, Pakistan and Ceylon Society, the Royal Society of Arts, the Royal Commonwealth Society, and the East India Association have drawn up programmes for the Centenary celebrations.

INSTITUTE NEWS

Study of Religion in Modern Education

Professor James A. Martin, Jr., Ph.D., Danforth Professor of Religion in Higher Education, Union Theological Seminary, New York City, visited the Institute on 11 March. Professor Martin was already familiar with the work of the Ramakrishna Mission, being closely associated with Swami Nikhilananda, head of the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Center, New York. Professor Martin was shown over the Institute's building and he expressed particular interest in the Students' Day Home.

The purpose of Professor Martin's tour in Asia is relevant to the Institute's activities. He explained that, with the help of the Rockefeller Foundation, he was making a prolonged tour in the East, investigating the place of religion and religious instruction in a selected cross-section of colleges and universities representing western-oriented and nationally-oriented education. The investigation started in Cairo, and since then Professor and Mrs. Martin have visited Beirut, Lahore, Delhi, Lucknow, Allahabad, Varanasi, Kathmandu, and Calcutta. The South-East Asian countries and Japan will also be visited, and finally Ceylon and South India.

The Institute hopes to have the benefit of hearing from Professor Martin when the time comes for him to make the report of his timely and valuable investigation.

Lecture by Swami Mahananda

On 26 February, Swami Mahananda, a member of the Institute's staff, addressed a large gathering at the Community Sector of the Rourkela steel plant in Orissa. The meeting was under the presidentship of the General Manager of the Hindusthan Steel Company, Sri S. Sambasivan. The subject of Swami Mahananda's extempore speech

was, 'Is there any need of religion in this atomic age?' The subject was chosen from suggestions given on the spot by some members of the audience.

Art Collection

During March the Institute rearranged its collection of folk art and crafts, and arranged some new additions. The new additions consist of unglazed earthen figures and toys from the village of Barpali, Sambalpur District, Orissa, which were collected by a member of the Institute's staff. They are of particular interest as they represent an ancient craft, carried out by the womenfolk of the potters' community, which is rapidly dying out in the face of competition from commercial products now flooding the village bazaars. These figures and toys are connected with religious, seasonal, and historic occasions.

Library and Reading Room

In March, 909 books were added to the accession list in the Institute's library, of which 764 were purchased and 145 were gifts. 1,423 books were borrowed and 1,103 were issued for reference. The reading room contained 326 Indian and foreign periodicals. There was an average daily attendance of 98 readers.

Children's Library

45 books were added to the children's library during March. 1,096 books were issued for home reading, and there was an average daily attendance of 55 readers. During this month there were 356 members on the roll.

On the afternoon of 20 March, Mr. Munro Leaf, the well-known American author of children's books, gave a 'chalk-talk' to the members of the children's library. On the library's black-board, which the

children themselves use for drawing, Mr. Leaf illustrated his talk. He spoke on the subject of the book which he prepared at the request of the Secretariat of the United Nations. This book was for the purpose of interesting children in the work of the United Nations, and had to be easily understood by children all over the world.

Mr. Leaf had the audience's appreciative attention as he explained, and illustrated, how the United Nations Charter was based on three promises, and that a promise in any part of the world meant the same thing and could be understood by everyone.

The three promises, particularly the third promise, Mr. Leaf explained, were in keeping with the threefold aim of the Institute : the twenty-six member-nations of the United Nations had promised all the children of the world, and their children's children, that they would try to find another way than war to settle disputes, that there would be equality of opportunity for all, and that the different nations would try to share their knowledge in order to help each other to progress.

As Mr. Leaf spoke, his words were translated into Bengali by Mr. Majumdar, the Institute's librarian, but a considerable portion of the children was able to understand directly.

Mr. Leaf is the author of more than thirty books, illustrated by himself, for the teaching of young children, but he is probably best known as the author of *Ferdinand the Bull*, and as the creator of the *Watchbird* feature for children. His visit to India was sponsored by the United States Government under the International Exchange of Persons Programme.

Another interesting activity took place in the children's library on the initiative of some of the boy-members, and assisted by two girl-members, in the 10-14 age group. On 25 March a debate in Bengali was held on : 'That English, not Hindi, should be

the *rastrabhasa* of India'. The judges were the Warden of the Students' Day Home, Sri Sarbari Purkait, and Srimati Kajal Dutta, who is closely associated with the work of the Institute. According to the judges' assessment the team of five in favour of Hindi defeated, by a narrow margin, the team of five in favour of English.

Students' Day Home

Due to examinations, attendance at the Students' Day Home was lower in March than usual. The number of students attending daily averaged 315. Those taking meals or tiffin in the canteen averaged 219. The number of text-books purchased and catalogued rose to a total of 4,838 during March.

The British Information Service, Calcutta, has kindly arranged a series of film shows in the Students' Day Home. On 20 March, the first programme, consisting of four short films, was shown and was much appreciated by the students.

Students' Social Service

Through the initiative of a lecturer at Jadavpur University, Calcutta, some students and teachers are taking turns in giving classes in English, Bengali, and Hindi, each evening of the week, to sweepers, doormen, messengers, labourers, and others, about half of whom are working for the Institute. On Saturday evenings the pupils are given an hour's 'general knowledge'.

Visitors

Among those who visited the Institute during the first part of April the following may be mentioned :

On 5 April the Institute was visited by Miss H. M. Hedley, Assistant Secretary to the Ministry of Health in Britain. She was accompanied by Dr. Anjali Bhaduri, Deputy Assistant Director of Health Services, West Bengal Government. Miss Hedley was in

India on a study tour of health centres under a grant from the Nuffield Foundation.

Mr. J. G. Bennett from England, accompanied by Mrs. Bennett, visited the Institute on 8 April. Mr. Bennett is a scientist and author. He was formerly Director of the British Coal Utilization Research Association and is now Director of the Institute for the Comparative Study of History, Philosophy, and the Sciences. Mr. Bennett was in Calcutta on a short visit in connection with his work as a disciple of Mohammad Subuh, and with Subud activities in Calcutta. After being shown over the Institute, he had a long discussion with the Hon. Mr. Justice P. B. Mukharji and Swami Mahananda.

Among those who stayed at the Institute during March and the first part of April the following may be mentioned :

Dr. Pietr Kasberg, from Holland; Dr. Kasberg is Director of the General Affairs Department of the Royal Tropical Institute, Amsterdam. Formerly principal of a college in Indonesia, Dr. Kasberg was on a tour of educational establishments in India and new Guinea under a UNESCO grant.

Dr. I. E. Chanco, D.D.S., M.D., C.P.H., and Dr. E. C. Sarino, from the Philippines, both quarantine medical officers from the Bureau of Quarantine, Manila, who were studying in Calcutta under the Colombo Plan ;

Mr. Tokan Tada, B.A., and Mr. Hajime Kitamura, B.A., from Japan, both research members of the Oriental Library of Tokyo, who were studying Tibetan Buddhism ;

Mr. William Elton, B.A., M.A., Ph.D., from America, a Fulbright Visiting Lecturer ;

Mr. and Mrs. Horacio Serrano, from Chile. Mr. Serrano was a UNESCO Research Fellow, studying economics and education in India ;

Miss Elfriede Hubert, from Germany ; Mr. R. M. Bowker, B.Sc., from Britain, a lecturer in the Malayan Teachers' College, Penang ; Miss Line Clausen, from Den-

mark ; and Dr. Rudolf Hess, Dr. Phil., from Germany. All were visiting Calcutta as tourists.

Scripture Classes

During March the following scripture classes continued to be held :

Śrīmad Bhāgavatam : This class, conducted by Swami Omkarananda, was held every Wednesday at 6 p.m. The average attendance was 526.

Bhagavad-Gītā : This class, conducted by Swami Mahananda, was held every Friday at 6 p.m. The average attendance was 673.

The Sanskrit *catuṣpāthī*, conducted by Pandit Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya, Śāstrī, Tarka-Vedānta-tīrtha, was held every Monday, Tuesday, and Thursday, at 6.30 p.m. 6 students are studying *Pañcadaśī* and *Gītābhāṣya*.

Indian Language Classes

Hindi : Pandit Bhubaneswar Jha continued to hold classes during March. 19 students were enrolled for the Prārambhika (beginners') class, held on Tuesdays and Fridays, from 6.30 to 7.30 p.m. 12 students were enrolled for the Praveśa (intermediate) class, held on Tuesdays and Fridays, from 7.30 to 8.30 p.m. 4 students were enrolled for the Parichaya (advanced) class, held on Mondays, Wednesdays and Thursdays, from 6.30 to 7.30 p.m. 1 student was enrolled for the Kovid (diploma course) class, which will be held on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays, from 7.30 to 8.30 p.m., and on Saturdays from 6.30 to 7.30 p.m.

Bengali : This class, conducted by Professor Saurindra Kumar De, continued to be held in March every Wednesday and Friday from 7.30 to 8.30 p.m. The enrolment was 8.

Foreign Language Classes

German : During March a class for be-

ginner continued to be held on Wednesdays and Saturdays from 6.30 to 7.30 p.m. and from 7.30 to 8.30 p.m., conducted by Countess Keyserling. The enrolment for this class was 82.

French : The class for beginners continued to be held during March on Tuesdays and Fridays from 6.30 to 7.30 p.m. and from 7.30 to 8.30 p.m. The class, conducted by Mr. Cadetis, had a total enrolment of 33.

Persian : On 3 April, a beginners' class was started, with an enrolment of 6, under

the direction of Mr. M. Kamgar Parsi of the Iranian Cultural House, Calcutta, and representative of the Iranian Ministry of Education, and Dr. Hira Lal Chopra, Lecturer in Islamic History and Culture at Calcutta University. The class is being held on Mondays and Thursdays from 6.30 to 7.30 p.m. In the January issue of the *Bulletin* information was given about the Government of Iran's generous gift of Teheran University publications, and other books and items, in support of the Institute's School of Languages.

JUNE LECTURES

At 6 p.m.

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| June 3 | <p>Criminal Psychology with Special Reference to Social and Cultural Conditions in India</p> <p><i>Speaker</i> : P. Ghosal, M.Sc., D.Phil., I.P.S., J.P.</p> <p><i>President</i> : K. P. Khaitan, M.A., Barrister-at-Law</p> |
| June 10 | <p>Buddha's Message and Modern Man</p> <p><i>Speaker</i> : Shashi Bhusan Das Gupta, M.A., Ph.D.</p> <p><i>President</i> : Sacchidananda Bhattacharya, M.A.</p> |
| June 17 | <p>The Metaphysics of the New Age</p> <p><i>Speaker</i> : Count Arnold Keyserling</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Honorary Visiting Professor of Philosophy, Visva-Bharati</i></p> <p><i>President</i> : The Hon. Mr. Justice P. B. Mukharji</p> |
| June 24 | <p>Classical Systems of Indian Philosophy—a Survey and Synthesis² (third lecture)</p> <p><i>Speaker</i> : S. C. Chatterjee, M.A., Ph.D.</p> <p><i>President</i> : J. N. Mohanty, M.A., D.Phil.</p> |

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OBSERVATIONS

THE TREND TOWARDS INDIAN THOUGHT IN THE WESTERN QUEST FOR TRUTH

1. THE SCIENTIFIC APPROACH

AMONG the numerous revolutionary changes brought about in the modern world and in the modern way of life by the scientific discoveries of recent decades, not the least is the change observable in the western attitude to problems concerning the nature of man and his place in the universe. Until recently two opposite views regarding these problems held equal sway in the West. One emanated from the Church and was grounded in ecclesiastical dogma ; the other emanated from a movement which called itself the Enlightenment and was grounded in the attempt to make human reason the basis of all thought. Now, both these positions are challenged by the new view of the universe that has been opened up by recent discoveries in space on the one hand, and in the universe of the atom, on the other.

Any thinking, intelligent, westerner who seeks to understand himself and the world in which he finds himself is now forced to stand alone, to face alone the questions and problems that confront him, and seek for

himself answers and solutions without the aid of ready-made teaching or traditional thought. He who would be a Christian must stay outside the Church. Many try to find the help and support they need in psychology, social science, or a political creed.

The important fact to notice is that large numbers of westerners are thinking people. Although it is easy, from a distance, to see only the more material-minded westerner, evidence is not difficult to find of a high standard of scholarship, an ever-widening breadth of vision, and an aspiring spirit that genuinely seeks spiritual experience. The horizons of the present age having been extended to embrace the whole world, it is for the first time in history now possible for large numbers of westerners to be brought in direct touch with eastern thought. This is exactly what is happening today, so that three factors added together make what is the most outstanding feature of the modern age—a spiritually awakened West ready to welcome influences from the East ; a resur-

gent East alive to its role in the world as a whole ; and modern ease of communication which facilitates the spread of ideas from East to West and from West to East.

The present therefore marks a new era in the development of western thought. For the thinking westerner, certain basic requirements emerge which must be fulfilled before he can adopt a system of beliefs, attitudes, and practices, and through them seek to satisfy the intellectual and emotional aspects of his inner life and spiritual growth. A study of these basic requirements, as found expressed in recent writings, made in the light of the principles of Indian thought, shows that Indian thought fulfils these requirements and is of the utmost help to the westerner who wishes to learn how to be 'at home' in the world. A collection of such writings was published last year as a symposium under the title *What Vedanta Means to Me*, edited by John Yale (Doubleday and Co. Inc., New York, and Rider and Co., London). John Yale is Brahmachari Prema Chaitanya of the Ramakrishna Order. The sixteen contributors to the symposium include Pravrajika Saradaprana, an American nun of the Ramakrishna Order, the well-known writers Gerald Sykes, Gerald Heard, Aldous Huxley, Christopher Isherwood, and John van Druten, a West German businessman, Kurt Friedrichs, a Jewish woman doctor, Marianna Masin, Swami Atulananda, who was born in Holland in 1870, and other Americans and Europeans whose interest in eastern thought has resulted not from heritage but from conviction.

A MATTER OF RESEARCH

In his contribution, Aldous Huxley adopts the scientific approach and thus sets out what may perhaps be regarded as the foremost basic requirement of the seeking western mind. He shows that religion is, among other things, also research. It is 'research by means of pure intellectual intuition into

non-sensuous, non-psychic, purely spiritual reality, descending to rational theories about its results and to appropriate moral action in the light of such theories.'

This research, as in research into natural science, requires a working hypothesis, and this working hypothesis Aldous Huxley defines as follows :

'That there is a Godhead or Ground, which is the unmanifested principle of all manifestation.

'That the Ground is transcendent and immanent.

'That it is possible for human beings to love, know and, from virtually, to become actually identified with the Ground.

'That to achieve this unitive knowledge, to realize this supreme identity, is the final end and purpose of human existence.

'That there is a Law or Dharma, which must be obeyed, a Tao or Way, which must be followed, if men are to achieve their final end.

'That the more there is of I, me, mine, the less there is of the Ground ; and that consequently the Tao is a Way of humility and compassion, the Dharma a Law of mortification and self-transcending awareness.'

The westerner who sets out in search of a religion which is scientific is usually impelled to do so as a reaction against the dogmatic indoctrination of his Christian background. This was the experience of John Yale :

'The people of our denomination felt they possessed truth uniquely and insisted that I agree. It did not matter that all the other Protestant groups had the same high regard for their own tenets, and the Catholics as well. And as for the vast non-Christian world, its billion and a half members were certainly going to be largely lost. As I grew to suspect that there was wisdom and even sanctity among those who held viewpoints totally different from those of my sect, I grew repelled by what I considered to be an untenable religious provincialism.

'A second problem of my adolescent attempts to be a practising Christian was that I could never seem to get "saved". As described in the many sermons I listened to during this period, conversion was an occurrence which, when it came, speedily transformed the character. Already I saw that my character needed transforming. But to my frequent dismay, although I prayed for it and repented to my fullest ability, I could not gain the grace of salvation.

'Third was the difficulty of seeing how God could permit such differences to exist between man and man in capacity, opportunity, and inclination. Listening to the Christian explanations of this, I felt that they pointed to one of two conclusions—that God must be either demonic or whimsical. If demonic, how could he be God? And if his acts were capricious, then why bother to posit, as responsible for the universe, the existence of a God at all? Since I wanted the Creator to follow at least the minimum code of justice of a good and wise human, I could not accept the Christian explanations of individual differences.'

These problems, arising out of dogmas which could not stand the light of rational thinking, were solved for John Yale when he studied Indian thought. 'The Occidental mind attempts to find and establish truths that are absolute, unassailable, subject to no contradiction. I found out, on the contrary, that Indian thought claims all sorts of seemingly conflicting standpoints may be true at the same time; for such kinds of truths, verbally established, are relative. In studying Vedanta, I was bewildered first, and then comforted, to find that no action, no view, no position is especially right or wrong in or of itself. Everything, I was told, "depends". It can only be said that that truth is more true than another which leads more directly toward higher truth. Accept the ideas of the heterodox; respect superstition; permit the beliefs of your opponent.

These, like yours, are provisional, representing stages. Welcome all contradictions; they may be somebody else's truths to live by.

'But there is a truth which is not relative; and that truth is that we are God. The evolution which is occurring is man's progress from the belief that he is separate and individual, in his state of relativity, to the certainty that he is one with God, in which he goes beyond relativity, beyond truth and untruth. But this, we are told, is a condition not arrived at rationally, but experienced, realized.

'This concept of Vedanta gave me the formula needed for viewing conflicting religious claims. I could turn to religion with a broad spirit, without supporting any new provincialism, such as had driven me away in the first place. . . .

'Second, I grew to see that perfection is most unlikely to come in any swift or miraculous manner; . . . We do not find any development in nature occurring without struggle and the passage of time. The fabric of the mind, I saw, is remade most slowly of all. Hence yoga . . . became for me a course in self-improvement. Adjustable to individual leanings, yoga provided a variety of practices for the slow remodelling of the mind and discovery of the Pure Spirit. By recollectedness, by meditation, by repetition of the Lord's name, by selfless work and abnegation, one might, I began to see, turn one's moment-to-moment existence into a freeing sacrament.

'Third, about individual differences—the inequities we find between people, and Christianity's unsatisfactory explanation of them.

'Through its rejection of the doctrines of reincarnation and karma in the fourth century, Christianity fashioned for itself, it seems to me, a trap from which it was never able later to escape. To me reincarnation and karma appeared, the first time I heard of them, most sensible. They tie in with science and explain individual differences

wonderfully : all results have a cause ; my present condition is the outcome of what I have been, what I have really wished for ; and I may govern my future by what I am, what I wish for, now. Thus responsibility is put on the individual, instead of on others, on God, or on some ambiguous fate.

'And you have, with reincarnation and karma, a reasonable basis for social theory. We may say that all men are born free and equal ; but the evidence of our eyes tells us that they are not. Still, the idealistic man is repelled by class, desires to be equalitarian in outlook. Where reincarnation and karma are accepted he can be. The criterion of rank is spiritual unfoldment. Divinity is manifested more in some than in others, and that man is most estimable in whom it is unfolded most. The real aristocrat is the saint, the plebeian the person of minor spiritual evolution. This is where the emphasis of class should be. But every man is equally the repository of the identical indwelling spirit, and must be respected as such.'

Christopher Isherwood records a similar experience : 'Previously, I had always thought of religion in terms of dogmas, commandments, and declarative statements. The teacher expounded the truth, the dogmatic ultimatum ; you, the pupil, had only to accept it in its entirety. (Your sole alternative was to reject it altogether.) But Vedanta made me understand, for the first time, that a practical, working religion is experimental and empirical. You are always on your own, find things out for yourself in your individual way. Vedanta starts you off with a single proposition, which is no more than a working hypothesis. "The Atman can be known. We say so, on the basis of the past experience of others. But we don't ask you to believe that. We don't want you to believe anything. All we ask is that you make a serious effort to get some spiritual experience for yourself . . ." "This," I said to myself, "is what religion is really all

about. Religion isn't a course of passive indoctrination ; it is an active search for awareness. "'

A PRACTICAL GOD

It is but natural that a generation born into a world that is largely science-controlled should adopt the same standpoint in religious matters. A people who no longer feel subject to many of the limitations imposed by nature, who have gone far towards penetrating many of the secrets of nature, are not likely to remain content with beliefs that cannot be shown to emanate from proved experience. The scientific approach to life must be carried to its logical conclusion and made to yield a scientific approach to death and its mysteries.

Thus it is that in the West today the basic conceptions of the average mind are laid open to question. These conceptions concern such matters as the existence or non-existence of God, the actual meaning and significance, if any, of the word 'God', the true aim of life, the problem of evil, the nature of the mind, from subconscious to super-conscious, and the question of supersensory experience. The western mind now wishes to approach these problems in the same spirit in which it has approached scientific investigation into the natural sciences. An open mind must be maintained, there can be no room for prejudice, for or against ; nor can there be room for blind belief in ideas that exist because 'it says so in the Bible', or because such ideas have existed for generations. The modern mind demands to know the truth, truth which is true for all, common to all mankind in just the same way as the circulation of the blood is common to all mankind.

The time is not long past when the nations of the world were little more than objects of curiosity to each other. The colour of a man's skin coloured also the minds of other men in their attitude towards him and

their theories about him, body and soul. Now that it becomes scientifically clearer and clearer, however, that consciousness is one and the same not merely as between all human beings, but also including animals and plants and even the 'inanimate' world, such attitudes cannot but be regarded as primitive and untenable. Thus it becomes essential to search for more satisfactory theories about the true relation between any given individual and others who differ from him, whether physically or ideologically.

This extension of sympathy arrived at logically through science carries the thoughtful westerner into waters deeper still. Although forced by his scientific outlook to reject everything in his religious tradition that does not stand scrutiny in the light of science, he nevertheless clings to the values that have until now derived their sanction only from that tradition. He therefore seeks a sanction for those values, a sanction which will accord with science but which will also fulfil traditional teaching. If traditional teaching says 'do good, be good', to this must be added a satisfactory reason *why* this teaching must be followed. Thus ethical behaviour must be given a scientific sanction; likewise the democratic ideal and all equitable social practice.

The time has now come when the West is beginning to discover that this scientific sanction is provided by Indian thought. 'The book is not the proof of your conduct', said Swami Vivekananda in London in 1896 in his lecture on 'Practical Vedanta', 'but you are the proof of the book. How do you know that a book teaches truth? Because you are truth and feel it. This is what Vedanta says. What is the proof of the Christs and Buddhas of the world? That you and I feel like them. That is how you and I understand that they were true. Our prophet-soul is the proof of their prophet-soul. Your godhead is the proof of God

himself. If you are not a prophet there never has been anything true of God. If you are not God there never was any God, and never will be. This, says the Vedanta, is the ideal to follow. Every one of us will have to become a prophet, and you are that already. Only *know* it. Never think there is anything impossible for the soul. It is the greatest heresy to think so. If there is sin, this is the only sin—to say that you are weak, or others are weak.'

This is a scientific approach that appeals immediately to the western mind. Rejecting mere theorizing and speculation, rejecting a God supposedly sitting somewhere apart from the universe and either unable or unwilling to help it, the western mind can grasp immediately as rational and scientific the idea of perceiving God within the human being, the animal, the whole universe.

The human need to worship is thus fulfilled in a manner that is both satisfying and practical. The God to be worshipped is the God sitting in the temple of every human body. So we find that the westerner who had been brought to the doors of atheism through teaching that was irrational, can now grasp a conception of God more real, more close, than any God ever imagined. Such a westerner therefore finds himself ready to take and make his own the God demonstrated by Indian thought, about whom Swami Vivekananda said: 'The Self is known therefore to every one of us, man, woman or child, and even to animals. Without knowing Him we can neither live nor move, nor have our being; without knowing this Lord of all, we cannot breathe or live a second. The God of the Vedanta is the most known of all, and is not the outcome of imagination. If this is not preaching a practical God, how else could you teach a practical God? Where is there a more practical God than He whom I see before me, a God omnipresent, in every being, more real than our senses?'

CREATIVE IMAGINATION AS THE MIRROR OF TRUTH

W. H. DAWES

This is the fifth of the seven lectures given by Miss Winifred H. Dawes at the Institute early this year on 'Spiritual Foundations of Western Culture'. Commencing with the March issue of the Bulletin these lectures are being published monthly.

THIS week I intend to start my lecture with a complication of the value of a sneeze I must commend you to the one in Plato's *Symposium* which cured Aristophanes of his hiccoughs and made him wonder why 'the harmonious structure of our body should require such noisy operations as sneezing'.

This same irrational compulsion that clears our system of dust clears also our speech of bluff by a well-timed joke, for it makes us laugh when we see a harmonious smile of satisfaction and comprehension on the face of a guest. Nature also expels an over-accumulation of dust--dead material--by lightning and thunder, and today we are holding our breath for fear that a sneeze of atomic dimensions may blast our whole world into smithereens. The fact that we fear it is evidence that we know of the existence of disharmony, and what we know, we have in our power to dispel if we will. But whether we will it or not, Nature demands harmony. She is harmony. She will have this or nothing. Her sneeze proves it. When bluff, false dealing, are in the positions of power, and the law itself is perverted, to uphold this fabric, then life deserts the ruined edifice and erupts in rebellion to expel the accumulations of dead matter which obstruct its future.

In these lectures I have been dividing the functions of culture and civilization for the purpose of clearer understanding, but they are, of course, complementary. Today we

shall consider what it is that links them and how we can build for ourselves the harmony which gives them life, and so anticipate and allay the sneeze of rebellion or war when the function of one usurps that of the other, and unbalance, bluff, dust, deception, excess, disease, and so on, are clouding the issues. We shall consider how we may help our good judgement when, for example, Alcibiades comes to the table of knowledge drunk, as in Plato's *Symposium*, having relinquished his highest gift as a man of reason and judgement. Socrates, another of the guests at this banquet, who, of course, is wisdom personified, shows that Alcibiades is jealous, and that where he is jealous, he loves. Agathon, the youngest of the friends, had been honoured by an invitation to sit at the right hand of Socrates, and Alcibiades had gone off in a huff. The skilful unveiling of his motives by Socrates causes Alcibiades to feel shame, and from shame remorse and awe. These are the qualities that save the situation and all the guests sleep quietly after their meal. Only Agathon, Aristophanes, and Socrates are left to continue the discussion that tragedy and comedy have essentially the same foundations. These are the arts of the moving coil of human life left between birth and death, and also between the dual nature of the mind. True art is also the expression of love seeking the perfections of eternity in time. Thus tragedy, comedy, and wisdom personified by Agathon, Aristophanes, and Socrates are the only

ones prepared to face ultimate issues beyond the appearances, after the lovers of the appearances have gone to sleep.

TWO CONTROLS : LAW AND CONVENTION

In our unbalanced search for freedom today we have hardly realized that we have overstepped some adhesions in our society other than laws, frontiers, dogmas, rules, and regulations which we had agreed upon in the past. There is another subtle adhesion of right convention, stemming perhaps from chivalric ideals of the perfection of character, but one which makes us ashamed to overstep the limits of decorum in our manners with one another. These unwritten laws which indicate an inner discipline of dignity and respect, of which a hero of chivalry was once proud, are still necessary. But we have lost our vision, it seems, of the perfect human example. Instead, young men get a kind of false heroism by ugly and uncouth posture, loud talk, and general disregard of the feelings of others, until weakened self-respect weakens their power to stand alone, and they seek the support of the gang. It is not a long way before they are too weak to resist even incitement to crime. Likewise, young women gain a false attractiveness by antics and postures in the name of fashion. Women have been traditionally the upholders of convention in society. What could not be achieved if a few women, or even men for that matter, ranged themselves together to give the fashion designer, Dior, and his ilk a ducking for witchcraft, and also to give a filibuster a sharp lesson in the freedom and purity of speech? For it is a kind of black magic which inspires advertisement, propaganda by film, radio, and newspaper, to create the ground of customary attitudes which will accept these perversions of good taste and breeding. It is perversion because it places commerce and money-making for the advertisers, who know well enough the gullibility of the young, before

the well-being and the character of youth. Society is held together by two controls, by the laws which protect its contracts, and by convention which protects its character. Right convention often involves the ability to laugh at ourselves. Today civilization with its unmoral, scientific habits of thought in the name of economics of trade returns, full employment, freedom of the press, and so on, is running away with the sacred things of culture, and clogging even its own smooth working by the dust of the wasteland; for 'power so doubly armed with will and appetite, at last eats up itself'. There is a sensitiveness in social affairs which is evidence of its life and of its culture which can correct unbalance, and this is a poet's role to create, and women's role to hold. The times seem right for a really big feminine and poetic sneeze. Poets seem to know intuitively that woman's role in society is as custodian and inspirer of the creative imagination of the community. A study of their heroines often throws light on the state of the moral health of the times in which the poets live.

I was led recently to note this by a re-reading of Dante's *Divine Comedy*, comparing it with Goethe's *Faust*. What events have occasioned the fall of prestige of the heroine as portrayed by these two works which are acclaimed the greatest of their age? I asked myself. What brought about the difference between the destiny of Beatrice and of Margaret? It was, I believe, Beatrice's power to snub at the psychological moment. That this was a power is the evidence of the disciplined sensitiveness of culture as here defined at that time in history. Though she died, yet the longing for her smile of approbation became for Dante the light which stepped between him and truth, till at the last it led him to be submerged in the greater light of Paradise—the Son of God. Goethe, on the contrary, never recovered from the loss of a feminine snub at the right time, and the pathetic little tribute

he makes to the woman-soul as guide at the end of his life's work, *Faust*, hardly compensates for the loss of sensitiveness through a lifetime of libertinism.

Shakespeare's play *Measure for Measure* is worth serious study as displaying the two controls in society—the one concerning contemporary issues, the laws, which Angelo upholds and endeavours to purify, and the other concerning the sensitiveness and purity of race and culture, the eternal issues, which he is unable to obey himself. Here it is the young novice, Isabella, preparing herself for her vows, and refusing to comply, even to save the life of a brother, who establishes the foundations of culture. There is a purity which is not puritan which preserves the joy and the grace of life, and this is what Shakespeare is pointing to. It is preserved by right laws and right conventions, divine forgiveness preserving the harmony.

Culture, then, which is moral, depends upon purity of character and draws its sustenance from the best of its past which it hands on to coming generations. This is its tradition which settles the ideal character and, in turn, is protected by the unwritten rules of convention.

The conception of culture as a growing organism, and the need of a symbol of its ideal, is a matter of vital concern in the formation of new States, as well as in works of literature. This was realized by the lawyer, Gierke, who drew up the Constitution of the new Germany in the nineteenth century. He sought some principle which would inspire the new State and hold it together. The principle he called the *Volkgeist*. The works of the brothers Grimm were a serious piece of research to find the soul of Germany in the legends and stories which were the communal inheritance of its experience. For a full discussion of Germany's problems see E. Barker's introduction to his translation of Gierke's work, *Natural Law and the*

Theory of the State. Here, in the *Volkgeist*, it was thought, was to be found the spirit of the people and a guide to the principles for the future. It has often been said that Germany has had a Reformation but not a Renaissance, and thus the tradition expressed in these stories has not been influenced greatly by the particular qualities of creative imagination which is the gift of the Christian tradition. We know well enough, now, the danger of a deification of old pre-Christian legends. It is not a big step from folk-lore to folk army. I have mentioned witchcraft in this talk. It is this same creative imagination wrongly applied—the backward slide into the chaos of the mind instead of the striving towards perfection.

THE ROLE OF IMAGINATION

To discover what this particular Renaissance heritage was, it is interesting to trace the gradual evolution of the concept of imagination in Europe since early times, until it reaches its unique and full expression in Shakespeare's *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*. I will quote a passage from Act V. Sc. i. in full so that you may note imagination's dual quality.

HIPPOLYTA :

'Tis strange, my Theseus, that these lovers speak of.

THESEUS :

More strange than true. I never may believe

These antique fables, nor these fairy toys. Lovers and madmen have such seething brains,

Such shaping fantasies, that apprehend More than cool reason ever comprehends. The lunatic, the lover, and the poet, Are of imagination all compact :

One sees more devils than vast hell can hold,

That is, the madman ; the lover, all as
frantic,
Sees Helen's beauty in a brow of Egypt ;
The poet's eye, in a fine frenzy rolling,
Doth glance from heaven to earth, from
earth to heaven ;
And as imagination bodies forth
The forms of things unknown, the poet's
pen
Turns them to shapes, and gives to airy
nothing a local habitation and a name.
Such tricks hath strong imagination,
That, if it would but apprehend some joy,
It comprehends some bringer of that joy ;
Or in the night, imagining some fear,
How easy is a bush suppos'd a bear ;

HIPPOLYTA :

But all the story of the night told over,
And all their minds transfigur'd so
together,
More witnesseth than fancy's images,
And grows to something of great
constancy,
But, howsoever, strange and admirable.

'Theseus' speech describes the working of imagination in individual man, imperfect and partial, in each one of us. If, however, we hold on to the complete round of the night in communion as Hippolyta tells us, then this same receptacle of imagination becomes the mirror for the Word of God. It becomes the handmaiden whose 'soul doth magnify the Lord'. We do not often stop to think that it has taken 1,600 years for the full significance of this idea in individual man to be realized. The knowledge of the working of this mysterious power, creating both man and his world, was called by the medieval philosophers, *sapientia*. Man's intellectual knowledge of the world, verified by objective experience and sensual perception, they called *scientia*. But it is Shakespeare, living in an age turning from one to the other, when, in a kind of twilight, both

hemispheres of the mind are sensed, who is able by his genius to show the part imagination plays to provide the ground for life and growth—to provide 'a local habitation and a name'.

Let us look back in history to earlier conceptions of imagination. Plato understood its dual capacity as a link between the divine and the human, but was somewhat fearful of it. He defines inspiration as being of two kinds, the result of infirmity, and a divine release from the yoke of convention. The productions of this power, art, was for Plato 'imitation'. Aristotle reads a new meaning into this term. To him it meant 're-creation', an imitation of the creative processes of nature. The poet represents the universal, and re-creates it through the particular, and so shares in the philosophic quest for ultimate truth. But with Longinus, who is attributed by modern scholarship to the first century A.D., the conception of imagination is greatly enlarged and deepened. Longinus however does not call it imagination but 'grandeur of conception'. It is the bidding of a higher law in mankind. The idea of art as a catharsis he takes over from the Greeks, but he is the first to give it an aspect essentially near to a Christian concept, a cathartic release of spirit expressing itself through art which nourishes and gives life to man's higher being. 'Fine writing needs the curb as well as the spur', he says, but the result in great art is not mere persuasion or pleasure, but transport of loftiness and grandeur which works like a charm. Lofty thoughts find natural expression in lofty phrases — 'great utterance is the echo of greatness of soul'. But to Longinus this is not imitation but a grasping of the principles which inspired past artists, and re-creating them oneself. It is a sympathy and an activity of the spirit rather than of the eye or the mind, and the result expresses more than words can convey. He enlarges his field of enquiry to include

Hebrew literature, breaking away thereby from the Graeco-Roman field of previous critics, in an attempt to suggest the universal nature of the phenomenon. Incidentally, he becomes, at the same time, the first to initiate the comparative study of literature.

Coming to the seventh century we find England the centre of revival, with Bede propounding a theory of history and poetics with an emphasis on allegory which had been expounded earlier by Cassian (c.360-400) in relation to the scriptures. Cassian describes it thus, meaning a fourfold interpretation : historical, allegorical, moral, and anagogical :

*Littera gesta docet, quid credas allegoria,
Moralis quid agas, quo tendas anagogia.*

Bede describes allegory as 'stripping of the bark of the letter to find a deeper and more sacred meaning in the pith of spiritual sense', a sentence, like others of Bede, which strangely recalls the Upanishads of India. Bede establishes the value of rhythm and metre, basing his work on the classics, but applying it to Holy Writ in which he finds his illustrations. Bede does not discuss the theory of imagination as such, but his work is interesting because Shakespeare also writes with an eye to the allegorical and anagogical meanings.

After Bede there follow three centuries of Dark Ages until the twelfth century, when John of Salisbury, the brilliant scholar from Chartres and Paris, arrives to bring light to the pedantry and logic chopping of the Schools. He is the first to propound humanism in England. The issue of the day was whether education was better served by grammatical and literary study, or whether dialectic or logic in itself provided adequate foundation. John attempted to reconcile the two points of view. 'Men should imitate the bees which pass freely from flower to flower turning all to honey', he says and in a famous passage meditates whether the drama of human life is a tragedy or a comedy. He holds that 'the whole world

for the most part consists of players'—*totis mundus agit histrionim*; and this was the device inscribed under Hercules holding a globe at Shakespeare's theatre. John's work, the *Policraticus* is one of the most uncompromising statements on the value of literature since classical times, but literature and poetry are seen rather as receptacles of memory than in the creative sense used by Longinus. It is the record in word and symbol of things past.

With the thirteenth century, Thomas Aquinas is the great figure, and logic gains the ascendancy. Grammar and language again fall under eclipse, although Roger Bacon is the first to introduce to England Aristotle's *Poetics*. On the Continent, however, in 1260, Meister Eckhart gives forth his mystical philosophy and says, 'The Eternal Body of man is the imagination'.

The fourteenth century sees the spreading out of the Word from the bonds of Latin. The vernacular is greatly developed and the poets come into their own. Boccaccio, Dante, and Chaucer are all concerned with the development of their native tongues. For Chaucer, literature is 'old fields from which come new corn year by year'; poems are 'keys of remembrance'. There is a twofold function expressed here, the new developing within the old, but Chaucer had no intention of producing any new theories. The development of the language and the re-telling of the old stories was his aim. Boccaccio's aim was to collect and interpret the myths of classical poetry and he claims that poetry is more than mere rhetoric. Poetry has a technique, he concedes, but it is essentially a body of knowledge containing truths of a permanent kind, as distinct from *facultas* such as law, which represents knowledge based upon practice and is thus variable and unstable in character. Poetry contains truths veiled in fiction which interpreted allegorically reveal moral teachings. 'Its processes are divine in their origin and

sublime in their effects impelling the soul to utterance and to new and strange creations.' The idea of poetry as an agent of regeneration in the life of the community is here clearly expressed. Boccaccio's influence was very great and persisted for two centuries or more.

The sixteenth century opens with Skelton who in 'Replycacion against certain young scholars abjured of late' joins with Sir Thomas More in defending the right to treat of theological and other serious matters, in his day the exclusive right of the Pope. He quotes Boccaccio's theory that 'all poetry proceedeth from the bosom of God'. The poet is the mouthpiece of the divine will guiding men for their good. Here for the first time the doctrine of poetic inspiration is expounded in English. Imagination appears at last as not only imitative, as with Plato and Aristotle, not only memory, as with the medieval philosophers, but as a creative and growing power of man's essential being as well, which derives from the words of Christ himself. It is the grain of mustard seed or the leaven that raises the whole lump.

It is interesting to note the parallel movement in society consequent upon this growth of man's awareness. The idea of the imagination as memory in the twelfth century has its counterpart in the great respect paid to rules laid down by authority. The growth of character must also be subject to rules as a discipline, and Bernard of Clairvaux draws up the rules of the brotherhood of soldier-monks, or Knights of the Temple, to fit them to become the Militia, or Angelic Knighthood of Christ, where the virtue was humility and the ideal, Zion. This was to distinguish them from the *Miles*, or Knights of Mars, where the qualities admired were warlike and the ideal, Fame.

Later, in the early thirteenth century, Andreas Capellanus compiles the rules of courtly love. Since the Dark Ages women

had been mostly chattels, and a wife was still chiefly an object of utilitarian value who had her duties to perform. Now there enters 'the lady', who personifies the ideals of love to whom the knight pays courtly homage. Love is, of course, an important, indeed the main aspect of Christianity, but there was some danger that 'the lady' might not always be the best symbol. The question poses itself, what is sacred love and what profane?—who is the most courtly, the chattel, who is woman and true, or 'the lady' who may possess all the aesthetic perfections of love, but who may also be an adulterer? This became a question of serious concern in those days, so that the Church felt the need to take a hand by adapting the ideas of courtly love to the homily. Hence there enter other allegorical ladies into our tradition, Lady Mercy, Lady Sapience, Lady Poverty, to whom courtly service is due. Beatrice, in Dante's *Paradise*, is the perfection of the allegory in the symbol. For a most interesting and detailed survey of this whole development refer to C. S. Lewis's *Allegory of Love*.

In the sixteenth century the awareness of the creative power of imagination exercises itself in society to produce vivid individual character. The memory of the race is held and respected in poetry, myth, and scripture, and both allegorical and symbolic interpretations are accepted. At the same time man with a sense of freedom was turning his rational intellect towards the objective world in an eager, questioning spirit which heralded a new age of man's power to do and to perform. To comprehend how lofty was the inspiration of those days, what a world of new endeavour and discovery was before man, we have only to read Bacon's *The New Atlantis*, or even the introduction to the first translation into English of Euclid's *Geometry* by John Dee.

The prospect, however, was too intoxicating for lesser spirits who concentrated on

the doing and the performing, and forgot the being. Men looked more and more to the objective world to find reality, and little by little turned their backs on all the wisdom which had in fact been the means of giving them these new powers. Instead of a guide as Beatrice (for she is beatitude, the symbol of the quiet contemplation inspired by love, human and divine, and the guide to the realization of the potential powers of seeking and knowing in man's own soul), a questionable guide who whispered of power in his name became more and more man's desire. Never mind the soul, never mind character, there was no empirical proof of them anyway. Goethe was the genius who gave this guide symbolic form in Mephistopheles. The Faustian spirit now blows like a sirocco from Hell over the fair fields of Europe, preparing the way for *The Waste Land* of T. S. Eliot.

FAUST : A GREAT CONFESSION

Let us look at Goethe's work *Faust*. It is interesting to contrast the opening speeches of Part I and Part II. Part I opens with a Prologue in Heaven from the Archangels, and Part II with a beautiful speech from Faust himself, in which he envisages a glorious fresh start into the great world of the Emperor's Court. But he could not hold the course of the first promise because of the disease in his own blood consequent upon his signing of the contract with Hell. How will he fare now after one proclaimed with a flourish from himself? He turns first to the sun and life's full torch in rapturous poetry and then from them deliberately to where 'the painted rainbow's changeful life is bending'. And Mephistopheles is there to lead from the real to the unreal, from light into darkness. Dante, we may remember, dared to look into the light.

Such keenness from the living ray I met,
That, if mine eyes had turn'd away,
methinks,

I had been lost ; but, so embolden'd, on
I pass'd, as I remember, till my view
Hover'd the brink of dread infinitude.

(Par. XXXII. 72)

Part I of *Faust* is devoted to the youth of both Faust and the European tradition ; youth in the Margaret episode, and Europe in 'Walpurgis Night'. Faust is depicted pursuing his sensual, irresponsible way and we see Margaret's tragedy. There is no doubt that his feeling for her is genuine, but his regret at her fate is pathetic rather than heroic ; the slave of Hell attempts to offer release to the prisoner of society and fails. In Walpurgis Night we see the disintegration of the old Teutonic faith. On this night is celebrated the festival of the Druids when they made their sacrifices upon the sacred mountains. In Goethe's drama rites and saints once respected are shown to Faust by Mephistopheles to be degenerated to superstitions, witch dances, and diabolic antics. Ancient gods have become devils in the minds of the people, consequent upon the advent of Christianity, because faith in them has gone, and the soul of the old way of life dies in Margaret.

In Part II Faust enters into the larger field as a maturer man of the world and as a symbol of European tradition enlarged by the addition of the influence coming from classical Greece and the East. He is awakened from his Walpurgis Night's dream refreshed by the waters of Lethe expressed by Ariel and Chorus, and he turns from the too bright light of a new day to the reflection in the Emperor's Court. Mephistopheles is still the familiar, and now takes over the place of the Fool, the old one having departed through overweight of fat. The Emperor's comment on the change is enlightening. 'He was a barrel—this is a lath !' This reminds one of Caesar's remark concerning Cassius. European tradition is passing from the Gothic and medieval to the classic and

moderh, and the Fool is the vice of each. Excess of physical appetites changes to excess of the mental; gluttony to avarice. The first tempting bait Mephistopheles offers, easily swallowed, is currency. Now comes all the folly of the Carnival and the entry of the Emperor in the fancy dress of the Great God Pan. Faust is disguised as Plutus and dismisses the Emperor's Boy Charioteer, Poesy, to solitude, 'to there create his world'.

Gold turns to fire and needs control first by means of 'Law' and later by 'Necessity'. Thus the fountain of gold, once the light of the sun, becomes now the jaws of Hell and all are singed. Then the Emperor desires to see Helen and Paris and demands of his Fool to produce them. Mephistopheles is out of his depth for the first time. The search for Beauty is the search for one of the perfections and is beyond him, but he has an idea. Faust will be his cat's paw to descend to the Mothers to fetch them, and he gives him the key for the purpose. For Faust the descent is his opportunity. 'In this thy Nothing may I find my all', says Faust. But Mephistopheles is not to be outdone in his contract and bides his time. It looks as if Faust might be challenging Mephistopheles at last, but he has been given only one key with which to descend. Faust must return alone, with the light from the blazing tripod in the lowest depths to guide him. This turning point is the antithesis of the Holy Trinity in the depths of Hell. Is Faust strong enough to achieve the return path? Mephistopheles waits and schemes.

Mephistopheles was Goethe's own creation for the antithesis of the rational mind. The forms which now appear concern the creative imagination and Mephistopheles needs to make some adjustment to find his antithesis here for Beauty, which he does with the speed of diabolic glee when he meets Ideal Ugliness in the form of the three daughters of Darkness. For the time being, however, whilst Faust is away, he pursues

sundry enterprises of his own in the great world. Into Baccalaureus, the youth of learning, he insinuates the idea to scrap the lot, 'the lot' being tradition. To Wagner, now raised to professorial status and elated with his latest creation, Homunculus, the 'man-nikin', he talks confidentially whilst stealthily pointing out a side-door to Homunculus to go and reveal the dreams of Faust so that Mephistopheles may know how to tempt him when the time comes.

The same disintegration is performed by this Son of Chaos, Mephistopheles, to the perfections of classical Greece, and this is portrayed in the classical Walpurgis Night. Every perfection has its chaos. From chaos of the perfection of science he now changes to the chaos of the perfection of beauty of form, and confronts Helen in the guise of a steward in her father's house on her return from her imprisonment in Hades. They are antagonistic, of course, but Beauty must redeem Ugliness, or Beauty herself 'grows insolent and bold' and comes to 'shame deep depressive'. But Helen as perfection cannot redeem him except by complete sacrifice. Like Poesy, the Boy Charioteer, and all lovely perfections, she must go.

The steward suggests a compromise--imprisonment in the medieval castle of Faust. She accepts, and the union of Faust and Helen, symbolic of the union of the medieval and classic traditions in Europe, produces the child, Euphorion, Romantic Art. Although this child has stolen all the gifts of the gods: the trident of Ares, the arrows and bow of Phoebus, the tongs of Hephaestus and the bolts of Zeus as well as the zone of Cypris--all the treasures of water, air, fire, and earth in fact--he also inherits his father's tainted blood and, after a spectacular ascent to the highest, descends swiftly through orgy, will to power, and war, to death. Helen disappears too, leaving Faust only her garment and veil to sustain him a little longer. This means that knowledge of

the perfections of forms at least is his—whither now? Two ways are open to him; on to the new 'perfection that might work upon the heart, Spiritual Beauty, or on to the degeneration of the powers already won for the utilitarian and selfish aim. The great form of the world is already in his hands. Can he sacrifice his greed to guard its perfection; go on to give it a soul? Or will he seduce it for enjoyment, rend it for its buried treasures, destroy it in the fury of his own limited idea of the Here and Now? He surveys the glorious view in a rapt moment. He had, you will remember, asked Mephistopheles to give him one moment of experience that he would bid stay. Surely this might have been such a moment, but the seven-league boot of Mephistopheles suddenly obtrudes to knock him from his perch, and one hears the sardonic laugh at this satirical reproduction of Gethsemane as he proposes his temptations:

'The glory of the Kingdom of this World?'

'A pleasure garden in a pleasant place with fair women—in the plural?'

'Glory?'

Faust replies:

'Power and Earth to win, inspires my thought!

'The Deed is everything, the glory naught.'

But we soon find that the glory counts too, when he is blind and too old for deeds and he fondly and foolishly imagines he is creating a free country for free generations to come.

We follow him in a foolish enterprise to retrieve the land from the ocean and to be lord of all that he can survey. Intoxicated by his success, the sound of the peasants' chapel bell from the only unconquered fragment disturbs his disordered senses, and he gives orders for that last spot of free earth to be annihilated. True, he does indicate an

alternative habitat for the inhabitants there, old Baucis and Philemon, but who is he, the apostle of no-meaning, to replace the memory they stand for! He sighs with regret when he hears that Baucis and Philemon have perished in the fire that burned their home but he is as incapable of restoring life to these as he was to Margaret in her prison. Here, in the great world, Baucis and Philemon and Margaret are symbols of the peasantry with all the crafts of home and its tranquillity as the seat of culture, of nature and of the true Church which guards these things.

Goethe is telling us again that when man takes power into his own hands he reverses the harmonious process of life. Man's sphere is the Here and when he concentrates upon its complete mastery, the past and the future (the 'There of Goethe') roll up into the one split second which is the Now, and man and his works roll down into the grave. There is no true moment but the delaying one, and for this man must have courage to look beyond its reach before and after, and trust what he cannot see to his Maker.

Goethe has told us that all his work is a 'fragment of a great confession'. It took him sixty years to write this drama, and in it we see unfurled his comment upon the disintegrating enquiries of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries with their deep intellectual divisions: Fausto Sozzini from Poland, accepting just so much Holy Writ as he can understand without the guide of tradition and founding Socinianism, Bayle the Sceptic, Saint Evremond the Libertine, Diderot the Atheist, all hard at work at the disintegration process, and the 'tiger and monkey', Voltaire, leaping upon the breaking branches of the tree of life in spleenful laughter. In England, we see Newton holding a balance in thought and being misunderstood, and Locke trying to compromise. There is also Leibnitz, the imaginative seer, and Spinoza the intellectual, making super-

human efforts to draw the scattering splinters to unity. And the Soul symbol—Woman—what of that? For with all this activity the watchword is still 'progress' towards a millenium of man's devising. In the Garden of Eden, Eve had been tempted to offer the apple of knowledge to man and he fell, but in the garden of the mind we find, in Goethe's work, that man hastens to return the compliment, and Margaret, at his tempting, gives a sleeping draught to her mother, meaning thereby that the old tradition is lulled to sleep. This is the complete reversal of the part played by Beatrice to Dante. In Goethe's *Faust* there is no tranquil home and no white flame inspiring towards the heights of consciousness. But what are we to make of the Epilogue with its Woman Soul striving upward? Satire? Wishful thinking? Confident faith? It is not lived in the style of Dante. Just an Epilogue with a few other-worldly choruses and we cannot be sure whether we like that stage direction of 'pater ecstaticus' (hovering up and down) and wonder if we do not hear the mocking laugh again. But even so, Goethe has shown us where lie the seeds seeking new life for posterity to cherish. There is Homunculus, scientific technology, seeking his new life in the ocean of unconscious mind. There is Poesy, seeking a fresh start in solitude. There is Beauty to redeem ugliness. All these are memories which have gone to sleep under the flowers to fertilize the developing seeds. And there is Faust too, the worm rolled up in his chrysalis, waiting for new wings to grow. They are all ready for the new start towards that higher ideal for which Faust proved unworthy, but towards which his creator, Goethe, himself, sincerely strives. The courage of his confession is his proof. Learning, beauty, goodness, honour, for their own sakes, to establish the standard of perfection, these are the goals, for if these are for use only, then the standard degenerates. Perfection is sacred, for it is perfection which

gives meaning to the rest. If perfection, then imperfections also, which may be judged by it—if no perfection, then no form at all. To the blazing tripod with it, or reverently take it to the Holy Trinity.

THE RETURN TO BALANCED WISDOM

Let us see what in modern literature might save us after these decades of darkness of spirit. Nothing less than science itself, it seems. An extract from a report of one of the modern scientists has been taken by Christopher Fry as his preface to his play *The Dark Is Light Enough*.

In this play, I believe, we can sense the return to the balanced wisdom of the true spirit of England. There is a new renaissance dawning, I feel sure, and what the new day will hold for us depends upon ourselves and our faith in the shaping powers of the great spirit of creative imagination which is our gift from God and our bridge towards Him.

This play of Christopher Fry's opens as a comedy on the verge of tragedy, and ends as a tragedy touched with gallant humour. It is also a morality play. Fry's preface is a quotation from J. H. Fabre, a French entomologist:

'The weather was stormy; the sky heavily clouded; the darkness ... profound. ... It was across this maze of leafage, and in absolute darkness, that the butterflies had to find their way in order to attain the end of their pilgrimage.

'Under such conditions the screech-owl would not dare to forsake its olive-tree. The butterfly ... goes forward without hesitation. ... So well it directs its tortuous flight that, in spite of all the obstacles to be evaded, it arrives in a state of perfect freshness, its great wings intact. ... The darkness is light enough. ...'

The play opens in the home of the Austrian Countess, Rosmarin Ostenburg, where the guests are assembled for one of her

'Thursdays'. But the Countess herself is absent. The servants believe she drove away alone by sleigh before dawn towards the Hungarian lines. Austria and Hungary are at war, and there is deep snow outside. Never before has she failed them—except once, twenty years previously when she had bowed to them at the doorway and said, 'We must freely admit the future', and withdrew to give birth to Stefan.

We learn more details of the characters of the play. Gelda, the Countess's daughter had had a previous marriage to Richard Gettner, a ne'er-do-well, and this marriage had been dissolved. After this, Richard went over to the enemy lines and enlisted, and Gelda contracted another marriage with Count Peter Zichy, a Hungarian in the Austrian Government Service. The casual talk of the guests is interrupted. The Countess has returned, and not alone. She is accompanied by Gettner who has deserted.

This inconsequential act of the Countess, against the proprieties, against the interests of her family, her friends, and her country, it seems, is the act by which we now judge the integrity of all the characters in the subsequent events of the play. For she had, gone alone in the dark into the enemy's lines to save a deserter.

Later, the enemy, Colonel Janik and his army, break in to demand that Gettner be handed over. False gaudy is opposed by genuine wit in this scene where the Countess fends off Janik's demands. No man is hers to give, she says. Unable to daunt her, Janik sends for Count Peter Zichy, whom he had taken prisoner, and now presents him as hostage. Janik taunts Zichy with being Hungarian and in the Austrian Government Service. His voice must of course be moderate here, jeers Janik, but does he love Hungary? Love has no evidence. Peter explains that his work here is of friendship for Austria in Vienna and is equal to Janik's who fights in Vienna. Peter is led away, a

prisoner, because the Countess will not release her deserter.

There is wit and humour throughout the whole play in the truth, yet incongruity, of the logic as applied to the warrior of the outer material truth, and the warrior for love without evidence. Here, in her relinquishment of Peter, her own daughter's husband, the Countess touches tragedy. The opposition of the Countess to all the rest of the characters, except Gettner, leads to a sort of *double entendre* of meaning all the time. It is a kind of double seeing, out of focus, which tickles our sense of humour most of the time, and then, suddenly, because it is also the paradox of life and death, brings us up against the tragic issue inherent in all life. For when love alone faces a world entrenched and armed with all the legalities, it gives its own evidence, itself, voluntarily as the battle ground. Truly it enlarges the battlefield into the hotly debatable ground of the Self. Only love which can contemplate death calmly, and indeed derive its strength from that knowledge, can really stand supreme here.

Only the Countess, Gettner, and we who watch the play, are aware of this scintillating out-of-focus humour and tragedy of situation. Gettner is offended by it. 'This falsity of logic is an offence to the dignity of man, and yet he feels he is entrapped in it. He is the typical 'angry young man'. Yet because he knows it he is sincere, exercising his power to be free against the dissemblers who are backed by arms and the law, and have all the appearances of respectful citizens. These can give testimony of their acts, but the Countess and Gettner give none. Gettner's aim, though, is just to live. He will not oblige anybody for the sake of decent appearances—'any woman can have me for an equal rather than I should have no life at all'—a phrase, as others in this play, which recalls *King Lear*. It seems the reverse of Lear's cry to the dead Cordelia

in his arms, 'Why should a dog, a horse, a rat, have life, and thou no breath at all?' The Countess herself, here, might be the spirit of a resurrected Cordelia.

This play can also be considered as a modern morality play. The names themselves are very suggestive. Stefan, the Countess's son, suggests Stephan, the saint, who was pierced by arrows as witness of his love of Christ, and survived. Thus does Stefan in the play survive the duel with Gettner, but the news of it nearly kills Rosmarin. The spirit bloweth where it listeth, and so does Rosmarin, the soul of the world, in her journey of the night, in her wandering into realms of consciousness beyond the reach of ordinary mortals. So, too, does Gettner in his own way. The name suggests 'he who would get', the seeker for just life, animal life; this is his aim, and he, too, is awakening to a knowledge of some deeper gain that he cannot quite understand yet. Hence his marriage to Gelda, 'gold', and the dissolution of it. Also his delicate awareness of the true gold he had missed when, after her second marriage, that to Peter (surely the spirit of the Church is intended here) Gelda comes to Gettner and gives intimation that she really had loved him.

All these are uncertain people in an uncertain world—hence the dark, hence the snow that covers all in formlessness. But it is enough for faith to create. We must be our own providence. We cannot always catch the true gold, but when we do it is the gain of the day, enough to brighten all the lives around us. But they who seek it must be free. Gettner seeks by desertion. He knows it, and is unhappy of the means, but certain of the aim. Hence his desperation, his gaucherie, his sarcasm.

Gettner is the modern 'angry young man' evading the forms whose validity he cannot accept, but has not the courage to reform. The Countess knows, too, that in his search he is, at least, sincere and this is the secret

of the bond between them. She will not fail him, whomever he fails. At the end, how willingly would he fail her, when she passes beyond the reach of life for his sake.

In this last scene when, driven by the invading army into her own stable to live—a situation which recalls the Christmas story and a second birth—where Rosmarin is divine mother of the soul of Richard, Gettner returns after having run away again from the house and taken the horse, Xenophon, from the stable. But he had heard that she was dying, and he could not bear seeing the faces of the peasants in tears. She possesses some mysterious hold over him, and he returns. He realizes how much sacrifice she has made for him. He is to blame for her illness. He then asks her to marry him, assuming that she has done it all out of love. He receives an immense shock to his vanity when she says that she does not love him, at least not in the way of human marriage. This is the thing in which we have no free will:

At the one place of experience
Where we're most at mercy, and where
The decision will alter us to the end of our
days,
Our destination is fixed;
We're elected into love.

There is silence after this. Then suddenly there is a hammering at the door. The Hungarians have returned. Gettner makes a last desperate attempt to escape. The window is open, and the way is clear. He turns for a last look at Rosmarin. Suddenly he realizes that she is dead. For a moment this means freedom, even from her. But, no! He pauses. He returns to the open window, deliberately closes it, and slowly comes back to stand by her. 'Very well, be with me', he says. At last the 'angry young man' is elected into love, and stands to his destiny before the invading army.

This ending seems to indicate that the wheel has come full circle, and we are back

to another spiritual germ from our past. Gettner is now very like an emergent King Arthur, ready with sword Excalibur to defend the right at all costs. It was prophesied long ago that he was not dead but would return to our shores!

Time does not permit of the following up of this clue here, but it is certain that the Arthurian legends are the inspiration of another movement in modern thought, the novels and writings of Charles Williams and C. S. Lewis. So, strangely enough, I end where I began, in spite of a will-o'-the-wisp

wandering, somewhat like the Countess's. For, after all, what is it, whether we call it, the sword Excalibur of King Arthur, or the sword of the spirit of Saint Michael, or a flash of new knowledge from which the artists of life provide us with the link between the inner and outer truth, which are relative truths until harmonized in a creative work of some kind? It is all pretty much the same thing. It is the act which is the balancer and correcting agent which gives health. It is the sovereign power of personality in society.

Value is the outcome of limitation. It is the definition of the particular pattern. It constitutes the intrinsic reality of an event. We may visualize an object with 'an unclouded and attentive mind'. Such is perception. We may discover relations between the visual images thus provided. That is the faculty of imagination; in poetry it is the invention of metaphors. There is then a further process and a higher faculty, and there is at present no better way of describing it than by saying that it is the sudden perception of a pattern in life: the sudden realization of the fact that an organic event, of which we are a part, is in its turn the part of a greater unity, of a unity limited in time and space, formal and harmonious. This further perception or realization is the process to which we might perhaps limit the term 'intuition'; and it is, under the aspect of 'expression, the process of poetry. In this way poetry involves everything: it is the sense of integral unity without which, not only no poetry, but no philosophy—even no religion—is ever possible.

HERBERT READ

A SCIENTIFIC APPROACH TO VEDANTA

PRAVAS JIVAN CHAUDHURY, M.A., M.Sc., D.Phil.

It was with deep regret that the Institute received the news in May of the death of Dr. Pravas Jivan Chaudhury. He was Professor and Head of the Department of Philosophy at the Presidency College, Calcutta. A student of both science and philosophy, he was the author of Studies in Comparative Aesthetics and 'The Philosophy of Science. His previous lectures at the Institute, on 'Deontological Vedānta' and 'Vedānta as Phenomenology', were published in the Bulletin. The following is a lecture given at the Institute on 17 December 1960.

THE purpose of this paper is to bring out the philosophical outlook of modern science by examining some of its methodological developments and important results, and to develop this outlook in the spirit of science. The outcome of this study will be a philosophical view which may be called scientific in the sense of being a speculative extension of science and not of being precise, complete, or absolutely certain. In fact the popular connotation of the adjective 'scientific' is very much mistaken, for science is admittedly incomplete and probabilistic, and, though it aims at as much precision as can possibly be achieved in any given area of investigation, it actually fails to reach its ideal and there are areas where it has to content itself with very rough qualitative results. All this follows from the very complex nature of the world of our experience that defies a simple and exhaustive analysis or systematization, where the more we seek details the greater is the vagueness and uncertainty, and where we cannot be sure that the vast number of unobserved cases will in future behave like the observed cases. The method of science being inductive, based ultimately on our experience of a limited number of instances, the scientist cannot be cer-

tain of his results. Even if we assume uniformity of nature we cannot guarantee the truth of a generalization or an hypothesis in science, for how can we know that we have not been deceived by a mere accidental regularity and that a better hypothesis might not be there to take care of the facts. It is quite possible, and often seen in the history of science, that with the discovery of fresh facts older hypotheses are modified and even replaced by newer ones that have more systematic import and empirical confirmation. So that a scientific approach is marked by hypotheticism and probabilism, in other words, by a tough-minded acceptance of the partial and tentative nature of our knowledge of things. As Russell says, the uncertainty of knowledge is a doctrine that inspires science and scientific philosophy.

We generally mean by a scientific approach one in harmony with the spirit of science as described above, and particularly one which uses modern science as its spring-board and point of departure. Because of this approach we will not speak of our notion of reality as ontological, that is to say, as signifying what really exists, for every existential statement is conditioned by many other statements and its truth is never unconditional. How can we ever tell that what

we see or think to be existing, whether it be this obvious perceptual world or any ideal one, is really or absolutely existing and will not prove a passing appearance in the light of subsequent experience? This is a deontological standpoint and a consequence of the empirical attitude that cannot make any sense of necessary or absolute existence. Whatever appears to exist must be just a matter of fact and not of logic, and we can very well think of its non-existence. Facts are given; they are just 'brute facts', and, as such, contingent upon and opaque to reason.

Following the method of science, we will posit an entity as the highest principle and think of a process by means of which it may be said to give rise to and explain the world. All this will be hypothetical and imagined on the analogy of our given experience, and the only argument for our adopting such an entity and its working will be their adequacy in dealing with the facts to be systematized and explained. And, if we at all believe in the existence of this entity in any sense, we will systematize and explain it on the hypothetical principle that there are different levels of existence, and what is experienced at one level may have its analogue on another level. It is under this condition that one believes in the existence of the micro-physical entities of modern physics which are empirically imperceptible, but are logically not so, for one can conceive them to exist on the analogy of perceptible particles.

Now this hypothetical entity reached scientifically by us will be a cosmic spirit and the latter will be imagined to operate after the manner of our dreaming in order to explain the world and our knowledge of it. These notions together with their implications will make the system very much like that of non-dualistic Vedānta. So that we may call this study 'a scientific reconstruction of Vedānta'. The chief difference will be seen to lie in this. Vedānta offers the

concept of the cosmic spirit and its action on the basis of the revelation recorded in the Upaniṣads, and advances some arguments of an analogical kind to enable us to have some initial intellectual sympathy with these notions. It rests for its truth on revelation and asks us to verify it by our own mystical experience. But our present approach being scientific, we cannot ask anyone to believe in the testimony of the Upaniṣads, nor can we speak of any extraordinary faculty which can validate their metaphysical assertions. We can only posit the idea of the cosmic spirit as a significant hypothesis to explain certain features of our experience of this world. However, we do not dogmatically deny the possibility of extraordinary faculties of the mind, and, consequently, of a direct knowledge of metaphysical objects. A scientist keeps an open mind and will readily admit a supra-mind and the cosmic spirit as facts if he comes across sufficient evidence to support them. Just as he seeks to verify, by means of instruments like the microscope and telescope, perceptible objects like germs and heavenly bodies which were at first postulated to explain certain observed phenomena, in the same manner he should be prepared to follow the instructions of *yoga* that claims to develop a super-sense and to lead by its means to a direct knowledge of the cosmic spirit. This will be the practical side of a scientific philosophy, its speculative side is what we are concerned with at present.

SPACE, TIME, AND MATTER

The new concept of space and time introduced by Einstein replaced the Newtonian ideas regarding them which made space and time absolute and infinite receptacles for events. According to the new theory they are conceptual frameworks that help us most adequately to organize observable phenomena. Space is now conceived to be closed or curved, it is finite though boundless; to

be imagined by relating it to its two dimensional analogue, the surface of a sphere. This space is welded with time and matter so that the new concept of space-time-matter explains the mechanics of the universe more simply and consistently than the old separate concepts of space, time, and matter, and avoids the problems and paradoxes associated with the infinity of space and time and their relation to matter. But what is more important for our purpose here is to see that it is in modern physics that we have come to take space and time as our constructs which can be modified to fit our experience. Kant spoke of space and time as modes of perception but he did not speak of them as free constructs or postulates. He thought they were necessary features of phenomena. Modern physics has relativized the categories of Kant, treating them as our conceptual frameworks devised to meet the ever-growing challenge of experience. We are free to revise them. The mind thus contributes to knowledge which is, therefore, not absolute and objective but provisional and relative.

The status of matter too has undergone a sea change. The older notion of matter as something constant and rigid has had to be given up in the face of new findings. Matter is now found to be a form of energy : we can transform mass into electro-magnetic rays and vice versa, but we cannot say whether the total matter-energy of the world remains constant, for there is some evidence that matter is disappearing on the one hand and appearing on the other, but we cannot tell whether a balance is being maintained. Anyhow, we find that our conception of matter may more usefully be replaced by that of events or perceptual occasions, for matter is our construct which we can give up if we find it unhelpful in science. Events are what we actually meet in experience. The material substance that is thought to be the core or primary stuff of perceptible

qualities has been given up as a scientific entity, whether as a particle or wave ; it is now retained only as persisting illusion caused by our ordinary language that must speak in a subject-predicate mode. We say, 'It is such and such' and feel that, apart from the qualities 'such and such' that define the object, there must be something corresponding to 'it' that holds them together. But our ordinary way of speaking and thinking cannot always determine our philosophy. Science has come to treat material substance as a ghost. We have only the perceptual data and their regular coexistences and successions giving rise to determinate physical objects with definite properties.

RELATIONS OF COEXISTENCE AND SUCCESSION

We now come to consider the relations that are found to exist amongst the perceptual data. These were regarded as necessary or absolutely binding by the rationalists. But, as Hume showed, this is just a matter of our custom and habit — psychological fixation, we have no reason to believe that they will necessarily hold. For necessity is either logical or psychological. The relations in question cannot be logical for we can conceive of their failure to hold, and they cannot be psychological for we cannot conceive nature as a conscious being having alternative courses before her but compelled to choose only one course and so behave in a certain way and not in another. The relations only *appear* to be necessary because we expect them to hold uniformly. But Hume and the empiricists could not explain why, in fact, we have such marvellous regularity in natural phenomena, and why our expectations are so uniformly fulfilled. Science too cannot and need not speak of these laws of coexistence and succession as necessary, it only searches for them and finds them and expects them to hold good in future. But, as it is inductive in method, science cannot tell whether nature every-

where is law-abiding. Science can do its job if *some* phenomena show regularity. Recent research in physics has found some loose-jointedness in the microphysical realm : it can only speak of the probability of an electron being at some place, so that if we do not find an electron at that place, even if the probability of its being there may be very high, the statement about its position is not falsified. Yet this recent development in physics assumes some average regularity in the micro-world and any critical-minded physicist will ask the question, Why does nature show such a regularity ?

This metaphysical question is of a second order arising out of the first-order questions regarding particular regularities. Kant considered the general rule of regularity to be necessary, as without it our knowledge would be impossible, but he did not ask himself the question, Why should knowledge be necessary ? We see that knowledge might be absent, the phenomena could be haphazard. Further, a thoroughgoing operation of the rule in every detail is not logically necessary for the probability of our scientific knowledge which, as we said above, requires that *some* phenomena should show *some* regular feature. So that the question, Why should some phenomena be at all regular ? was raised neither by Hume nor by Kant, and a scientist as such has no business to raise it. But it is a question that naturally rises in the scientific mind that deals with natural laws, for such a scientist finds his laws to be not necessary, and yet they are there.

CAUSE OF REGULARITY AND ORDER IN NATURE

Now a scientific answer to this question will be in terms of an hypothesis which has to be intelligible because of its analogy with our experience, and which has to be as simple and adequate as possible. We have to search for a suitable model to account for

the regularity and order we find in nature. Regularity and order, like spatiality and temporality, are ideas by means of which the mind understands the brute fact, the given fact, the phenomena. These ideas are mental and yet we feel that they are not subjective in the sense that they are universal and apply to nature. This means they are ideas in some universal mind which we share as we come to realize them. But two questions raise their heads immediately, one respecting the relation of this universal mind to the phenomena, and the other, respecting its relation to the individual mind.

The phenomena, to be ordered by the universal mind under its ideas, must themselves belong to the mind, for how can a mind order alien objects ? We have in our experience, our imagination producing images and ordering them according to its wishes, and we can conceive a universal mind projecting and ordering the phenomenal world after this model. As to the second question respecting the relation of the universal mind to our individual minds, we can imagine this as being similar to the action of a hypnotist on a patient who perceives and thinks as the former wants him to. We can imagine a universal hypnotist holding us under an hypnotic spell and making us perceive things, inter-subjectively and inter-sensually, in a regular manner. This regularity has two aspects. One relates to the correlation of objects sensed with our bodily positions and the conditions of our sense-organs, nervous system, and physical states, while the other relates to the correlation of these objects with other sensible objects. The former kind of regularity leads us to think that our bodies and physical states (e.g. attention and memory) play a causal role in perception, but we forget that these are themselves objects of perception. The second produces the ideas that objects are given to us for we cannot control their order. In fact, we distinguish natural objects from

our imaginary ones—such as we have in our dreams and fantasies—by the objective order that we find in the former. This order is the *test* of truth or reality of sensible objects, but the *meaning* of truth or reality is constituted by their being given to us from some external source. This source must be a conscious and intelligent one for how else can it influence our minds and produce perceptual objects in such marvellous patterns? The givenness of the order as well as the objects themselves is experienced, but the agent to explain it is a matter of conjecture or analogical thinking.

Therefore, the objects and the order are all in the universal mind as imaginary objects, and their particular orders are in any individual mind. The hypnotic effect of the former mind consists in making us perceive things in the manner it pleases. It causes systematic hallucinations in our minds and this explains the regularity and order in nature which exists in this universal mind. This is what Berkeley taught us. This explains our knowledge, or systematic experience, of nature. This universal mind may be called God who shadows forth this world in our minds and puts some order in it so that we may live in it and learn to expect from the observation of certain things certain results and thus gain knowledge and power over nature. Viewed religiously, we feel reverence for God as He makes our life possible and so rich in variety. Nature becomes the language of God besides being a home for us. Science, without this sort of philosophical development makes nature opaque and alien to us.

SOME PARALLEL VIEWS OFFERED BY MODERN SCIENTISTS

The views of Sir James Jeans, Sir Arthur Eddington, and Albert Einstein may be noted in this connection. They also reached a similar conclusion following similar considerations. Jeans argued that modern phys-

ics is now mathematical and mathematics is, *a priori*, not an inductive science; so a super-mathematical mind, God, must be the creator of this world. But his argument proves only that God must be a mathematical designer and not a creator. We can, however, supplement his argument by stating that since a designer cannot design unless the material he works upon is as pliable as his own imaginary creations, the world must be conceived to be God's imagination. Eddington argues that sensible objects are produced by the mind out of the meagre messages from a non-sensible world by means of our *a priori* ideas. The scientific objects are also our constructs out of other sensible objects; so that the world of sense and science is raised on a substratum we do not know. But what can this be but our own immediate consciousness which is the only reality we know for certain? But Eddington is not clear whether this consciousness is one's individual consciousness or some universal one. One's mind may contribute much to one's knowledge of the world, but the world is not one's creation. Kant saw the point when he declared that the mind makes nature but does not create it. Eddington confused the world of physics with the physical world and he did not see that a symbol must have an object which it symbolizes. So he fell into a subjectivist position and spoke of the world as symbolized and mind-made. He should have considered the aspect of givenness of sensible things and their intersubjectivity, and then posited an external source, of course a mental one, of our sensible experience and, therefore, ultimately of our world of physics.

Einstein believes that our concepts in science are our free creations and yet they apply to the given world that is extra-mental. This situation leads him to speak of some 'pre-established harmony' between the mind and the world. Einstein did not develop his thought further. Had he done

so he might have come very near our own answer given above, to the situation which, he rightly observed, made him feel religious.

THE VALUE AND LIMITATIONS OF THIS SOLUTION

The solution that we have advanced in terms of the cosmic mind imagining the world, is valuable from a scientific point of view in so far as it explains the non-necessary character of the laws of nature and the elements of contingency, loose-jointedness, admitted in modern physics, also the spontaneity and purposiveness admitted in the biological and psychological sciences. The so-called laws of nature being willed by a free cosmic spirit may very well be understood to be regular yet neither strict nor rigid. Again, the sensible world, being but ideas in the cosmic mind, has no material substance at its core and no absolute space and time as receptacles for the material things. Thus our theory is supported by and explains some of the basic tenets of modern science.

This cosmic mind cannot be imagined more definitely as possessing the characters, mathematical, artistic, or moral, that different thinkers attribute to it. For this mind cannot itself be determined by any of the characters it creates. Again this cosmic mind cannot be in space and time which are its creations. We see things as extensive and successive, the cosmic mind sees them in one aspect. The world is to be viewed as an expression of a supra-mental will in the medium of our minds.

But the difficulties of this theory become apparent at this point. How can the cosmic mind act upon our minds from outside? The analogy of hypnotism goes some length towards answering this question but it falls short of complete satisfaction. The mind of the hypnotized person must be conceived in some manner to be continuous with the mind of the hypnotizer, otherwise the action

of the latter on the former remains a mystery. Our individual minds must be sharing some common mental continuum; we must be somehow inside the cosmic mind. How else can telepathy and hypnotism be accounted for?

Thus we have to revise our ideas a bit. We have to conceive our individual minds as modes of the cosmic mind just as our dream-mind is a mode of our waking one. This analogy of hypnotism or telepathic communication has to be replaced by that of auto-suggestion found in dreams and imaginative recreations. We have first to note the sort of experience we have in the latter situation. We then have two minds, so to say; one mind causes certain perceptions in the other which takes them as given realities, while the former mind enjoys them from behind. The dream-mind suffers the joys and sorrow blindly, but the waking-mind, that causes them, actively enjoys them for their sheer energy and variety. That this active mind is really working from behind may be founded on circumstantial evidence, for, from whence can we think the images appear if not from our own minds? We can also detect in the images and emotional associations they carry, our own wishes and desires that do not find any expression or fulfilment in our actual life. The bad dreams we suffer also satisfy our waking self that sometimes loves to have a taste of disagreeable things. We want happiness, no doubt, but we also want diversity that intensifies our consciousness and gives a sharp taste to our life. Much disagreeable dreaming is, however, just a continuation of our apprehensions in our waking life. We undergo them in order to know what they are like—so that we may take care to avoid them in actual life. But we do desire painful experiences for their own sakes too, and this is borne out by our love and enjoyment of suffering depicted in art, particularly by our delight in tragedy.

If we are convinced about this dual mind we can conceive, by analogy, that our waking minds are modes of one cosmic mind. The latter is then not external or transcendent but immanent, and we can imagine how the world that we perceive may be impressed on our minds by the cosmic mind. This postulate of an immanent over-mind, or God, will explain and be supported by the assertions of the mystics who speak of the essential identity of the human mind with the cosmic one. The Upaniṣads speak of it ('That thou art'), the Christian mystics, Eckhart, Ruysbroeck, St. Bernard and others, and the Islamic mystics called Sufis, affirm their experience of their oneness with some indeterminate cosmic spirit. But we must be careful here not to treat mystical experiences as a conclusive proof of our theory which must be held as, at best, a plausible hypothesis. For one must not dogmatically believe that the mystics have touched the bottom of experience, that fresh evidence will not turn up to demand a revision of our present hypothesis.

THE NEW OUTLOOK IN SCIENCE AND PHILOSOPHY

This theory of the cosmic mind explains amongst other things the new outlook of science which no longer searches after any external substance or 'primary stuff of the world, and treats laws of coexistence, and the succession of phenomena, and spatio-temporality as but ideas having no permanency and necessity about them. This new approach to nature is interpreted, in our theory, as the scientific mind becoming more self-aware and, therefore, dimly conscious of the world being a projection or free creation of the cosmic mind, which is but human mind in its foundational aspect. The scientist's mind comes back to its own original state as it reflects on its discipline and he realizes that what appears to be given from outside and necessary, is but freely created

by his own original self ; a self that enjoys this creation and at the same time assumes such a mode of self-oblivious passivity that it takes as a given reality that mode which it really creates. It takes with one hand what it creates with the other. Thus the development today of the scientific mind marks a stage in the return of the self-deluded spirit to its own. The philosophic mind, too, that has come to suspect and avoid a naïve empirical realism and to recognize transcendental idealism, shows an awareness of the cosmic mind.

The world is regarded as somewhat mind-made ; not material and given to the mind. The individual mind is seen as a mode of the cosmic mind. We can also see how our aesthetic, moral, and religious activities can be better understood in the light of this philosophy. In aesthetic contemplation we enjoy projecting our imaginary objects and emotions and treating them as if they are real, this make-believe or conscious self-delusion is the repetition, on an individual basis, of the similar activity of the cosmic mind on a universal plane. Aesthetic delight gives us a foretaste of the delight that we might have if we could identify ourselves with the cosmic spirit. The ancient Indian students of aesthetics spoke of the aesthetic delight as the 'very twin of the taste of Brahma' (*Brahmāsūda-sahodara*). As for morality, its essence is imaginative sympathy with others, and realizing a greater self than one's individual ego which is transcended. In this way moral progress means an increased self-awareness of the cosmic spirit that may be said to be coming into its own in the virtuous man. The morally advanced man takes a disinterested view of the world which has no hold over his passions and which appears as a stage where he plays his part ; his actions spring from a motiveless desire to do his duty. Finally, one's religious experience consists in believing in a personal God as the creator and governor

of the world and in establishing a kinship with Him. Therefore it involves one's rising from the state of total self-forgetfulness and passivity to one of partial self-awareness. We can thus see how our aesthetic, moral, and religious realizations may be considered as marks of our spiritual awakening in greater or lesser degree, and how one can enhance one's awakening by reflecting on these experiences and bringing out the implications behind them. Man's spiritual progress means his increasing insight by virtue of which he realizes more and more clearly that that which he considered as external is, in fact, internal to him.

UNITY IN DIVERSITY: THE THEORY AND VEDANTA

Just as our intellectual and other development may be treated, in our present theory, as marks of self-recollection of the cosmic spirit, so also retrogression, or a lowering of intellectual and other levels, must mean for us an increase in self-delusion or a degeneration of the cosmic spirit that sinks as a result into a state of passive dreaming. Since we can see in the world simultaneous progress and regress in spiritual matters, we are faced with the question, How can the same spirit at once rise from and fall into its dream state? We have to admit then that the spirit enjoys both the movements, and seeks fulfilment of its dual desire through different modes of its consciousness. This cosmic spirit is thus protean and myriad-minded. We can find a faint analogy to it in the personality of a powerful dramatic poet who may be living in imagination the diverse characters he is depicting in a drama. At that moment the poet has no self of his own. There is a similar kind of unity in the cosmic spirit and if we bear in mind that all variety and movements are in time and are adopted modes of the spirit, then the aspect of unity or identity of this spirit becomes more real and original than

the expressions of it. The cosmic spirit itself is without any human character or analogy except imaginative creativity.

This makes us pause and ask a question on general method. How can an entity like this universal cosmic mind really help us in understanding the world if it is so bare of attributes and if it is consistent with everything we find in the world where it makes no difference? There is nothing in our experience that can disprove our theory, which leads to the suspicion that the theory may be factually insignificant. Thus the positivists object to any metaphysical theory. What is the use of having an Absolute, they say, which is the common premise of all deductions to all factual statements? If everything is there because ultimately there is the Absolute, the latter can be safely eliminated from our discourse. The Absolute leaves everything as it is. In reply, we may point out that a metaphysical theory, though it may be devised on the analogy of a hypothesis in science, serves a different purpose from the latter. A scientific hypothesis posits a definite physical object having definite consequences all of which may not be verifiable in experience, and so the hypothesis is, in principle, falsifiable. A metaphysical hypothesis, on the other hand, does not posit any one physical object amongst others but posits a principle which will not account for particular items of experience and will, therefore, not be disproved by them, but it will account for our experience and factuality as such. The positivists do not make any sense of this business of metaphysics as they do not ask the question, Why should there be facts and why should we know them? We think it is a matter of being less or more responsive to the total situation we are in, and, from the standpoint of our own theory, we would say the positivists are not sufficiently awakened from the dream of life.

The metaphysical theory of ours is surely consistent with everything that may happen

in our⁹ experience, and, therefore, it is neither true nor false in the ordinary sense, but it is not insignificant or worthless for that reason. 'This is because it offers us a principle in the light of which we can see and react to our experience in a particular way. It gives us a vision of the world and our life in it, which vision has its individual character. Though it leaves all the facts of the world as they are, it makes a vast difference to our attitude to them. There are alternative metaphysical theories which are raised on the same factual basis but which give different views of the facts. The acceptance of a metaphysical theory depends not so much on any arguments, for every theory squares itself with all the possible facts, but on the personal factors of a particular thinker for whom it means a total organization of his aims and attitudes of life. In this sense a metaphysical theory such as ours is more significant than any scientific theory.

We can readily see that our theory is much like non-dualistic Vedānta which speaks of an Absolute Spirit as the ground of all things. This spirit is said to be without any determinate character we find in our experience ; it is characterized as eternal, pure, intelligent, and blissful, but these predicates have to be taken in their transcendent and not ordinary sense. The spirit is said to be known through negating every empirical characteristic that we find in the world (*neti, neti*). This spirit is our fundamental self ('That thou art'), and the world we generally take for reality is but

illusory creation (*māyā*) undertaken in sport (*līlā*) for its own enjoyment. We can, if we desire, rise¹⁰ from our passive state of being, in which we take the world for reality

and blindly suffer our worldly joys and sorrows, to the state of this cosmic spirit and share the joy of creation. The dream-analogy is extensively employed in Vedānta literature to make the concepts of *līlā* and *māyā* intelligible to us. The only major difference between Vedānta and our present philosophy lies in the approach, for, as we noted at the outset, we postulate this cosmic spirit and do not speak of proving it as true. But Vedānta believes that its assertions are true by virtue of the direct verification of them in the extraordinary experiences of the Vedic sages.

We believe, however, that if we are satisfied with our theory, because of its simplicity and adequacy in systematizing our experience, and because of its appeal to our individual bent of mind, our next step should be to see if we can really rise to the state of the cosmic spirit and realize what the theory maintains. This will at least strengthen our own faith in the theory even though it may not produce that kind of intellectual conviction which universal acceptance of a statement does in science and common sense. But that is not expected in metaphysics where, because it is a matter of vision and attitudes, we can have alternative metaphysics. The criteria of simplicity and adequacy are not very objective ; what may be a gratuitous assumption for one thinker may be a necessary truth for another. A large margin for subjective preferences has to be admitted in our view of metaphysics, and this is in keeping with our metaphysical theory according to which our thoughts and attitudes are but various adopted modes of the cosmic spirit that loves variety.

BOOK REVIEW

THE ORPHIC VOICE. By Elizabeth Sewell. (Routledge and Kegan Paul. London. 1961. 463 pp. 56 shillings.)

In this book we have an exploration of the part played by the poetic faculty in the establishment of meaningful thought. Periodically in man's cultural history this exploration becomes necessary when too much concentration upon the objective scene has made man forget that interpretive truth is involved, whether he will or no, and that this is a truth inherent in the very structure of language. It is, of course, wrong to oppose objective and subjective viewpoints as if one might choose one or the other, for meaning itself is a point of union between them, and this meaning the morphological power of great poetry reveals. Thus poetry becomes myth of the status of the Orphic myth whose truth is re-expressed by other poets down the long progress of evolution in the history of man's awareness. Elizabeth Sewell coins the word 'postlogic' for this unified meaning which fulfils the process of scientific logic. But this word does not adequately convey the main function of myth which is to shape into a communicable form the habits of thought and action of a people in order to serve the true ethos, that spirit which keeps open the channels of power of body and of mind—health and sanity. She wisely restores the original word 'poetry' at the end of her discussion.

Science's task of describing the symptoms of illness or of insanity is an easier one than to indicate wherein health lies, but it does its work efficiently by means of its own methodology. But there is a balance between excesses which poetic myth indicates, a poetic middle way, for which myth has its own methodology. This middle way, which is also a comprehensive growing point for the future, vitally concerns the modern

world facing the excesses of its own scientific inventions. For this balancing point of meaning concerns moral purity; it is also memory and prophecy. To illustrate her thesis Elizabeth Sewell draws our attention to the mythical truth of the Orphic legend and, by references to Bacon, Shakespeare, Erasmus Darwin, Goethe, Hugo, Renan, Wordsworth, and Rilke, she shows that its truth still prevails.

It is good that writers are today according more honour to the great epic poets who were conscious of the importance of racial memory and who kept alive the good traditions of a people by their verse. Epic is the re-expression, in successive periods of time, of the song of Orpheus' lute. It unifies the soul of man with nature and so gives meaning, and therefore power, to him by the creation of a new interpretation. It is, as Elizabeth Sewell amply proves, progressive and biological. Its insights open up the way for new developments of body and mind, and the unexplored potentialities of the human destiny, being thus revealed, become practical. She sees in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* an attempt to express the change of the interpretative faculty within the self which is the result of the complete submission to the divine voice within the soul. Here, content and form change together and the whole is transformed 'in the twinkling of an eye'. The naming of things newly seen is a comprehensive process which takes memory into account. It is myth-making. It is also a function of the divine logos.

Elizabeth Sewell's theme is, however, confined to the Orpheus myth, but in illustrating it from modern examples she often does not give sufficient credit to the one great development in the biology of thinking produced since Orpheus by the insights of Christ.

The Christian myth supplements and complements the Orphic myth and gives an answer to the tragedy of the broken body of Orpheus. The wonderful quotation from Bacon's *Valerius Terminus*, which Elizabeth Sewell gives on page 104, makes clear that the perfect memory of our original state of creation is also the perfect prophecy of our immortality: 'To conclude then, let no man presume to check the liberality of God's gifts, who, as was said, *hath set the world in man's heart*. So as whatsoever is not God, but parcel of the world, he hath fitted it to the comprehension of man's mind, if man will open and dilate the powers of his understanding as he may.

'But yet evermore it must be remembered that the least part of knowledge passed to man by this so large a charter from God must be subject to that use for which God hath granted it; which is the benefit and relief of the state and society of man ... the same author (St. Paul) doth notably disavow both power and knowledge such as is not dedicated to goodness and love, for saith he, *if I have all faith so as I could remove mountains* (there is power active), *if I render my body to the fire* (there is power passive), *if I speak with the tongues of men and angels* (there is knowledge, for language is but the conveyance of knowledge), *all were nothing*.

'And therefore it is not the pleasure of curiosity, nor the quiet of resolution, nor the raising of the spirit, nor victory of wit, nor faculty of speech, nor lucre of profession, nor ambition of honour or fame, nor inablement for business, that are the true ends of knowledge; some of these being more worthy than other, though all inferior and degenerate: but it is a restitution and reinvesting (in great part) of man to the sovereignty and power (for whensoever he shall be able to call the creatures by their true names he shall again command them) which he had in his first state of crea-

tion. And to speak plainly and clearly, it is a discovery of all operations and possibilities of operations from immortality (if it were possible) to the meanest mechanical practice.'

Viewed from the standpoint of meaning, expressed by Bacon, the final aim of epic poetry is poetic action. Here time-consciousness by means of perfect love (besides which 'all were nothing') becomes the counterpart of space-consciousness which is modern science's most recent obsession.

But within her more limited field of the Orphic myth Elizabeth Sewell does excellent service to the restitution of poetic logic as an instrument of man's development. 'The great dilemma of psychology has been that only by mind can mind be investigated and that we have direct access only to one soul, our own.' Narrow, modern psychologies falter here and often proceed to substitute the inner investigation by an objective examination of primitive types which it somewhat condescendingly interprets. Elizabeth Sewell turns to Erasmus Darwin's method as an alternative. It would seem that Erasmus might have added a third factor, inspiration, to Charles Darwin's factors of environment and heredity, as the driving forces of evolution. Nature, Time, and Orpheus are like environment, heredity, and inspiration; great abstractions expressing the unities of body, mind, and spirit of the universe.

As we follow Elizabeth Sewell's reasonings we are drawn to the conclusion that there never was such a time as now for Orpheus. He has charmed objective Nature, he has charmed his own feeling soul through art by the inspiration of Eurydice, but neither he nor she can charm themselves into unity. He breaks in pieces, for his destiny is that he must submit himself to the tune of a higher lute than his own.

When Elizabeth Sewell considers Wordsworth's *Prelude* she is particularly interest-

ing. She sees in this work evidence that Wordsworth is consciously undertaking the task of inner exploration which Milton indicated as the task of his 'uncouth swain' twitching his cloak for 'fresh fields and pastures new'. Wordsworth pronounces confidently that 'the mind is to herself witness and judge'. In *The Prelude* Elizabeth Sewall finds an 'interchange of relations of mind and nature and also the forward movement in time . . . that beautiful fusion of simultaneous and successive relations with which poetry seems always to be deeply occupied'. She finds heroic argument in this solitary journey of the mind which speaks of glory, of genius, power, creative divinity and of the awful might of souls, and calls it the epic form applied to the individual self. The poet is now his own subject matter and hero. I feel, however, that in this paradox there lies a weakness which precludes the title of 'epic' to *The Prelude*. Can one truly explore one's own mind and laud the findings of divinity therein and then so create that 'suspension of unbelief' in the listener or reader that he will also accept that here is portrayed his epic hero? The function of epic poetry is to create the hero wherein the communal soul of a people recognizes its ideal and its aim for the next biological step in evolution. The first person singular is, for Orpheus' lute the wrong key in which to sing these praises, I feel. *The Prelude* is a solitary journey of the mind, nothing more. True it is also an heroic effort and its findings are uplifting, but Wordsworth himself knew that it was only the prelude to greater insights which he

himself failed fully to express. That he never quite overcame the regret of looking back to the intimations of immortality of childhood has, I feel, something to do with the failure to envisage their recovery in the future. We still await the epic which will hail the hero of a second childhood who has regained the simplicity and hope of his first childhood through the inaturity of his experience as a man.

In a comparison of the methods of Wordsworth and Rilke she finds that Wordsworth's enquiry upon the origin and progress of his own mind develops as a steady progress involving change, slowly and gradually. (This was, of course, in conformity with the scientific view of progress of his day.) Whereas Rilke's vision is in terms of varying degrees of transformation somewhat like Ovid's *Metamorphoses*: hence metamorphosis is Rilke's main theme. Change and transmutation, or the way of change, are simultaneous. Rilke says:

Be resolute for change. O be fervent for
flame in which a thing leaves you for
good as it flaunts its transmutings.

If in this fervency and flaunting we may come to realize that the experience has produced an alchemy of soul wherein its eternal content of no-change is more fully realized, then we are redeemed from inconstancy. Indeed, we are back again to Shakespeare's spirit of love of infinite capacity as the sea into which all flauntings as fancies fall into abatement and low price. ,

W. H. DAWES

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

Canadian Film on World Religions

Three short films, made by the National Film Board of Canada, have been shown recently in New Delhi. The main film is called *Four Religions*. It is a documentary in black and white, and gives an account of Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam, and Christianity. A considerable part of the film is devoted to India as the home of Hinduism.

Professor Arnold Toynbee, the noted historian, introduces the theme of the film and provides a brief conclusion to each sequence. He pleads the case for the acceptance of all religions as being the reflections of differing temperamental and intellectual needs on a basis of ethical unity. Professor Toynbee expresses the hope that, in a shrinking world, the religions will come closer together and more people will have at least greater freedom to study and understand them.

International Club at the University of London

Miss Mary Trevelyan, adviser to the nearly 6,000 overseas students at the University of London, has started an international club to help students suffering from loneliness and homesickness. These are just as likely to be British students away from home for the first time, as overseas students who may be thousands of miles from home. Another purpose of the club is to satisfy the desire of students to know more about Britain and the British. The club, called the 'Goats' Club, started four years ago, has members from forty different countries. It is extremely popular, one of the reasons being that each week's programme is kept secret. Nobody knows what will happen: it may be a visit from the Duke of Edinburgh or Princess Alexandra, or a talk on their special subjects by famous poets, sportsmen, or mountaineers, to mention a few examples.

Each country, including Britain, is allow-

ed a quota of members, and on Tuesday evenings young people from every part of the Commonwealth exchange friendship with young Germans, Swedes, Americans, Hungarians, Koreans, Israelis, Norwegians, and others.

U.S. School Course on Indian Culture

A course in Indian culture and history for secondary school students is attracting more applicants than can be enrolled, at the Berkeley High School, California.

Mr. Jeff Tudisco, who is the founder and teacher of this course, selects only seventy of the best students from among the applicants. He estimates that less than a dozen other American high schools offer such a complete introduction to Indian studies at a pre-university level.

The course begins with a survey of the geography of India. The students are then guided through an examination of the growth and development of Jainism, Buddhism, and Hinduism, and the social manifestations of these religions. The art of India is also studied. And part of the course is devoted to a study of nationalism, with special emphasis on Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru.

Subjects of recent term papers given during the course have included a study of the effects of Indian thought upon American transcendentalism, a comparative analysis of the writings of the nineteenth century American philosopher, Henry David Thoreau, and a study of *satyāgraha*.

Mr. Tudisco believes that it is not yet sufficiently understood in America that Indians enjoy freedoms similar to those possessed by Americans. His course seeks to demonstrate the democratic structure of India's political institutions while eliminating misconceptions about the country's economic structure.

Scholarships for Foreign Language Study

The Budget Committee of the *Bundestag*, the lower House of the German Parliament, has accepted a scheme for giving scholarships to German graduates interested in studying the languages of 'developing countries'. Hindi and Urdu are among the languages included in this scheme. The scholarships, each tenable for two years and valued at DM 500 (nearly Rs. 600) per month, will help the holders to stay for a short time in the countries whose languages they are studying.

Indian Library in Nagasaki

One hundred and thirty volumes on Indian religion, culture, literature, and sciences, have been donated to the Indian Library of the Nagasaki University, Japan, by Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan. The library was inaugurated in October 1960.

Nagasaki University is noted in Japan for its scholars' group especially interested in the study of Indian culture and civilization. The studies of the group are published in a review, entitled *Tagore*, which appears each year on the anniversary of Rabindranath's birthday. This publication attracted the attention of the Indian Government which resulted in the donation of the books for the library.

Exchange with France

French archaeologists have unearthed a collection of ivory objects of great artistic value from an excavation at Begram in Afghanistan.

The Musée Guimet, the well-known museum of oriental art in Paris, has presented twelve of these ivory pieces to India in exchange for five stone sculptures of Lord Buddha from Sarnath. These sculptures were found in the excavations at Sarnath and belong to the Banaras school of Gupta art.

Tagore Centenary News

In December 1912, the American publication *Poetry*, published for the first time in that country English translations of six lyrics from *Gitanjali*, for which Rabindranath Tagore was awarded a Nobel Prize the following year. In the same issue, of the magazine Ezra Pound contributed a lengthy article on Tagore. Subsequently a selection of poems, narratives, and epigrams by Tagore were published by the magazine between the years 1913 and 1916. Throughout the years, interest in Tagore has been maintained, and, in the January 1959 issue, *Poetry* devoted the entire issue to the work of Indian poets, beginning with Tagore's *I will not let you go*.

The manuscripts and correspondence which *Poetry* received from Tagore have been preserved in the Harriet Monrow Modern Poetry Library at the University of Chicago. The library is named after the founder and first editor of the magazine. The present editor, John Frederick Nims, himself a poet and translator, observes: 'It is a pity that Tagore's poetry suffers in translation ... Nonetheless, shining through whatever flaws there may be in translation is Tagore's representation of the wisdom of the East. No-one else has ever expressed it so well in English. His is the classic statement in English poetry, for our time, of the spirit of Indian philosophy.'

'He was successful in one of his great missions—helping to make known to the West the philosophy of his native land.'

Mr. Nims also confirms the rapid growth of interest among Americans in Asian cultural contributions. One recent example of this is the appearance of *A Tagore Reader*, published by the Macmillan Company of New York, and edited by Sri Amiya Chakravorty, at one time secretary to Tagore at Santiniketan, and now professor of English Literature at Boston University.

INSTITUTE NEWS

Reception to Dr. and Srimati Deshmukh

Dr. C. D. Deshmukh, formerly Chairman of the University Grants Commission, and Srimati Durgabai Deshmukh, Chairman of the Central Social Welfare Board, were invited to visit the Institute on 22 April. Spending about two hours at the Institute, Dr. and Srimati Deshmukh were shown over the entire new building, and were fully acquainted with the work and plans of the various departments. On Sunday, 23 April, a Reception was held in the Institute's quadrangle to enable some friends of the Institute to meet and talk with Dr. and Srimati Deshmukh.

This visit was of special importance to the Institute because of the close similarity between its aims, developed over the past twenty-three years, with the aims of the newly-established India International Centre, of which Dr. Deshmukh has been appointed life-President. In the June issue of the *Bulletin*, in 'International News', information was given about the India International Centre which has been established with the help of the Rockefeller Foundation.

Among those who attended the Reception for Dr. and Srimati Deshmukh were the following :

Dr. R. C. Majumdar, formerly Vice-Chancellor, Dacca University, and Mrs. Majumdar ; Dr. Kalidas Nag ; the Hon. Mr. Justice P. B. Mukharji, of the Calcutta High Court, and Mrs. Mukharji ; Dr. Bhavatosh Datta, Professor of Economics, Presidency College, Calcutta ; Principal Khagendranath Sen, Asutosh College, Calcutta ; Mr. Arthur C. Bartlett, Director, U.S.I.S., Calcutta, and Mrs. Bartlett ; Miss Ruth G. Krueger, Librarian, U.S.I.S., Calcutta ; Mr. V. Poladian, Principal, Armenian College and Philanthropic Academy, Calcutta ; Mr. Kamgar Parsi, Director of

the Iranian Cultural House, Calcutta ; Sri Sudhansu Mohan Banerjee, Financial Adviser to the Chief Minister, West Bengal ; the Hon. Mr. Justice P. K. Sarkar, of the Calcutta High Court ; Srimati Bance Sarkar, Principal, Sri Sikshayatan, Calcutta ; Srimati Mira Datta Gupta, Vice-Principal, Surendranath College for Women, Calcutta ; and Dr. Rani Ghosh, Principal, Gokhale Memorial College for Women, Calcutta.

Lectures by Dr. Robert L. Gaudino

Dr. Robert L. Gaudino, M.A., Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Political Science at the Williams College, Massachusetts, U.S.A., and at present in India as a Fulbright Visiting Lecturer in Political Science, gave a series of four lectures at the Institute in April, on 'The Complexities of Liberty : America 1961'.

In this series Dr. Gaudino developed a re-evaluation of the classical ideas of individual liberty, while presenting an analysis of the current complexities, particularly in America, concerning concepts of individual liberty, democracy, and freedom. His lectures were much appreciated for the clarity of statement and stimulating thought expressed in them. The lectures were given under the following headings : (1) Thought and Production in the United States : the tradition of liberty, the ideology of freedom, the contemporary practice ; (2) Class Responses in the United States : a sociological analysis of free individuality ; (3) Freedom and World Affairs : democracy, diplomacy, and national security ; and (4) Toleration and World Harmony : the conditions of coexistence between the United States and Russia.

Rabindranath's Birth Centenary

In the evening of 8 May, the centenary of the birth of Rabindranath Tagore, a

music recital was presented at the Institute by Sri Samaresh Chaudhury and party, of the Sangit Sanskriti. The programme consisted of *Rabindrasangit* sung by a group of sixteen singers, and played by a group of six guitarists.

On 11 May, the documentary film, *Rabindranath*, directed by Sri Satyajit Ray and made by the Government of India's Film Division, was shown at the Institute to a large invited audience of members of the Institute.

Observations

Readers of the *Bulletin* will have noticed that since the January issue this year a connected series of articles has been appearing under 'Observations'. This series has been concerned with exploring the nature of India's special genius with a view to pointing out India's place in the world today, and how she can best fulfil her heritage and, at the same time, develop her national values through a way of life that complements and enhances modern technical, industrialized living with its heavy pressure on human frailties. In the April issue of the *Bulletin*, the subject discussed was the contribution which India could make to life in the West, and to the world in general, beginning with the cultivation at home of a greater awareness of the character of India's culture. In the May issue, under the title of 'Pathways to One World', Dr. Helmut G. Callis continued the series with an appeal to India to play the role expected of her in the light of her unique cultural heritage.

In the present issue the subject is carried further to consider the current trend towards Indian thought observable in western countries among thinkers and spiritual seekers who, in the light of modern scientific discoveries, find themselves forced to seek a faith that fully accords with rational thought and with new concepts of history and cosmology, and, at the same time, accords

with Christian teaching. Under the general heading 'The Trend Towards Indian Thought in the Western Quest for Truth', this subject will be dealt with in a series of four articles entitled: (1) 'The Scientific Approach'; (2) 'Concepts of History and Cosmology'; (3) 'The Problem of Evil'; and (4) 'Comprehending Jesus'.

Library and Reading Room

In April the number of volumes added to the accession list in the Institute's library was 195, of which 20 were purchased, 167 were gifts, and 8 were bound periodicals. A total of 432 were classified and catalogued. 1,305 books were borrowed and 992 books were issued for reference. The reading room contained 328 Indian and foreign periodicals. The average daily attendance was 95 readers.

At the beginning of May a special display of books was arranged in the library to mark the occasion of the birth centenary of Rabindranath Tagore. 220 books were on view of which 188 were by Rabindranath and the remainder were publications about the poet. Of those by him, 13 were first editions and 7 were rare works. Also displayed were translations of *Gitanjali* in English, French, Hindi, and Malayalam.

Children's Library

During the month of April there were 372 members on the roll of the children's library. 1,126 books were borrowed and 9 books were added to the accession list. The average daily attendance was 75 readers.

On 26 April, a film show was arranged for the members of the Children's Library by L'Alliance Française, Calcutta. The film, which was very much enjoyed by the children, was called *Bim, the Donkey*.

Students' Day Home

Due to examinations, attendance at the Students' Day Home during April was lower

than usual. The number of students attending daily averaged 283. Those taking meals or tiffin in the canteen averaged 193. No new text-books were purchased or catalogued during this month, the total remaining the same as in March, 4,838.

Continuing the series of film shows arranged by the British Information Services, Calcutta, a programme of four documentaries was shown to the students.

International Hostel

Among those who stayed in the Institute's International Hostel during April and the first part of May were the following :

Mrs. Muriel F. Sorensen, B.A., M.A., from America, a writer, and the wife of a well-known architect, was on a study tour, accompanied by her young son ;

Dr. Ernest A. Ball, B.S., M.S., Ph.D., Professor of Botany, North Carolina State College, U.S.A., who, accompanied by his young son, was in India on a lecture tour visiting scientific institutions ;

Dr. Robert L. Gaudino, Ph.D., particulars of whom are given elsewhere in this month's 'Institute News' ;

Sri K. Sachidanandam, Deputy Financial Adviser to the Ministry of Education, Central Government, who was in Calcutta to attend a meeting of the Central Sanskrit Board ;

Miss Elinor Wardwell, B.S., Ph.D., from America, Assistant Professor of Psychology at McMaster University, Canada, who was working for the United States Educational Foundation in India ;

Sri Ajit Mookherjee, Director, Crafts Museum, All-India Handicrafts Board, New Delhi ;

Mr. Peter Bruce-Dick, from Britain, who was studying pottery-making in India ;

Mr. Arnold Isele, B.A., M.A., from America, a teacher in Burma, who was touring India ;

Mr. A. Richey Sharrett, B.A., M.A., from

America, and Mr. Peter Wittman, from Hawaii, who were on study tours.

Visitors

Among the visitors to the Institute during April were the following :

Professor P. V. Kane and Sri B. Jha, who were in Calcutta to attend a meeting of the Central Sanskrit Board of the Government of India ;

Mr. and Mrs. Floyd Bauman and Miss Lois Cressman, from Canada, who are doing social welfare work in India under the auspices of the Mennonite Church of America.

Scripture Classes

During April the following scripture classes continued to be held :

Śrīmad Bhāgavatam : This class, conducted by Swami Omkarananda, was held every Wednesday at 6 p.m. The average attendance was 610.

Bhagavad-Gītā : This class, conducted by Swami Mahananda, was held every Friday at 6 p.m. The average attendance was 768.

Sanskrit Catuspathi

The *catuspāthi*, conducted by Pandit Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya, Śāstrī, Tarka-Vedānta-tīrtha, continued to be held during April on Mondays, Tuesdays, and Thursdays, at 6.30 p.m. 6 students are studying *Pañcadaśī* and *Gītābhāṣya*.

Indian Language Classes

During April the following classes were held :

Hindī : Pandit Bhubaneswar Jha continued his classes. 13 students attended the *Prārambhika* (beginners') class, which was held on Tuesdays and Fridays, from 6.30 to 7.30 p.m. 10 students attended the *Praveśa* (intermediate) class, held on Tuesdays and Fridays, from 7.30 to 8.30 p.m. 4 students attended the *Parichaya* (advanced) class, held on Mondays, Wednesdays,

and Thursdays, from 6.30 to 7.30 p.m. 2 students attended the Kovid (diploma) class, held on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays, from 7.30 to 8.30 p.m., and on Saturdays, from 6.30 to 7.30 p.m.

Bengali : This class, conducted by Professor Saurindra Kumar De, continued to be held every Wednesday and Friday, from 7.30 to 8.30 p.m. 8 students attended this class.

Foreign Language Classes

During April the following classes were held :

German : 'The beginners' class, conducted

by Countess Keyserling, continued to be held on Wednesday and Saturdays, from 6.30 to 7.30 p.m., and from 7.30 to 8.30 p.m. 47 students attended.

French : The class for beginners, conducted by Mr. Cadetis, continued to be held on Tuesdays and Fridays, from 6.30 to 7.30 p.m. 26 students attended.

Persian : The class for beginners, conducted by Mr. Kamgar Parsi and Dr. Hira Lall Chopra, was held on Mondays and Thursdays, from 6.30 to 7.30 p.m. 6 students attended.

JULY LECTURES

At 6 p.m.

July 1

The Message of Sufism

Speaker : Sobharani Basu, M.A., D.Litt.

Lecturer in Philosophy, Banares Hindu University

President : Hira Lall Chopra, M.A., D.Litt.

July 8

Brahma-vada in Rabindranath

Speaker : Batuknath Bhattacharya, M.A., B.L.

President : Kalidas Nag, M.A., D.Litt.

July 15

Gupta Sculpture (Illustrated)

Speaker : Sarasi Kumar Saraswati, M.A., F.A.S.

President : Jitendra Nath Banerjee, M.A., Ph.D., F.A.S.

July 22

Education in the United Kingdom

Speaker : A. P. Weaver, M.A.

Education Officer, British Council, Calcutta

President : P. K. Guha, M.A.

July 29

Classical Systems of Indian Philosophy—a Survey and Synthesis (fourth lecture)

Speaker : S. C. Chatterjee, M.A., Ph.D.

President : Roma Chaudhuri, M.A., D.Phil.

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OBSERVATIONS

THE TREND TOWARDS INDIAN THOUGHT IN THE WESTERN QUEST FOR TRUTH

2. CONCEPTS OF HISTORY AND COSMOLOGY

SPEAKING on 'Greek Science' in a recent broadcast (*The Listener*, 23 February 1961) G. S. Kirk, Lecturer, in Classics at Cambridge University, began his talk with these words: 'For hundreds of years the Greeks did not clearly distinguish science from philosophy, and in this lay both their strength and their weakness as scientists. They simply set out to explain the world in all its aspects, no less. Most of the thinkers from the sixth century B.C. down to Socrates seem to have conceived that they could account for everything: how the world started, what it is made of, what is man's place in it. These early *physikoi*, physicists or students of the nature of things, possessed the vast aims and uninhibited imagination that have marked many of the great artists and thinkers of history.'

Without going into the details of Mr. Kirk's article, it is of interest to note his contention that 'all through the history of Greek science we can observe both the strength and the weakness: their intense in-

terest in the world in all its larger aspects and their reluctance to focus on limited fields of vision'. The total effect of these two characteristics of early Greek science may be observed in the third century A.D. when there was 'a grave economic and cultural decline in Egypt and the Roman empire at large'. The urge and opportunity for further scientific research disappeared and the 'works of Galen and Ptolemy became crystallized as the last word, and dictated the trend of medicine and astronomy for over a thousand years to come'. Galen and Ptolemy thus represented the end of a cultural era and 'such speculation as survived them became almost completely subordinated to Christian belief and doctrine'.

The vision of physics as philosophy and not mechanics became for science a terrible limitation. Yet, as Mr. Kirk points out in concluding his lecture, 'it was philosophy that elicited and cherished the greatest of all Aristotle's achievements, a workable formal logic. This was the tool that was to

enable science to resume its advance from the Renaissance onwards, and to attain its true status neither as mechanics nor as pure philosophy but as "experimental philosophy", the name given to it in England by the founders of the Royal Society.' Thus did western science enter upon its modern phase, a phase far removed from the pre-Socratic thinkers who sought not merely to observe and classify the world around them, but to explain it. Their aim was to find some 'all-explaining and universal principle of existence'.

This bird's-eye view of the course western science has travelled down the centuries is of particular interest and importance today. For today we are about to witness the completion of a circle. The West is at the beginning of a new cultural era, for science and philosophy have been brought face to face and the barriers that were raised between them are being forcefully removed. Once more the leaders of thought are *physikoi*, students of the nature of things, who possess 'vast aims and uninhibited imagination', and who still seek to know 'how the world started, what it is made of, what is man's place in it'. Once more they seek an 'all-explaining and universal principle of existence'.

Speculation, moreover, is no longer subordinated to Christian belief and doctrine. In fact, religion, now lacking any scientific status whatever, is carefully kept entirely separate from the so-called practical pursuits. Any attempt to introduce 'God' into the workings of science brings anomalous results, as was demonstrated last April when Russia put a man into orbit in space. The Vatican radio, commenting on the space flight, warned Russia against 'the danger of man looking on himself as a creator and not merely as the discoverer of what God chooses to show him'. The Moscow radio derived great amusement from the thought that it was after all 'the hand of the Almighty that

guided the Russian Communist Yuri Gagarin in his legendary flight into the cosmos'. The commentator added: 'Just think of it: God helping militant atheists!'

BREAKING DOWN OLD BELIEFS

Over sixty years ago, when travel by air, not to speak of space flights, seemed 'barely possible, and when atomic fission and its consequences were perhaps unthought of, Swami Vivekananda saw clearly that the direction in which western science was travelling would lead to the breaking down of old beliefs and prejudices, and to the opening up of new lines of thought. These new lines of thought, he saw, would be received by the West from India, while India, in turn, would receive new lines of thought from the West. It pleased him greatly to view this modern mutual enrichment through interchange as a happy reunion of two races which had a common origin—the ancient Greeks and the ancient Indo-Aryans. Speaking on this subject he said: 'The analysis of his own mind was the great theme of the Indo-Aryan. With the Greek, on the other hand, who arrived at a part of the earth which was more beautiful than sublime, the beautiful islands of the Grecian Archipelago, nature all around him generous yet simple—his mind naturally went outside. It wanted to analyse the external world. And as a result we find that from India have sprung all the analytical sciences, and from Greece all the sciences of generalization. ... Today the ancient Greek is meeting the ancient Hindu on the soil of India. Thus, slowly and silently, the heaven has come, the broadening out, the life-giving, and the revivalist movement, that we see all around us, has been worked out by these forces together. A broader and more generous conception of life is before us, and although at first we have been deluded a little and wanted to narrow things down, we are finding out today that these generous impulses which are

work, these broader conceptions of life, are the logical interpretation of what is in our ancient books. They are the carrying out, to the rigorously logical effect, of the primary conceptions of our own ancestors. To become broad, to go out, to amalgamate, to universalize, is the end of our aims.' (From 'The Work Before Us')

The modern westerner, likewise, has to look back to his ancestors, the ancient Greeks, to find the growing point of his thought today. Georg Misch, in his well-known work *The Dawn of Philosophy*, points out that 'philosophy in Greece does not stay put in its beginnings, in the sense that all further progress ultimately leads back to them, as was the case in India and China; rather, it is the starting-point of a continuous historical development through which philosophy becomes what it ideally is: the centre whence all knowledge and all conduct radiate'.

A clear example of the starting-point which is still the starting-point today may be found in the utterances of the early Greek philosopher Heraclitus who lived about 500 B.C. His saying 'all is flux' has a most modern ring about it. Other sayings of his appear to strike the keynote of modern western thought, presenting ideas that are now the recognized starting-point of philosophical, metaphysical, and cosmological thought. He said, for example: 'This world, one and the same for all, was created by no-one, either god or mortal; but was, is, and ever shall be ever-living Fire, kindling in Measure and dying in Measure.' Commenting on the views held by Heraclitus, George Misch says, 'He bases his cosmological explanations on the monistic assumption that everything that was once there, in the origins of things, is necessarily unfolded into world. "This cosmos ... is ever-living fire"; "all things are an exchange for fire, and fire for all things, as goods for gold, and gold for goods".' If the word 'fire' in these sayings of Heraclitus were to be replaced by one of its

modern near-relatives 'energy' or 'electromagnetic rays' the resulting statement would show a definite trend towards a monistic be most acceptable to the modern mind.

The fact is that thinkers in the West today view of the universe. Swami Vivekananda, as we have seen, sensed this modern trend, and this led him to declare in bold terms the influence that Indian thought would have upon western thought: 'Under the blasting light of modern science, when old and apparently strong and invulnerable beliefs have been shattered to their very foundations, when special claims laid to the allegiance of mankind by different sects have been all blown into atoms and have vanished into air—when sledge-hammer blows of modern antiquarian researches are pulverizing like masses of porcelain all sorts of antiquated orthodoxies when religion in the West is only in the hands of the ignorant, and the knowing ones look down with scorn upon anything belonging to religion, here comes to the fore the philosophy of India, which displays the highest religious aspirations of the Indian mind, where the grandest philosophical facts have been the practical spirituality of the people. This naturally is coming to the rescue, the idea of the oneness of all, the Infinite, the idea of the Impersonal, the wonderful idea of the eternal soul of man, of the unbroken continuity in the march of beings, and the infinity of the universe. The old sects looked upon the world as a little mud-puddle, and thought that time began but the other day. It was there in our old books, and only there that the grand idea of the infinite range of time, space, and causation, and, above all, the infinite glory of the spirit of man governed all the search for religion. When the modern tremendous theories of evolution and conservation of energy and so forth, are dealing death blows to all sorts of crude theologies, what can hold any more the allegiance of cultured humanity but the most wonderful, con-

vincing, broadening, and ennobling ideas, that can only be found in that most marvellous product of the soul of man, the wonderful voice of God, the Vedānta? ...

And above all what India has to give to the world is this. ... The great good fortune of this country and of the world was that there came out in the midst of the din and confusion a voice which declared: "That which exists is One; sages call It by various names." ... The whole history of India you may read in these few words. The whole history has been a repetition in massive language, with tremendous power, of that one central doctrine. ... And herein is the explanation of the most remarkable phenomenon that is only witnessed here, all the various sects, apparently contradictory, yet living in such harmony. ... If you are a real lover of Śiva you must see Him in everything, and in everyone. You must see that every worship is given unto Him, whatever may be the name or the form; that all knees bending towards the Kaaba, or kneeling in a Christian church, or in a Buddhist temple, are kneeling to Him, whether they know it or not, whether they are conscious of it or not; that in whatever name or form they are offered, all these flowers are laid at his feet, for he is the one Lord of all, the one Soul of all souls.' (From 'First Public Lecture in the East')

A NEW CULTURAL ERA

The monistic view of the universe now begins to colour the current western view of the nature of the cosmos and the view also of the story of man's sojourn on this earth. Writing on 'The Scientific Approach' in last month's *Bulletin* as the first article in the present series of 'Observations', we pointed out that for the thinking westerner today certain basic requirements emerge which must be fulfilled before he can adopt a system of beliefs, attitudes, and practices, and through them seek to satisfy the in-

tellectual and emotional aspects of his inner life and spiritual growth. The scientific approach to religion is one such basic requirement. Another is the requirement that religious beliefs must accord with modern conceptions of history and cosmology. This point is made very clear by a Jewish woman doctor, Marianna Masin, in her contribution to a symposium, entitled *What Vedanta Means to Me*, edited by John Yale (Rider & Co., London, and Doubleday & Co. Inc., New York). Dr. Masin writes: 'The cosmological concept of Vedanta tallies with the up-to-date concepts of science. Creation - without beginning and end—oscillates between the states of equilibrium and action. Consciousness? Is there a divided one, an inner and an outer? Science, in its most recent approach, assumes that there is but one. It humbly admits that there is something like "consciousness", which cannot be located materially in the brain and which is immutable. And our "daily consciousness" - our personality and ego? A something arising constantly through the interaction of the gray matter of our brain with the universe, and ever changing. The human mind is the only one which can think in symbols, in language. But this great power becomes at the same time our great limitation. We cannot grasp the whole, the unexpressed, the unity of things, the unity of ourselves. Yet only as human beings—having evolved the "organic consciousness" of our animal predecessors to its highest level are we able to transcend our own limitations and become what we have never ceased to be unlimited Spirit.'

John Yale in his contribution to the symposium describes the difficulties he was faced with in the orthodox Christian presentation of history: 'To me the Christian doctrine of history was not reasonable. It simply did not explain the past sensibly or give one a scheme for viewing the future. Propounded by that very able public relations man of the

early Church, Augustine, the theory is so familiar as to seem almost law. Creation began at a certain point in time and is proceeding toward a culmination which will continue eternally. Adam was born guiltless but, tempted by Satan, through his own self-will, fell from his perfect condition, introducing sin into the world. All men inherit this sin, and each has his chance—one chance—to come out of it. Some continue in sin to their death and are thereafter everlastingly damned; some, through the mediation of Christ as expressed through the Church, gain their redemption and share in an unending resurrection. History thus becomes the battle between the powers of God and Satan, from which God must emerge victorious. . . .

'What a crude and naïve teaching and how complacent! Everything that I knew was at variance with any straight-line theory of progress; and time, which is its very cornerstone, had already been seen to be illusory. The concept of perpetual progress did not square with common observation, let alone with scientific findings. Augustine did not see that the new order he was promising was certain also in time to lose its dynamic quality, as the Roman Empire of his day had done, and to enter, equally, into its own period of barbarism and decay. How could one, on the basis of the Christian theory of history, explain the infinite age of this universe, the decline of great cultures and valid religions, the rise and fall of plant and animal life, the rhythm of evolution-involution our eye is witness to from our birth? How, indeed, to view the falling off of Christian sanctity, the fracturing of Christian society, the vulgarization of the Church—that gate of the City of God—itsself?'

To John Yale the answer to these doubts and difficulties lay in the concept of historical cycles and the recognition of the present age as the commencement of a new cultural era: 'After fifteen hundred years of trying to build Augustine's City of God, western man

must now admit that he has done nothing of the kind. . . .

'This is what I saw, so that the concept of historical cycles seemed far more reasonable than the theory of straight-line progress. It seemed more than likely that a scheme of rise and fall was the law of life. The cyclical theory was prominent in Greek thought. Some good historians had supported it in the modern period: Giambattista Vico in the early eighteenth century, and Brooks Adams, Oswald Spengler, and Arnold Toynbee in our time. The configuration of a culture's life may be compared to an oblique S. There is the commencement and deliberate rise, the rapid ascent to a height, then the long tapering off. This cyclic view of history explained where we are today and how we got here. It also explained the mystery of the many earlier civilizations which have been but are no more: the glory that was Rome and Greece—and Egypt—and Vedic India and ancient China—and probably countless more.

'This was how, by the time I reached Vedanta. I had come to view history. It was only needed for Vedanta to supply the missing *modus operandi*—what makes a new culture rise in the first place. I saw it at once. The massive unifying force which produces a new culture is the revelation, the life on earth, of a son of God. It is the advent of a saint or incarnation which inspires a new flowering.

'Vedanta has taught from time immemorial that God reappears on earth at those sterile times when goodness grows weak and evil increases. Then he makes himself a body and returns, to establish righteousness and to deliver the God-seeker. . . . Considering the modern state of western culture, I was prepared to believe it was time for God to come anew. Again Vedanta supplied the missing ingredient. It said that he had. At about the time Disraeli had secured for Victoria the title Empress of India, God

was giving out the message that would start a new civilization. He was here, in one of his innumerable second comings, living just north of Calcutta. Just on the eve of the development of instantaneous means of communication and speedy transportation—when the world had become one in time and space and must become one in spirit—he had introduced the new motif of harmony.’

So the modern westerner, going back to the early Greek thinkers who turned from mythology to seek the interpretation of the world in science, will take as his starting-point the monistic assertion that is both ancient and modern, ‘this cosmos is ever-living fire’. Thus establishing the universal concept of unity in diversity, the modern westerner, with his love for logic, will carry this principle, step by step, into every sphere of thought. If he now feels that the old dualistic faith is intellectually unsatisfactory, he will not therefore be compelled to do away with religion altogether. For the Oneness that he establishes through science and logic will be found to be entirely non-destructive. The battle between religion and materialism will cease to have any meaning when it is seen that that Oneness pervades all matter, that It is matter, that there is nothing in the whole universe other than that One. Similarly, the term ‘God’ will broaden out from its old dualistic connotation and take its place beside the Sanskrit term ‘Brahman’ and the Chinese term ‘Tao’, both of which signify all-pervading Oneness.

At the same time, however, it will be seen that for those who need it the dualistic path is equally valid. If God is seen as all-pervading Oneness, He must then be the sum total of all the varying degrees of perception through which He is worshipped. A religion based on God as all-pervading Oneness is a universal religion and, as such, cannot consist of only one point of view. It will compre-

hend all points of view as their sum total and it will include all degrees of religious development. The Indian scriptures say, ‘Do not disturb the faith of any, even of those who through ignorance have attached themselves to lower forms of worship’. Spiritual conviction is something that cannot usually be given by one person to another. Conviction must come by experience, by passing through various stages of development until at last the highest stage is reached when the fact of Oneness is grasped. A universal religion must include all humanity, and every stage of development.

Although the dualistic position will thus be seen to be acceptable, the exclusiveness of the dualist will not remain. The dualist believes in a personal God who is purely anthropomorphic. He rules the people of the world, and metes out approval to some and disapproval to others. Quite arbitrarily he gives blessings to some, but withholds blessings from others. The dualist believes that he is on the right side, and is therefore safe, and that all who differ from him are on the wrong side, and are therefore doomed. Thus the dualist draws a circle round himself and excludes from it all who differ from him. The believer in Oneness, on the other hand, draws a circle large enough to include all.

Thus the believer in Oneness is carried forward into universal love. The intellect alone will not suffice to point the way forward. The longings of the heart must also be fulfilled. The modern westerner demands that the longings of his heart be fulfilled rationally, and this demand is fulfilled in the concept of Oneness. The heart that has glimpsed universal Oneness cannot again be forced into narrow limits. The highest intellectuality combines with the highest love. Then is God seen to be infinite Existence, infinite Knowledge, and infinite Bliss. One-sidedness vanishes, and the goal of all is seen to be the harmony of these three.

W. H. DAWES

Given below is the sixth of a series of seven lectures on 'Spiritual Foundations of Western Culture' delivered early this year at the Institute by Miss Winifred H. Dawes. Publication of this series in the Bulletin commenced in the March issue and will conclude in the September issue.

OUR last lecture ended with the picture of an 'angry young man' with his vision cleared at last, standing ready and staunch by the side of his lady in the cause of truth. Unfortunately his lady was dead! A similar error of judgement to that which brought him to this situation seems to be leading our civilization, the product of scientific method, to fight too late by the wrong means for a departed cause, the culture of mankind. Fortunately, the culture of mankind has a spiritual foundation which ever renews itself like the phoenix from its ashes. The mistake consists in thinking that culture can ever be defended or killed by the sword of steel. One fights for culture with the sword of the spirit of whole truth, proved in the full experience of life. The integrated personality is sovereign here and has been symbolized in our legends as King Arthur, who is the principle of divine non-interference in the land.

I want in this lecture to consider the principle of sovereignty. We have already touched upon it in the third lecture with reference to King Lear, and in the fourth lecture with reference to Cromwell's self-questionings on this issue. We saw in his letters that Cromwell's idea of government proceeded from principle, which he conceived as a fruit from God. It was a birth of conscience, and Parliament was a trustee of it as a function of the First Cause. As such, it had power of discrimination to 'settle' the fruit upon the people, where it might grow as a harvest

of good living offered back to God. This was the idea in his mind, as it was in the mind of every thoughtful Englishman of his time. Today the idea sounds poetical beside the description of democracy as expounded by modern politicians. Now it is often spoken of as the rule of the people or even of the 'mass'—a term which is distinctly distasteful to anyone who has any notion of the dignity of humanity. It rarely mentions principle. It rarely mentions character. Therefore it is not dealing with true democracy, for character and principle are its very qualifications. Self-discipline *precedes* government by the people, of the people, for the people.

The ideal way of life of Englishmen of the seventeenth century was to pass from conscience to judgement, and from judgement to action. Conscience was the ability to be aware of moral and spiritual principles. It operated in the establishment of government for action as a whole community, and it acted also in the individual life of each person in the country. The idea of free co-operation and free judgement upon the issues of the case was always paramount. Principles were 'truth-powers'—the product of the divine manifesting in man. In the New Testament (Heb. XI. 1.) faith is defined as 'the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen'. If we accept this definition of faith then action, emanating from these 'truth-powers' becomes, I believe, as much a mystical event

as is the mystical experience of an Indian seer contemplating the growth of divine illumination in the Self. I tried to show in my talk on *Hahlet* last year (*Bulletin*, April 1960) that this tragedy is a revelation of the growth of the self towards full self-government and the final lesson is that 'the readiness is all'. This same lesson is ultimate in the history of communal groups as well, in their progress towards true democracy.

Britain's policy has often been misunderstood. She has been accused of perfidy, of changes of policy, by those who do not understand the particular fluidity of her institutions nor the particular discipline of character that is required to sustain them. India, I believe, is in a particularly good position historically and temperamentally to understand this, for her devotion to self-realization as taught in her scriptures is the same search for principle or 'truth-power', but with emphasis rather on the 'inaction in action', whereas we have emphasized 'action in inaction'. Principles are the inactive or passive powers infusing all action in the world.

There is no need for me to explain, then, that it is impossible clearly to define a principle. This would be to reduce and limit, the greater into the smaller. As Burke has told us, a clear idea is always a small idea. But principles are ideas in which we ourselves are possessed, and we know them in the purest reaches of our hearts. Now it is from this mysterious region that the principles of the British Constitution have gradually evolved, through the pain and the errors which have tested it, through the six centuries of experience of her greatest individuals. It is the fruit of their lives, thoughts, and strivings, and it is Britain's peculiar and unique contribution to the culture of the world.

THE SPIRIT OF FREEDOM IN ACTION

M. Emile Boutmy has described the British Constitution *un chemin qui*

marche, a moving road, 'a river whose moving surface glides away at one's feet, meandering in and out in endless curves, now seeming to disappear in a whirlpool, now almost lost to sight in the verdure'. I do not deny that this river has often suffered inundations and siltings from material influences when aims and projects not always inspired by principle have obscured its direction, but we have never allowed these aims and projects of short-term policies to become fixed as a written Constitution which would bind future generations. Even these must be free to be guided by the main spiritual intentions which will always govern the British people whilst they remain true to the Self. As India does not tamper with her original *sūtras*, passed down by word of mouth from the sages of ancient India, even though she always gives credit to and studies contemporary translations and commentaries, neither do we tamper with the spirit of freedom in action which is our inheritance and is contained in our unwritten Constitution. Even so, we also venerate and seek advice from our great minds—of whom Edmund Burke is one of the greatest—when we wish to remind ourselves of these principles.

The policy of 'the readiness is all' demands an athleticism of character, tension in relaxation, like an archer with bow drawn ready to strike true to the mark, untrammelled by too much rule and regulation, free to act and strong to bear the consequences of the act in one's own person. Here is where we find what I have been trying all along to elucidate—the principle of sovereignty.

This is something far greater than a fight for rights; it is something far more potent for future prosperity than large pay packets and shorter hours, more leisure, more education. It is the certitude and the dignity of being worth all these, to judge aright of their uses and dedicate the whole back to its source from which all prolific bounty flows.

This is the principle to which we are destined by virtue of our cultural history, whether we fail as individuals or no. This idea of the sovereignty of the Self rests ultimately upon the symbol expressed in the language of our religion as the 'Person of Christ'. This is the very perfection of spiritual will, the substance of personality. As abstract words did not come into language until they were comprehended in all their aspects by all who might use the words, as we saw in our study of the Greek and Elizabethan drama, neither has this idea of the wonderful meaning of this concept of spiritual personality come into consciousness by any other means than the long evolution of growth. It is, in fact, only in these days that we have refined the living symbol as it applied to our culture in the form of the constitutional monarchy so that our royal family is also our ideal family — one of us — concerned with our lives, our homes, our destinies, no matter how exalted or how lowly. Today the idea has come the full circle and reveals itself as the sovereign principle in each man and woman of a Commonwealth which links us as brothers dedicated and 'ready' for the commonwealth of all mankind. That we surround this ideal with all the traditional splendour of our race on certain ceremonial days is to remind us of the splendour of that idea which reposes in the heart of each individual when, in the quietness of his home, he searches his sincerest and purest motives. This shared sovereignty of the Unknown God working through the heart of mankind in action is also a spiritual foundation which it has taken centuries to grasp and which is still evolving into full consciousness.

The two aspects of culture and civilization, which we have defined as two different but complementary movements in history, meet in the sovereignty of personality. Here we are free. Freedom is always unbound but, because of its own flexible position of poised

balance, it can survey and observe the facts that science and experience have discovered, and relate them to the living rhythm of the times. But freedom must always prove itself by losing itself in order to refine itself. This is its only *must* — the categorical imperative of its being. Does this make it not free? No, because the choice of the *way* in which it risks itself is always its own, and, by it, it brings in the new life of its vision. Here is the principle of incarnation in action. It follows that the choice, from the standpoint of freedom, which is prepared for the ultimate risk, will only be for that which is most sincerely believed in for the good. The choice becomes the test of the good and of the freedom whereby both are preserved. By this freedom we are linked to something beyond fate — beyond cause — to a will of a Person more intimate than ourselves, more loving and more beloved because He truly draws us to our highest achievements and to the fullest exercise of the potentialities which He Himself gave us. This freedom is destiny; destiny is full self-development and self-awareness, and eventually, I am convinced, full self-realization through action in the world of our fellow-men — linked to them by the Word of intelligence. This is freedom's final achievement.

I feel that in English history there has been gradually dawning the conception that there is some connection between the desire for freedom and the respect for its symbol, sovereignty in king and subject. Let us look now at the history of events which will show the rise and fall of the conception of kingship and its resurrection to the present refinement as an ideal character in subject and king — an idea whereby we accept every day and in all places a challenge to be worthy.

THE HISTORY OF SOVEREIGNTY

The acceptance of this challenge has taken long to come about. Often our monarchs have not always been pure to these ideals;

because they have been supported by the particular groups in power who have had lesser ideals. The sovereignty then tended to reflect the personality of the power group whilst retaining the principle of free sympathy with all. If one disregards this principle of sovereignty or personality, it is possible, I know, to describe the descent of power, from aristocracy to middle classes to workers, as a 'class struggle' and perhaps to explain it by relation to economics only. But in Britain the idea of sovereignty itself has continued throughout the process as a balancing, regulating free agent. The monarch has continued to reflect the personality of the times and, obeying the categorical imperative of freedom even here, this had to be lost once to be refound and gradually refined and strengthened. Here, I believe, we see that the idea expressed so thoroughly in Shakespeare's *King Lear* now becomes a prophecy which has worked out in history. Today Kent and Cordelia inherit the kingdom. 'God's spies' are reinstated as the free judges and custodians of destiny. Of course, in the process, as with Lear, the king has been a foolish, tempestuous, vain, often mad, old man, but we have not thrown him over irrevocably because of that; for his is the path each one of us takes to find the pearl of great price in freedom. In defending and honouring the sovereign, we honour also our own heritage of freedom.

We have already noted that the more self-aware a person or a people becomes, the more acute appear those two contradictory paths of world and soul—the outer and the inner aspects of reality. They have been seen to be reflected in the art of tragedy. They are at the basis also of those two seemingly contradictory movements of civilization and culture. Man is by nature body and soul, so it is not surprising to find this dual movement in all his institutions. It is interesting to trace the dual movement in English history and to note that the most

significant advances have been made when the spirit of man is most prepared to lose everything in order to bring in the new phase which unifies the opposites in growth. In this we, too, deny the world that spirit may prove supreme.

Sometimes the dual roles are seen as Church and State, and the king as personal representative of the nation has fought out the dual loyalties in his own self. Strangely enough, sometimes those two institutions subtly change roles—the Church becomes worldly and demands both spiritual allegiance and worldly power. Then the State, to counterbalance, becomes spiritual and stands upon the principles of freedom. There is the classic reply of William I to the Pope who had sent his legate for payments of money and also for his allegiance. 'One request I have granted, the other I refuse. Homage to thee I have not chosen, nor do I choose to do. . . .' Now that he is returned by divine mercy to his kingdom, he continues, he will collect the money and send it. He ends, 'Pray for us and for our kingdom, for we always respected thy predecessors and we would fain regard thee with sincere affection and be always thy obedient servant'. Contradictory principles were here overcome by good understanding and statesmanship.

The issues were very acute at the time of Charles I who found himself obliged to represent both secular and spiritual power when both were being interpreted by the brittle, rational mind of man. Try to imagine for a moment what it must be like to govern worldly men who look to you to supply their opportunities for advancement here in this world and, at the same time, to play the role of titular head of the spiritual power which stands for sacrifice for a cause. The issues are enough for one man to decide in his own life. We know now, of course, that it is too much for one man to bear this responsibility for a nation and we

have therefore instituted our constitutional monarchy. But in Charles I it was born in his own person and the result was that body and head were sundered both metaphorically in civil war for the nation, and in actuality for the king.

Upon the restoration of the monarchy, with the ascent of Charles II we have a clever, shrewd man, fully aware of the double risk. Naturally he will not wish to repeat his father's dilemma, so with a worldly grace and wit he skirts round the problems, adopts the standards of the growing mercantile classes and exercises remarkable business acumen in the process. We are becoming a nation of shop-keepers. But, after him, more and more the position of the sovereign becomes involved in the aims of Whigs and Tories as political parties and is retained by playing one off against the other. The control of this awkward point *indifferens* of kingship by Parliament becomes important, and we get the first constitutional monarch in George I. From the office of chief knight, the king now becomes something like chief civil servant. But the scope and the ideals were narrowing, and with the Georges there came a slackening of the principles as well, reaching the nadir in George IV who was frankly profligate and immoral. When Queen Victoria came to the throne, monarchy was almost tottering, also there was the example of the French Revolution which seemed to indicate that the idea had had its day; and yet Victoria's reign was destined to become one of the greatest in our history. In England, when sovereignty at the head of the State begins to weaken, then the sovereignty of the individual asserts itself to restore the balance. William Cobbett, peasant born, and Francis Place, the literary tailor of Charing Cross, who drafted the Peoples' Charter of 1838, as well as inventors like Arkwright, Watt, and Stephenson, all humble subjects, paved the way for the prosperity

and legislative reforms of Grey and Disraeli to meet the changed England of the industrial and agrarian revolutions, and so helped to supply the basis of stability upon which the Queen reigned. She herself, with true womanly instinct for the value of convention, completed the process by restoring the morale and raising respect for character.

THE JUSTICE OF THE PEACE AND THE FACTOTUM

To go back in history to yet another occasion when the tail wagged the dog so as to put him on his feet again!—we must look at the part played by the Justices of the Peace in the time of Henry VIII. During his reign England was becoming very conscious of herself as a nation, freeing herself from the political dominance of the Church of Rome. Much of the social order had been in the hands of the monasteries and feudal lords. At the dissolution of these monasteries not only good monks and nuns were homeless, but those hangers-on, 'sturdy beggars', minstrels, robbers, and such-like gentry who had gained a livelihood in their precincts, now roamed and ravaged the countryside. Great administrative changes became due and the effect was greatly to enlarge the judicial powers of the subject. Henry VIII invested the highest dignity in a new official appointed to act as chief military officer of the Crown in every county—the 'Lord Lieutenant. His duties included the superintending of the work of Justices of the Peace and also to act as Keeper of the Records of the Peace. Much of the work of local government was, however, in the hands of these Justices of the Peace. They were appointed by the Chancellor, and were required to have a property qualification of £20 a year or to be 'discreet persons learned in the law'. These men laid the foundations of the system under which rural England was governed and, in the main, admirably governed

until the last decade of the nineteenth century.

Having been a civil servant myself, I have a particularly soft spot for these noble men-of-all-work who worked often without recompense. William Lambard, who was one of them, gives a detailed account of their functions, and does complain somewhat bitterly that he and his brother magistrates were burdened with 'stacks of statutes'. I do not think we can do better than quote Sir John Marriott on this subject: 'The Justice of the Peace was at once judge, policeman, and administrative man-of-all-work; he was responsible for the trial of criminals, for the maintenance of order, and for carrying into effect that huge mass of social and economic legislation which the Tudors were not slow to enact. In his own parish he sat alone and tried petty cases without a jury; four times a year he met his brother magistrates of the county in quarter-sessions. . . . He had to fix the rate of wages for servants and labourers; to bind apprentices and cancel indentures; to fix the prices of commodities; to appoint and dismiss constables; to see to the maintenance of gaols and bridges and highways; to supervise the payment of pensions to maimed soldiers and sailors; to determine all questions of settlement and affiliation; to search out recusants and enforce the law against them, and to see that Sunday was properly observed. He was sole sanitary authority, the sole licensing authority, and the chief poor law and vagrancy authority. And no shirking was possible; for at every assize the Clerk of the Peace had to hand in a certificate giving the names of all justices absent from quarter-sessions and the judge had to examine into the cause of absence and report thereon to the Lord Chancellor.'

Sir John adds, there was no question that on the whole the work was admirably done: 'The work of the Justices of the Peace was good for the country, and it was good for

the Justices. The education was not confined to squires and burgesses; it extended to all classes. The people at large were taught to govern themselves, from the humbler classes who were obliged to serve as constables, surveyors, overseers or churchwardens, to the higher classes who were obliged to serve as lord lieutenants, sheriffs or justices.' Self-government was the ultimate result. The process was disciplinary, and the nation emerged from it braced, stimulated, and invigorated.

Here we see somewhat of the price that was paid to build up the fabric of society, that law and order in the land might not only be established from the top but find a working, responsible response from the people.

What now of the woman's side of the process? There is a remarkable book by David Mathew called *Social Structure of Caroline England* which gives a detailed study of private lives adjusting themselves to the challenges of those times. It is the change from the squire-parson relationship in rural affairs to the money-political one. It marks the change from the large manor house as social unit to the 'stratified society when political affiliations along party lines coloured each element in the social structure which could be held to possess the faintest influence in the franchise'. It had always been the duties of the ladies of these large country houses to supervise the health and well-being of all who lived on their large estates. They saw to the making of the medicines. They were knowledgeable herbalists. Weaving, spinning, tapestry-making were all under their care. They took under their protection the young male members who showed promise and trained them in household posts preparatory to becoming courtiers in the royal household. Sometimes the patroness of the village sent promising boys to college. John Prideau, for example, who became Bishop of Worcester in 1641, came

from a Devon village at the expense of Lady Fowell. Now, in the changing society, women undertook greater and wider responsibilities. In Sir Thomas More's household the women played a definite social role, and in the Petworth and Penshurst family groups the women had a taste for activity in politics on those terms which characterized the French of the *grand siècle*.

These ladies employed servants called factotums who carried messages between the great families. Acting as the ladies' representatives, these factotums sold land, rented houses, commented on public affairs, were valuers, and purveyors of news. They were useful and pliant men of many accomplishments who assisted also those ladies of the west country who occupied themselves in providing refuge for the recusants in secret hiding places in their houses. They were men of skill and confidence who maintained high standards of erudition, and yet they were almost parasites, economically. As the money nexus became more important, the whole career of these gentlemen necessarily became a search for a settled income. It was from this beginning as factotums in ladies' service, that there emerged the professional classes of today. This is why professional men are still reluctant to call their recompense anything other than a professional fee or to receive payment other than by methods which retain somewhat of the dignity of the aristocratic houses from which they emanated.

Thus we see how the individual took a hand in the formation of the institutions of the land, keeping them flexible and strong to stand the shock of the changes in growth which freedom was promoting; in other words, in the development of our culture.

THE COMMONWEALTH AND THE NEW VISION

To continue our story, we find in the latter half of the nineteenth century, laws passed which give the wage-earner enfran-

chisement, and the Labour party comes into being together with humanitarian legislation which was still mainly the work of Tory socialists of the type of Lord Shaftesbury and Benjamin Disraeli, who retained the ideas from traditional sources. Edward VII, who was called the Peacemaker, had a very sensitive awareness of the value of sovereignty. He took a warm personal interest in the work of voluntary hospitals, the Royal Commission on Housing of the Poor, and had an intimate knowledge of the difficult problems of the rapid urbanization of Great Britain. Yet he tactfully withdrew when debates threatened to become party issues. This was in accordance with the ideal of freedom in sovereignty. This freedom is something like the role of divine non-interference carried out by the Countess in Christopher Fry's play *The Dark Is Light Enough* which we considered in the last lecture. This interest is rarely critical and rarely suggests policy, but by displaying it a sovereign becomes a great statesman, a man who is the momentary incarnation of a whole people, and who, in this capacity, can wield powers of swift healing if he is a natural, good humoured man able to impress both his own subjects and foreigners by small symbolic touches with meaning.

At the passing of Edward VII the demonstrations were such as to prove that the nation had come to realize more clearly than ever before that in the monarchy, at once hereditary and constitutional, it possessed both a symbol of national unity and guarantee of political stability. Gradually the monarchy came to be one of the greatest factors for peace and friendly alliance. We have advanced even beyond this today, for the great wave of freedom still flows on, releasing all peoples all over the world, and the idea of the Commonwealth has taken over in the name of free subjects in a free world. The principle of unity still remains intact in our idea of sovereignty. Visits

overseas by members of the royal family are now changed to visits of goodwill to other countries, and to the workers in their own homes and occupations within our own land. Sovereigns are ambassadors of goodwill in the name of the brotherhood of man. Thus by progress via many crises we come to modern times. I myself can speak of war-time England and of how we all felt knit into one family when in times of crisis we heard the voice of King George VI broadcasting encouragement and sympathy. I can remember, too, the sense of personal loss as we listened to the bulletins from his bedside as he lay in his last illness. It was as acute as if he had been one of our own family who had passed away. And then at a time like that at Dunkirk, how we were inspired to stand firm when we stood alone, purely by that sense of sovereign-personality which is the ideal of our tradition.

I have given a somewhat detailed account of this development for a special reason. Each culture gives its particular art to the world. Art, as Goethe has told us, is the link between the inner and outer aspects of our seeing. As Greek tragedy was a transition from art to ethics, that is, from art as expression of beauty to art as a way of living—so has the art of drama progressed to the art of politics, leading to action in life. So also is our version of sovereignty a transition from parliament to the person as incarnation of the traditions of race leading to its perfection in the ultimate Person Divine. As India recognizes an hierarchy of development in the arts from utility through beauty and from philosophy to religion, so also do we find one from poetry and ethics to religion in action.

The Renaissance was mainly a revival of art and each country contributed its own expression. There was painting from Italy, poetry and painting from France, music from Germany, painting of homelife from the Netherlands. From England we have mainly

the art of drama and literature, and particularly the drama of tragedy. This is the art of action, and in tragedy the art faces the greatest crises of all. Complementary to this it is not surprising to find that England is temperamentally suited to the development of the art of government. We were able to sense that man, in order to create, must of necessity produce non-creation, and the intuitive awareness of this becomes established in our institutions of government and opposition, to allow expression of all views. But there is need of the link between them. Thus does sovereignty, as ideal personality, bridge, as a life, the duality of our two institutions in Parliament. For always in man's affairs there emerges a third great factor which includes all the rest in purposeful harmonious living. This is the principle of personality in brotherhood. Here also is the third ideal of the French Revolution coming into full realization—brotherhood which is greater than the rest because it is living and contains the rest. There can be no liberty nor equality without fraternity.

As we express this in our idea of sovereignty so, too, does India in her idea of personality. That lean figure of Gandhi symbolically still striding over the land, is saying much the same thing. These ideals of kingly brotherhood are our common heritage. They are the earthly *f r i u s* (earthly truth is 'heavenly truth seen in eclipse', as Saint Augustine says) of Christ's two commands: thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength: this is the first commandment. And the second is like unto it. Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.' In political life it is something like the philosopher-king coming into being. Plato's ideal in a new form, a partnership of subject and king whereby both are free, and yet both also freely relinquish freedom for the true personality of mankind, expressed by our religion as the Person

of Christ. This is the next highest abstract concept which humanity today is striving to bring into full consciousness. We still seek the word to express it in a way we can all recognize. 'Mankind-as-a-whole' means this also, but I feel myself that it misses that particular quality of unique personality which is also the microcosm of the universe. Perhaps we need a poet-philosopher here who will exemplify it for us in art so that our vision may be cleared.

Where are we heading now? Can we foretell the direction art and culture may take to provide the ground for this new vision? Workers today, all over Europe, are very actively interested in drama. Most particularly is it social drama which occupies their attention, and such plays as *A Street-car Named Desire* and *Cat on the Hot Tin Roof* by Tennessee Williams, and also those by Bertholdt Brecht and Anouilh, likewise John Osborne, are finding the spirit in the lowest depths of western society. It is as if all this analytic thought, with its eyes on the objective reality, has concentrated our gaze upon the earth and we have forgotten the heavens. 'Realism', this is called, without elevation, without exultation, no sunshine or sunset, and no aspiration to the heights. Instead, our view is directed to ever smaller and smaller sections of experience, and yet, through the murk and the mud of it, the artist is finding the spirit still at work. There is still the reflection of the ancient glory struggling to life in slum tenement, back-yard alley, foggy riverside shipyard, touching here and there the hulk of an abandoned character, brutalized and obscene, flapping in convulsive death-throes in the net of drug-taking or drink—'human junk'. To this has the pursuit of freedom without responsibility to wholeness, content without form, vapid adventure without disciplined integration, brought mankind in some of the savage backwoods of civilization where culture rots and waits for the spring. All this

is the thorough investigation by art of the waste land of feeling. But the fact that drama dares to depict this—dares to hold the mirror and contemplate the image there reflected—is a healthy sign. The spirit is at work even here. And the young shoots of the spring are already beginning to show signs of stirring in the work of Christopher Fry, and also, we might mention in passing, in Boris Pasternak and Simone Weil. All these show the upward surging and the resurrection of personality and brotherhood in man.

THE WEST'S CONTRIBUTION TO WORLD THOUGHT

Since Einstein, the West is no longer material but most abstract. The danger is that all the world, the West included, is under the delusion that she is still material and practical. Thus all these artists depict uncertain people in an uncertain time. It is the time for faith and for spiritual growth—that is, the time of opportunity; it is the time to assert the sovereignty of each one of us—freedom with dignity, character with responsibility, in quiet reconstruction of the social links. The time for showing off, for 'angry young men' and synthetic Cleopatras, is past. They have had their day.

We have looked too long on chaos and called our vision objective. We have turned from the vision of glory in the heavens, calling it unreal, transcendent, and other-worldly, forgetting that chaos is equally transcendent and other-worldly. We prefer facts, we say. Goethe has shown us that chaos and perfection are opposites. Experience shows us that we must have one or the other—the not-being by which we realize being, the not-Self by which we know the Self. We shall be more objective, more purposeful, as we turn from the transcendence of atomic chaos to the perfection of the ideal person. At last it seems that the new star of perfection rises low on the

horizon—the herald of a new aspiration and a new endeavour.

There must be a partnership of spirit and body in all human social affairs. We have already noticed that creative friendships always seem to be the most productive of the initial movements to greatness in social history. Cromwell and Milton, Saint Dunstan and King Edward in our history, L'Eminence Gris and Richelieu in French, Gandhi and Nehru in Indian, all these are examples. One mind of these pairs is the intuitive one which waits for the psychological moment for action, and the other is active personality which carries it out in intelligent form. It is rare to find the two qualities in one person. These friendships are a sort of marriage of minds. Tagore has said something similar in relation to East and West: 'As the mission of the rose lies in the unfolding of the petals which implies distinctness, so the rose of humanity is perfect only when the diverse races and nations have developed their distinct characteristics of perfection; yet all remain attached to the stem of humanity by the bond of brotherhood.

'I have learned that, though our tongues are different and our habits dissimilar, at the bottom our hearts are one. The monsoon clouds, generated on the banks of the Nile, fertilize the far distant shores of the Ganges; ideas may have to cross from East to Western shores to find a welcome in men's hearts and fulfill their promise. East is East and West is West—God forbid that it should be otherwise—but the twain must meet in amity, peace, and mutual understanding; their meeting will be all the more fruitful because of their differences; it must lead both to holy wedlock before the common altar of humanity.'

Traditionally, the East has the mystical thought which grasps the whole, or the eternal, in contemplation. We in Britain have given evidence of an ability for the mystical act in a spontaneous act of faith—our un-

written Constitution is one of the fruits of. Both an act and an idea are infinite in this respect. We do not know the thing-in-itself—only its effects. Britain and India may quarrel, they may try to evade each other. They may even say, 'I won't speak your language, I'll have my own language!' But destiny has made them one and I, for one, propose that we recognize it, and settle down to a diamond wedding!

I hope I have shown that a true word is not a thing we can make. The word comes with the inevitability of a heart-throb when the meaning demands it. It is born in the soul of a poet and it comes from a divine source in the logos. Our English words are the heritage of the mystical act in expression, and it is this particular quality of word and act which has made the meaning of science possible today. Not only words, but a way of life, its science and achievements, are bound up in the expression in language. All these things are as sacred to India as to Britain. In the English language, we have now something like a child between us—an infant prodigy nearly 300 years old. We cannot turn him out to starve! In any case for his moral good, it is wisest not to do so; he may grow into a very unmanageable young man. India can no more dispense with all the English words, which are her symbols as well as ours for the tools and methods of modern life, any more than we can throw out such words as 'bungalow' and many others we have adopted into our vernacular, nor all the love of the art of the East which we have taken to our hearts as a heritage from India. These things are the fruits of culture and should not be confused with the political consideration of ways and means of life, which is proper to civilization. They are the spirit of which civilization is the body—both are the content and form of the great poem of life which we are building for the future.

If I may venture a prophetic ending to

this talk, I should say that there is need in the councils of the world for some factor to represent the freedom and personality of mankind which would take the place in international affairs of that which is fulfilled by the 'sovereign-personality' idea in our country and the Commonwealth. Some factor which stands for the decent dignified home-life—for the *culture* of mankind-as-a-whole. Some spiritual factor is the need of our times, a spiritual factor which is never involved in controversial issues, which are always affairs of the mind's dual seeing, but is able to link them in the growth of unity through the sacrifice of those issues for the sake of brotherhood; sacrifice of the *issues*, not the home. Sovereignty in political affairs has degenerated these days to the power of the veto only, and has lost the sacred quality of personality and kingship. To fight in the home of mankind, which in these days of scientific progress is now the whole world, or to move whole peoples' homes to fit the boundaries which the controversial mind of man decides upon in committee, are short-sighted and short-term

solutions to problems which are rightly those of culture and brotherhood. We must be clear in our minds, at least, what is the function of civilization and what is that of culture, and act accordingly.* With the development of the third factor, the point *indifferens*, which stands for the principle of freedom warmed by the loving, interested care of divine non-interference in world affairs, we may hope for better times. This Institute of Culture, after all, stands for this. Brotherhood, mankind-as-a-whole, which possesses at once the proud quality of kingship in responsibility and the humble satisfaction of persons living in freedom--this is the birthright of each individual in the world.

To this ideal the gifts from each culture become bricks in the building. These are the spiritual foundations. To this, as a particular contribution from western culture, Britain has, I believe, contributed her language, her poet-philosophers, her unwritten Constitution, and her ideal of sovereignty as a spiritual ideal of character and the will to self-government in individuals.

It costs me nothing to feel that I am; it is no burden to me. And yet if the mental, physical, chemical, and other innumerable facts concerning all branches of knowledge which have united in myself could be broken up, they would prove endless. It is some untold mystery of unity in me, that has the simplicity of the infinite, and reduces the immense mass of multitude to a single point. . . .

This One in me not only seeks unity in knowledge for its understanding and creates images of unity for its delight; it also seeks union in love for its fulfilment. It seeks itself in others. This is a fact, which would be absurd had there been no great medium of truth to give it reality. In love we find a joy which is ultimate because it is the ultimate truth. Therefore it is said in the Upanishads that 'the One is Infinite'; 'the One is Love'.

To give perfect expression to the One, the Infinite, through the harmony of the many; to the One, the Love, through the sacrifice of self, is the object alike of our individual life and our society.

PUBLIC EDUCATION IN THE U.S.S.R.

E. N. KOMAROV, Ph.D.

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IT IS a well established fact that the building of socialism in the U.S.S.R. has brought about a genuine cultural revolution which has been, in its turn, a very important requirement for socialist reconstruction. The great October Revolution of 1917 in our country had to prove, among other things, that our working folk, on getting rid of the fetters of exploitation and irrespective of racial, national, and other distinctions, were able to administer the State better than the ruling classes of the old society, and that they could develop the economy, science, and culture of the country at an unprecedented pace. It is quite obvious that the achievement of this aim would have been impossible without making education readily available to the people and raising its standards. In this context the founder of the Soviet State, V. I. Lenin, pointed out that not only material benefits but also everything valuable in the field of culture and knowledge that mankind has accumulated in the course of its history, should be made available to the people, and should be carefully studied by our younger generation. It was Lenin who, just after the revolution of 1917, set before our youth the most simple slogan: 'Study, study, and study!' Thus, carefully utilizing the former achievements of culture, science, and technology, the Soviet people went ahead and effected their cultural revolution. Being based on the socio-economic

foundation of socialism it materially helped to achieve unprecedented progress in all spheres of life.

Now let us briefly survey what has been done in the field of education since the October Revolution of 1917.

Illiteracy, which was widespread in pre-revolutionary Russia has been practically eradicated. Universal, compulsory, seven-year education has been accomplished. Education at all school levels is free of any charge. Students of higher educational establishments, institutes, and universities, and specialized secondary schools called technicums, whose parents earn less than a certain amount, get scholarships, provided they pass examinations.

In the Soviet Union children enter primary schools at the age of seven or eight years. The various establishments taking care of children at an earlier age, as, for example, crèches and kindergartens, belong to the system of pre-school education. As of 1 January 1960, the number of infants in crèches constituted 1.2 million and the number of children in kindergartens was 2.6 million. Besides these, 3 million children were taken care of by the seasonal crèches and kindergartens. It should be noted that in Czarist Russia such pre-school arrangements were practically non-existent. The Soviet Government from the first was concerned with the development of pre-school establishments.

The pre-school educational system is an important relief to working women, enabling them to take a more active part in the life of society. At the same time it helps greatly toward the better upbringing of the younger generation who, from their early years, are taken care of not only by their families but also by a growing volume of personnel specially trained for pre-school education. The further expansion of this system has been envisaged and by 1965 the number of children accommodated in pre-school establishments should be doubled.

PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

The pupils in Soviet schools pass through the primary course in four years and then, at the age of eleven or twelve, they enter the three or four years long incomplete secondary course, that is, from the fifth up to the seventh or eighth grade. The incomplete secondary course thus covers the age group from eleven or twelve years to fifteen or sixteen years. Secondary education is completed at the age of seventeen or eighteen years after passing through three more grades, either the eighth to tenth grades, or, sometimes, ninth to eleventh grades, as the period of instruction in the complete secondary school is now being extended from ten to eleven years. The pupils of the tenth or eleventh grades have to pass examinations for their matriculation certificates.

Besides general secondary schools there are the specialized secondary educational establishments called technicums. Such institutions usually admit those who have had an incomplete secondary education. Along with the completion of their general secondary education, the technicum gives a vocational training. Graduates from the technicums receive a diploma and the title of a specialist of secondary qualification.

The training of young skilled workers is done at special schools under the labour reserves system. These schools usually admit

pupils at the age of thirteen to sixteen years and give, along with a general education, a vocational training required by a skilled worker for a particular branch of industry, civil engineering, transport, or agriculture.

The changes in the field of primary and secondary education during the Soviet period are reflected in the following figures: the number of pupils in the general education schools (primary, incomplete secondary, and secondary) increased more than three times and reached, in the 1959-60 school year, 33.4 million; the number of pupils in the senior grades of secondary schools increased almost fortyfold. About 2 million teachers are employed in all the general education schools. According to the 1959 census, 71.2 million persons in the U.S.S.R., or 37.2 per cent of the entire population of the country, have more than primary education. Particularly interesting may be the figures showing the changes effected in the Central Asian Republics of the Soviet Union where the population was almost totally illiterate before the revolution. For example, in the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic in Central Asia, the number of school children increased from 17,500 to 1,431,000, or by eighty times; in Kazakhstan from 10,500 to 1,631,000; in Tajikistan from 400 to 336,000; in Turkmenia from 7,000 to 260,000; in Armenia from 35,000 to 312,000; and in Azerbaijan from 73,000 to 685,000. All the nations of the multinational Soviet State are given equal facilities for education and all of them have schools in their own languages. The Soviet government deliberately took various effective steps in order to extinguish the former inequality in the facilities for education between different nationalities inhabiting the country, and this work was started from the primary stages of education.

HIGHER EDUCATION

Soviet higher educational establishments,

universities, and institutes, admit persons who have completed secondary education at the age of seventeen or eighteen onwards. The period of instruction is usually five years. The faculties or departments of the universities, and institutes are teaching as well as research establishments in their particular branches of knowledge. Today there are 753 higher educational establishments, including 39 universities, in the Soviet Union. As a rule, each university has from four to six faculties, for example: physics and mathematics, chemistry, biology and soil-science, geology and geography, history and philology. The average enrolment is from 2,000 to 5,000 students. Moscow State University, which is the biggest, is attended by 15,000 students, has twelve faculties and 2,450 teachers. Leningrad University has an enrolment of 9,400 students and Kiev University 6,600 students. The institutes function separately from the universities. There are various types of institute, such as the technical, agricultural, medical, pedagogical, law, art, and music institutes. The graduates from universities and institutes have equal rights. They receive a diploma or title of a specialist of higher qualification: engineer, teacher, agronomist, or doctor, for example.

The growth of higher education in the Soviet Union may be illustrated by the following figures: prior to 1913 there were only some 290,000 persons in Czarist Russia (including those not employed) who had complete or incomplete university or specialized secondary school education. Nowadays the number is 13.4 million, or about forty-five times more. In the 1914-15 academic year there were only 105 higher educational establishments with a total enrolment of 127.7 thousand students in Russia. In 1959-60, 226,000 students attended 753 higher educational institutions in our country. Between 1914 and 1960 the number of secondary specialized schools increased from 450 to 3,329, and the number of students at

such schools rose from 3,500 to 1,807,000.

Along with numerical increase substantial changes have been effected in the structure of higher education and in the territorial allocation of universities and institutes. The speedy technical progress of a socialist society demanded a substantial increase of technical education. So the number of students at technical institutes and faculties in proportion to the total number of students, rose from 17.5 per cent in 1914 to 25 per cent in 1940 and 39.4 per cent in the 1958-59 academic year. Of course, this change did not hamper education in the humanities. In 1959, the number of students in institute and university faculties for the study of the humanities, in proportion to the total number of students, was 41.3 per cent (including students of pedagogy who accounted for 24.2 per cent). Higher agricultural education attracted 10.8 per cent of the total number of students.

It is quite possible that this correlation will also change according to the new requirements of our developing society. But whatever may be the further growth of technical training, instruction in the humanities will also necessarily retain its prominent place in our system of education. It will do so because socialist society by its very nature provides for the full-fledged harmonious cultural and intellectual development of human personality, and because, in this new society, the old tenet, 'not by bread alone', becomes a full truth. The very establishment of our socialist society and its present development towards communism is based on the conscious comprehension of the laws of social development. Thus our system of education has to provide for the further study and understanding of the laws of nature as well as of the laws of social development.

The changes in the territorial allocation of higher educational establishments have had the object of spreading higher education to the areas where it did not exist for

merly, that is, mainly in the Central Asian Republics of the U.S.S.R. Out of the fifteen republics constituting the Soviet Union, ten had no modern higher education whatsoever before the October Revolution of 1917. Now in these ten republics there are 151 higher educational establishments with 380,000 students. Out of fifteen universities in Czarist Russia, fourteen were located in the European part of the country. Now there are eighteen universities in the Russian-speaking republic (R.S.F.S.R.), including Siberia, seven in the Ukraine, and fourteen in other national republics.

In order to annihilate the inequality of cultural development inherited from the Czarist regime, arrangements have been made to provide for the more rapid growth of education in the formerly backward areas. While the total number of students of the higher educational institutions in the U.S.S.R. as a whole rose after 1940 by 2.6 times, in Turkmenistan the number of students rose by 4.8 times, in Kazakhstan by 6.1 times, in Kirgizia by 5.4 times, in Tajikistan by 7.4 times, and in Uzbekistan by 4.2 times.

The results of the development of education in the Soviet Union are now widely known. In 1954, the U.S.A. trained 136 engineers per million of population. Britain trained 57, France 70, West Germany 86, Switzerland 82, and Italy 39. In the U.S.S.R. in the same year, 286 engineers per million of population were trained: in 1958, 460 engineers were trained. The Soviet Union now trains three times more engineers, per million of population, than the U.S.A., the most developed capitalist country, and about four times more than Britain, France, West Germany and Italy put together. Thus the Soviet Union has surpassed other countries in the quantitative scale of training specialists. The achievements of Soviet science and technology represented, in particular, by Sputniks, cosmic rockets, etc., are a testimony to the quality of training.

Besides those already mentioned there are various other educational establishments and training centres which enable youngsters as well as adults to raise their level of education and to continue to learn new trades, to take refresher courses, and to gain higher qualifications. Nowadays about fifty million persons study under one educational establishment or another in the U.S.S.R., making about one-fourth of the total population of the country.

FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS

In spite of all these achievements, the Soviet people and Soviet educationists are not going to rest. The developing life of the country itself institutes new claims upon the system of education. The educational system existing in the U.S.S.R. until recently, took shape more than two decades ago. In the nineteen-thirties, during the period of industrialization and the socialist reconstruction of economy, the Soviet school concentrated its attention on giving the pupils a general background for studies in a university or institute. Progress along these lines was very necessary and enabled our country to train, within a short time, a required number of highly qualified experts for all branches of economy and culture. But such an approach also had its drawbacks. Many boys and girls after graduating from secondary schools considered that the only road for them was to further their education in an institute or university. Yet the continuous expansion of complete secondary education naturally leads to a situation in which the overwhelming majority of young people, on leaving school, must directly enter productive work in industry, agriculture, etc. At the same time, the further rise of the technical level of production — mechanization, automation, electrification, high precision techniques, electronics, and chemistry — demands that a highly qualified worker with a good knowledge of the fundamentals of

science be provided by the secondary school.

After a country-wide discussion in which, along with educationists, people of all walks of life took part, the Supreme Soviet, or Parliament, of the U.S.S.R. passed, in December 1958, the Act for Strengthening the Schools' Bond with Life and for the Further Development of Public Education. The Act provides for a better adjustment of our system of education to the new demands of life. It has been gradually implemented since the 1959-60 school year.

According to the Act, secondary education is to be divided into two stages. The first stage is compulsory eight-year schooling instead of the compulsory seven-year schooling which has been in existence so far. The eight-year schools give the same subjects as the seven-year schools, but the new syllabuses provide for a higher level of general, polytechnical, and industrial training. The curriculum of the eight-year school includes the following subjects: Russian, mother-tongue and literature, mathematics, history of the U.S.S.R. and of the world, the U.S.S.R.'s Constitution, geography, biology, physics, chemistry, drawing, foreign language, design drawing, singing and music, physical culture, and labour education. These constitute an integral system for the all-round training and development of young people. The curriculum of the eight-year school allocates, on general and polytechnical subjects, 1,050 hours more than the seven-year school did; the time for trade and practical classes, however, is doubled. All this taken together enables the teaching staff to make pupils proficient in general and polytechnical subjects as well as to develop in them a love for work. It enables the teachers to prepare the children psychologically from their very first year of school so that they will in later years take part in socially useful activities, in work. The idea is that school children should, within the limits of their powers and age, be involved in work in school shops, school gardens, etc.

After finishing the eight-year school at the age of fifteen or sixteen, pupils receive a full secondary education. This is the second stage of secondary education and marks its completion. Secondary education may be completed on the basis of combining studies with productive work, in the following ways:

The first, and main way: having received initial vocational training the graduates from an eight-year school, while working, may continue their studies at the night or shift schools for a three-year period.

The second way provides education in a trade-polytechnical school with production training for pupils who have finished the eight-year school. This school, closely connected with nearby industrial or agricultural establishments, combines instruction with productive work. It gives a full secondary education, and also vocational training for work in a branch of economics or agriculture. The period of instruction is three years.

The third way provides for training in technicums and other secondary specialized schools. This type of educational establishment provides a full secondary education, specialization in a particular branch of production, and a diploma.

Those who have graduated from these three types of schools have the right to enter the higher educational establishments, institutes, and universities.

The curricula for the town and rural secondary trade-polytechnical schools allocate two-thirds of school time in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh grades, to the study of general polytechnical subjects, and one-third of the time to production training and work. The night high school curricula provide, along with the general and polytechnical subjects, for the study of specific subjects necessary to improve the progressing skills of the pupil.

As to the new syllabuses in general and polytechnical subjects for the ninth, tenth, and eleventh grades, they are common for both the secondary, general education, trade-

polytechnical school, and the night secondary school for working and rural youth. These syllabuses provide for a higher level of general and polytechnical education than was established for the former secondary ten-year school. In the ninth, tenth, and eleventh grades advanced study is done in mathematics, physics, chemistry, and biology. A change is effected in teaching the pupils history subjects. In the fourth grade, an elementary course on the history of the U.S.S.R. in the form of story-telling is introduced. In the fifth grade, an elementary course of ancient history, in the sixth grade an elementary course on the Middle Ages, and in the seventh and eighth grades, an elementary course on the history of the U.S.S.R. is provided. In this course important data are given on the social and state systems of the Soviet Union as well as information on the modern history of foreign countries. In the ninth, tenth, and eleventh grades, a systematized course on the history of the U.S.S.R. and the modern history of foreign countries is given. Besides this, a course on the fundamentals of political knowledge is introduced at the eleventh grade.

Particular emphasis is made on the improved study of foreign languages. The main task is to develop habits of speech, and to teach pupils fluent and correct reading, understanding, and translation of not too difficult foreign texts.

INSTRUCTION WITH PRODUCTIVE WORK

The part that out-of-school activities play in the lives of boys and girls in the process of growing up has been an important concern of Soviet educationists and is to be further encouraged. More and more schoolboys and girls participate in doing some work for society. The schools and non-educational institutions organize various technical and amateur activities. These encourage and stimulate constructive thinking on the part of the students, extending their knowledge

and giving them production work habits. Special mathematics schools, enabling senior pupils to take up an advanced course of mathematics in their leisure time, have been established by scientific authorities in various towns and cities. Aesthetic and physical education also constitute important elements in out-of-school activities. Collective visits to theatres and cinemas, exhibitions and museums, picture galleries and architectural monuments, as well as trips to interesting sights and places, are developed every year. Many pupils attend art schools for drawing, painting, and sculpture, which have been opened at educational and non-educational institutions. Winter and summer camps, outings and other mass events, are arranged annually on a large scale to improve the health of school children. In the summer of 1959 about seven million children and teenagers went to camps, to childrens' sanatoria, excursion camps, and other similar places.

Serious attention is given in the U.S.S.R. to the increased expansion of higher and secondary specialized education. In 1959, high schools enrolled 513,000 students; this number exceeds the enrolment of 1958 by 57 thousand. According to the target figures of the Seven Year Plan of 1959-65, the number of graduates from institutions and universities trained during the period of the plan will be 2.3 million, or 40 per cent more than in the preceding seven-year period.

In the field of higher education stress is also laid upon the combination of instruction with practice and work. In admission to daytime departments of institutes and universities preference is given to those young people who, in addition to their secondary education, have a certain record of practical work. Usually the period of two years of factory or office work is considered a good record for admission. Such practice helps further to improve the training of higher school students. In 1957, persons who had two years of factory or office work experience

made 27 per cent of the total number of students enrolled at the daytime departments of higher schools. In 1958, the percentage was 45 per cent, and, in 1959, it went up as high as 49 per cent. Evening and correspondence education is specifically encouraged, and necessary facilities, like a reduced work-day and leave for examinations, have been provided for such students. Measures have also been taken to enlarge and improve night and extramural education through reinforcing the existing night and correspondence course departments at higher secondary specialized educational institutions, and also through training specialists directly at large industrial and agricultural enterprises. About two million people, that is, 50 per cent of the total number of students at higher and secondary specialized schools, studied at these schools in the 1959-60 academic year, without interrupting their work at plants and factories, farms and offices.

A SYNTHESIS OF MANUAL AND MENTAL WORK

The provisions of the Act for Strengthening the Schools' Bond with Life are to be put into practice during a period of three to five years beginning from the 1959-60 academic year. All the authorities concerned are most expressly requested to be careful in the realization of the provisions of the Act and to take into consideration local conditions and possibilities.

The measures for strengthening the schools' bond with life and for combining instruction with productive work are greatly facilitated by the reduction of the working day which is being effected now. In 1960, complete transition to a 42-hour working week (seven hours a day), and in some industries to a 36-hour week (six hours a day), was effected. By 1965, that is, by the end of the period of the Seven Year Plan, the Soviet Union will have the shortest work-day and the shortest working week in the

world with a simultaneous rise in the living standard.

Under such conditions the combination of instruction in the secondary and higher schools with productive work will have a tremendous bearing on the further development of Soviet society. It will be the realization of the dreams of the best minds of mankind. In the words of Karl Marx the combination of instruction with productive work and gymnastics had to be 'the only method of bringing up people of all-round development'.

The further development of the system of education contributes very considerably to the gradual annihilation of the substantial distinction between manual and mental work in the U.S.S.R.; this will be an historical achievement. The achievements of this socialist society, particularly in the field of education, blast the false conception that there must inevitably exist for ever, on the one hand, a drab mass of people doomed to subordination and arduous manual work, and on the other, a small minority allegedly destined by nature to think, to rule, and to develop science and culture. The blasting of such a conception, which is being done by every step of development in the Soviet Union, is a great service to humanity.

In conclusion, we should like to point out the internationalist spirit of education in the Soviet Union. Our youth as well as our adult people are being taught that every nation, big or small, eastern or western, has made its own contribution to world culture which must be studied, understood, and appreciated. The international spirit of Soviet education has played not a small part in the creation of sympathy among Soviet people for the Asian and African nations in their struggle for national freedom.

What is being done to develop a better acquaintance by the Soviet people with multicultured Indian culture, may be taken as a good example of the international

spirit of Soviet education. Indian languages—Sanskrit, Hindi, Bengali, Urdu, Marathi, Telugu, and others—are now taught at the philological departments of the universities in Moscow, Leningrad, Tashkent, Thilissi, and elsewhere, and also in some secondary schools in Moscow, Leningrad, and Tashkent. Quite a number of Soviet schools do research in Indian history, culture, and economics. Their works are meant to promote better understanding by the Soviet people of India's past and present. A prominent place is given to the history of India and her culture in the courses of history in secondary schools, institutes for humanistic studies, and in the faculties of the universities. A good many works by Indian writers and poets, publicists and statesmen, scientists and scholars, have been published in the U.S.S.R. One can read

in Russian the great Indian epics, the *Ramāyana* and the *Mahābhārata*, the poems of Kabir and Rabindranath Tagore, novels by Prem Chand, works by Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, and Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, as well as many other works by Indian authors. Quite a number of these works have been translated into the other languages of the Soviet Union. The total circulation of Indian literature published in the U.S.S.R. is about twelve million copies. Eighty-four works of Rabindranath Tagore have been published; their total circulation is about three million copies.

This is one of the testimonies to the sincere wish of the Soviet people and Government for cultural exchange with other countries for the sake of better education and better mutual understanding, and for the sake of peace and progress.

Religion is the inside of a civilization, the soul as it were of the body of its social organization. Scientific applications, economic alliances, political institutions may bring the world together outwardly; but for a strong and stable unity the invisible but deeper bonds of ideas and ideals require to be strengthened. In the work of rebuilding the human household, the role of religion is no less important than that of science. The human individual consists of body, mind and spirit. Each requires its proper nutriment. The body is kept trim by food and exercise, the mind is informed by science and criticism, and the spirit is illumined by art and literature, philosophy and religion. If the spirit of humanity is to grow it can only be by the exercise of its lovelier energies. The Asiatic and the European streams have achieved marvellous results each in its own way, the former by its absolute spiritual sincerity and the latter by its severe intellectual integrity. The great stream of life carves out its bed for itself according to the slope of the region traversed. . . . The great peoples differ not so much in the presence or absence of this or that quality as in its degree or extent. The West is not devoid of mysticism and martyrdom nor the East of science and public spirit. The distinction, if any, is a relative one, as all empirical distinctions are. . . . For while dogmatists and narrow nationalists distinguish in order to divide, a seeker of truth divides only to distinguish.

THE VEDIC VIEW OF IMMORTALITY

MATILAL DAS, M.A., B.L., Ph.D.

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YAJNAVALKYA was the greatest exponent of Vedic idealism. When he was advanced in years, he determined to renounce home-life. He had two wives, Kātyāyanī, a woman of the world, and Maitreyī, a seeker after eternal life and infinite bliss. In order to avoid any future quarrel, Yājñavalkya wanted to divide his property between his two wives. Maitreyī, however, was not eager to have worldly possessions. 'Shall I,' she asked, 'obtain immortality if I obtain the possession of the whole earth full of wealth?' 'Verily not,' answered Yājñavalkya, 'thy life will be like the life of those who have all kinds of worldly comforts, but there is no hope of immortality by the mere possession of wealth.' Then came that oft-quoted exclamation from Maitreyī: 'What, then, shall I do with what will not make me immortal?' (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* II.4.2-3)

The question is what did Maitreyī mean by her craving for immortality? Death is as certain as anything else. None lives here for ever. Immortality, therefore, does not, and cannot, mean eternal life in this physical body. Moreover, there are many to whom such a concept of immortality does not appeal. George Bernard Shaw, in *Back to Methuselah*, makes Adam say: 'If only I can be relieved of the horror of having to endure myself for ever! If only the care of this terrible garden may pass on to some other gardener! ... If only the rest and sleep that enable me to bear it from day

to day could grow after many days into an eternal rest, an eternal sleep, then I could face my days, however long they may last. Only there must be some end, some end: I am not strong enough to bear eternity.' If this was the case with Adam in the Garden of Eden, how much more so is it the case with ordinary mortals.

Is immortality, then, an eternal survival after death? A hymn of the *Yajur-Veda* (IX-21), which is uttered in the *vājapeya* sacrifice, may incline us to think so:

May life succeed through sacrifice.
May my life-breath thrive by sacrifice.
May the eye prosper by sacrifice.
May the ear be enriched by sacrifice.
May the back be strengthened by sacrifice.
May sacrifice grow by sacrifice.
'We have become the children of Prajāpati.
O ye gods!
We have attained Heaven,
We have become immortal.

But this view is not tenable. As the Vedāntic viewpoint develops and we come to the supra-sensuous experiences of the seers of the Upaniṣads, we find that the Vedic conception of immortality is not something to be attained in Heaven but here on earth in this very body, through the destruction of desire and attachment. In the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* (IV.4.7) and in the *Kaṭhōpaniṣad*, (II-3-14) we find the same śloka: 'When a man gives up all the desires that cling to his heart, then the mortal

man becomes immortal here and also attains Brahman here in this very life. Another *śloka* from the *Kaṭhopanishad* (II.3.15) says: 'When a man can untie all the knots of his heart he becomes immortal.'

THE WAY OF SELF-KNOWLEDGE

The attainment of immortality is, therefore, the soul's entrance into a new realm of consciousness. 'Man, know thyself', and in this self-knowledge lies deliverance. From the spiritual vitality of a far-off heroic age comes the beautiful prayer from the Upaniṣads: 'Lead me from untruth to truth, from darkness to light, from death to immortality.' (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* I.3.28). This can only be fulfilled when the sick soul of man is made whole again by spiritual illumination. The late Count Hermann Keyserling said that man is exactly as immortal as his ideal and exactly as real as the energy with which he serves it. Our Vedic forefathers put the highest ideal before us—to be one with the Absolute.

The attainment of this ultimate purpose of existence is conditional on the awakening of our true Self, for this is the highest Vedic assertion that the human soul is identical with Brahman, which is the ultimate Reality experienced at the transcendental level. Man's eternal soul finds no satisfaction except in eternal happiness. There is no real joy in the finite; it is to be found in the infinite. Obscured by the veil of ignorance, man is immersed in transient, fleeting things of the world. As Sanat Kumāra explained to Nārada: 'That which is infinite is alone happiness. There is no happiness in anything finite. The Infinite alone is happiness.' (7.23.1) Man must, therefore, seek the ultimate Reality, which is pure consciousness, infinite bliss and supreme existence. By spiritual discipline alone he rids his mind of its impurities; he realizes himself to be Brahman, infinite and all-pervading.

In the *Īśa Upaniṣad* it is enjoined that a

man must expand himself. He must see himself in the universe and the universe in himself. When this large-heartedness is actually reached, then there is no revulsion in him, no grief, no sorrow, and no delusion. When he is thus endowed with the knowledge of the Self, he cannot desire anything, and, on the extinction of desire, comes the immortality which he has sought all through his births and rebirths in the phenomenal world.

True immortality is thus a life of pure illumination when, though he lives in a world of duality, he is unruffled by the pairs of opposites: whether pleasure comes or pain, he does not care at all. Like the waves of the ocean, external happenings only perturb the surface, in his depths he is as calm as the bottomless depths of the ocean. This has been explained very beautifully in the *Gītā* (II.14.15): 'O ye son of Kuntī! When the objects come into touch with the senses they produce the feelings of heat and cold, sorrow and happiness, but they are all transient. They come and go; you must therefore discard them. You must try to bear them with fortitude. A man who is not perturbed by these sense-contacts, who is the same in pleasure and pain, who is calm, he alone deserves immortality.'

THE ONENESS OF ALL LIVING THINGS

A seeker after immortality, therefore, must demonstrate the reality of Brahman, the divinity of man, and the oneness of existence by his life and action. He is free from all worries, he has no selfish desires, he lives permanently in the world of light, freedom, and knowledge. He no longer lives in darkness and illusion. The radiance of this eternal happiness appears on the dissolution of egoism.

In a later period, the Buddha, who proclaimed that he had opened the door of immortality and had obtained immortality, did not find any entity in man and said that there was no soul in man. But in his su-

preme experience of *nirvāṇa* he came to the same peace of sorrowlessness and deathlessness for which the Vedic seers sought. No words can describe the indescribable. We cannot measure what is immeasurable. But the bliss and joy of it can be felt. This we feel when we rise above the world of desires and attachments.

The path to immortality is, therefore, the path to perfection, and it lies in and through knowledge. Ignorance is the root of all the imperfections and ills of life. We have to learn by direct intuition that the body is a fleeting frame; that the Self is immortal. The body perishes, but the Self remains the same, aglow with light in deathless bliss. The Self that lives in light untouched by death is the same as Brahman. As the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* (II.1.3) declares: 'The knower of Brahman attains the highest.'

In conclusion, we may say that knowledge of Brahman brings release. Bondage consists in the pride we take in the things of the illusory world. With knowledge we can discriminate between things eternal and things ephemeral and phenomenal. Brahman-knowledge is of the nature of happiness and

bliss—there is nothing higher than it. When we have it, we have no wants and are not impelled by any desire. One who has reached this state of bliss craves no longer for the trinkets of this world. He revels in the bliss of Brahman and in his realization of his oneness with the Absolute. He acquires permanent felicity and peace.

The happiness that results from this union and this realization of oneness with Brahman is marked by the cessation of all sorrows, because we have realized that, in reality, there is no enjoyer nor object of enjoyment; consequently, we no longer run after desires. The superimposition of agency and enjoyership is lost and man wakes from his slumber of illusion in perfect peace. By this attainment he transcends the travail and turmoil of transmigration and enjoys limitless, supreme bliss. The *Kena Upaniṣad* (II.5) says that if, therefore, a man is able to attain knowledge of Reality in this life, then this knowledge is real for him. If he does not attain such knowledge in this life there is great destruction awaiting him. Those who have found Brahman in all living things become immortal.

Neither the hosts of gods nor the great sages know any origin of Me for I am the source of the gods and the great sages in every way. . . . Understanding, knowledge, freedom from bewilderment, patience, truth, self-control and calmness; pleasure and pain; existence and non-existence, fear and fearlessness. . . . Non-violence, equal-mindedness, contentment, austerity, charity, fame and ill-fame (are) the different states of being proceeding from Me alone. . . . I am the origin of all; from Me all (the whole creation) proceeds. Knowing this, the wise worship Me, endowed with conviction. Their thoughts (are fixed) in Me, their lives (are wholly) given up to Me, enlightening each other and ever conversing of Me, they are contented and rejoicing in Me. To these who are constantly devoted and worship Me with love, I grant the concentration of understanding by which they come unto Me. Out of compassion for those same ones, remaining within My own true state, I destroy the darkness born of ignorance by the shining lamp of wisdom.

BOOK REVIEW

PANĀOPASANA. By Jitendranath Banerjee, M.A., Ph.D., F.A.S. (Firma K. I. Mukhopadhyaya, Calcutta. 1960. 408 pp. Rs. 12)

This book, written in Bengali by a former Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture and Carmichael Professor of History of Calcutta University, is a commendable attempt to analyse the five main religious movements and systems of spiritual discipline in India, namely, Gāṇapatya, Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva, Śākta, and Sūrya. This is, perhaps, the first attempt in Bengali to present within the reasonable compass of about four hundred pages this very interesting subject. The book, though small, is not light reading, being packed with material in almost every sentence.

The learned author is at his best in the historical treatment of these five religious movements. Their growth, background, and evolution are briefly but carefully described and emphasized with a wealth of scholarship drawn from the author's wide experience and study of iconography and original research material, such as ancient inscriptions, in addition to the rich lore of knowledge contained in the Vedas, the Upaniṣads, and the Purāṇas.

After a short introduction the author deals, in the second chapter, with Gaṇapati (Gaṇeśa) and the related religious community of worshippers of Gaṇapati called Gāṇapatya. It traces the history of the movement and its ideology, and explains the different images of Gaṇapati and their major significance with brief details of their types of worship. The author places the beginning of the Gāṇapatya movement at the end of the Gupta period, and discusses six subdivisions among the followers of Gaṇapati of whom interesting information is given relating to Mahāgaṇapati or Girijāsuta, Haridrā Gaṇapati, and Uchchīṣṭha Gaṇapati of the Tāntric school.

There are four chapters on the Vaiṣṇava school. The treatment follows the same pattern as in the previous section, beginning with the origin of Viṣṇu and Viṣṇu-worship from Vedic times. The evolution of Vaiṣṇavism through the *Mahābhārata* and the *Pañcarātra* is emphasized, with support from Pāṇini and Patañjali. Interesting references are given from Graeco-Roman historical records as well as from pre-Christian archaeological evidence. The spread of the Vaiṣṇava school in different parts of India, for example in the Arbars of South India and the rise of the Natha community, the contributions of Rāmānuja, Madhvācārya, Ballavācārya, and the eastern leaders of the Vaiṣṇava movement like Caitanya, come within the range of the author's discussion. The essential spirit, ideology, and nature of the Vaiṣṇava movement are critically examined, with emphasis on the cult of Bhakti and the major difference between the non-duality of the Vedānta and the duality of the Vaiṣṇava. Much information is also given on the meaning and significance of the different images of Viṣṇu. In the following four chapters the author proceeds with his analysis of the Śaiva movement and with the significance of Śiva in the religious history of India. The pattern followed is again the same. The origin is traced to the Vedas and even to pre-Vedic times. Upaniṣadic reference to Śiva, the discussion of Pāṇini and Patañjali and Rudra-Śiva, the idea of Śiva in Buddhist literature, and references by foreign writers to Śiva worship in north and north-western India, have made the author's contribution on this movement instructive and informative. Many sects and communities grew up in India based on the Śiva cult. It represented the confluence of knowledge, power, *yoga*, *tantra*, and the many streams of their scientific, technical, and spiritual

disciplines. Śiva is definitely pre-historic. The Punjab Śaivism, the Kashmir Śaivism, the Kāpālika movement, the Pāśupata community mentioned even by Hiuen Tsang, and their methods and practices for worship, phallic worship, and the Āgamas and their sociological significance, make the author's treatment of this movement as complete as possible within the proportions of a small volume.

Two very interesting chapters follow on the Śakti and Śākta cult. The ancient character of the worship for power, or *śakti*, is traced even to prehistoric Vedic times. The development of Tantra and Tāntric rituals of the Śakti cult is discussed by the author not only with his usual scholarship but also with a good deal of understanding of the inner significance of the Śakti movement. Special emphasis has rightly been given by the author to the *Śakti Tantra* and its peculiar features in eastern India particularly in Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, and Assam. The historicity and the significance of the *Durgā-pūjā*, and the seasonal context in which it is celebrated in Bengal, is beautifully explained. The references to the *śakti-piṭhas* are also rewardingly informative.

The treatment of the Sun-worshippers, however, is somewhat scrappy. The worship of the Sun and the Sūrya community are disposed of in only one chapter. The Vedic emphasis on Sun-worship and its later development in the Upaniṣads are discussed, and approval is given to Rāmkrishna Gopal Vandarkar's opinion of Sun-worshippers and Hopkins's reference to the Sūryas in the *Mahābhārata*. The different images of Sun-worship are also explained with modern variations. A little more discussion on Sun temples in India, and especially of Konarak, would improve this chapter.

The real value and originality of this book lie in the admirable synthesis of these five seemingly different sects, religious movements, cults, and communities, with their

different practices, disciplines, and attendant customs. Naturally, differences crept in, rivalries of different groups developed, and there was also intolerance between the groups, but they were never forced to the extreme of war or actual conflict. That is a significant aspect of the history of religion in India. There was always an ultimate and overall synthesis and an overriding cohesion in Hinduism. The learned author in this book has shown that this synthesis was achieved through the Smṛtis; and the sociological cohesion brought about by the tacit acceptance of the general principle that, while paths and practices varied according to constitutions, capacities, temperaments, and environments, the objective of self-realization in its essentials remained always the same. The result was that Gaṇeśa, Sūrya, Śiva, Viṣṇu, and Śakti all found an harmonious unity in a total religious discipline and comprehensive spiritual experience. It led even to *Pañcāyatanī dīkṣā*, *Pañcāyatanā pūjā*, and *Smṛta Pañcopāsana* which synthesized all the five systems.

The book is unique in presenting an admirable collection of illustrations showing the signs and *tilakas* which form distinctive parts of the outer insignia of these five different religious movements. The beautiful diagrams show the inner symbology of these marks to the discerning eye of a discriminating student.

A chapter or two on the basic spiritual and yogic significance of the images, principles, and techniques of *sādhana* of these five religious movements and systems of self-realization, would have greatly added to the utility of this admirable book.

An English translation, with adjustments for easier understanding by foreign readers, would be a welcome venture to help towards meeting the increasing demand from other countries for the kind of information presented in this type of book.

P. B. MUKHARJI

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

Indo-Pakistan Cultural Conference

An important cultural conference was held in Delhi in April which was attended by Indian and Pakistani writers, poets, historians, painters, professors, and research scholars. There were about forty delegates from Pakistan.

The conference made a number of recommendations to the governments of the two countries. These included a recommendation that the two governments should institute a new type of visa which would grant greater facilities to students and scholars during their stay in India or Pakistan. The conference also proposed that an exchange of professors and students between the two countries be encouraged; that facilities be provided to study archaeological monuments, records, manuscripts, and journals; that there be a more frequent exchange of books and journals; and that frequent meetings and conferences be held between writers and journalists of the two countries who should do their utmost to promote friendly relations. The conference also recommended that societies holding scientific and academic conferences should invite representatives from both countries to participate.

Pandit Nehru, in his inaugural speech, said that the essential similarities of background between India and Pakistan were geographical, historical, cultural, and linguistic. Such strong ties of similarity should be remembered when differences are being so often stressed. Pandit Nehru put forward the opinion that problems and controversies between nations were more successfully resolved, or prevented, by developing an indirect approach of cultural contact than by adopting a direct hostile attitude. 'In life's problems,' he said, 'the direct approach is seldom successful, whether it is in peace or in war. It is the indirect approach which

often pays greater dividends' and often takes you much further.' He called upon writers and all connected with cultural affairs in India and Pakistan to give a firm lead in the field of cultural exchange based on the strong fundamental similarities of the two countries.

Pandit Nehru went on to say how surprising it was that, almost invariably, people talked of culture as something belonging to the past, and not something living and related vitally to the present. 'The moment we think only of the past of a culture, we put ourselves out of the main stream of history which is always changing.' He therefore stressed the need to realize that culture embraced a whole way of life from, say, an acrobatic team sent from abroad and called a cultural delegation, to the tremendous scientific and technological changes affecting our daily lives.

Buddhist Pilgrims' Rest House

The Ceylon Government has built a Buddhist pilgrims' rest house in New Delhi on land given by the Indian Government. A similar rest house is being provided by the Indian Government, also in Delhi and near the river Jamuna.

Pandit Nehru spoke at the function marking the opening of the Ceylon Government's rest house. He emphasized the strong ties, 'old and enduring', between India and Ceylon. Pandit Nehru also mentioned that the number of pilgrims, particularly from the north, was increasing. He said that throughout the ages India had been a land of pilgrims, and the continuous flow of pilgrimages had helped in maintaining the cultural unity and integrity of India.

Sri Maitripala Senanayake, the Ceylon Government's Minister for Industries, Home, and Cultural Affairs, representing his country on this occasion, said: 'Our way of life

and our culture have been moulded on the firm foundation of the Buddhist doctrine which, though, zealously guarded in my country, had its birth in your country.'

News from Mongolia

Professor Shadavyan Lubsanvandan, of Ulan Bator University in the Mongolian People's Republic, came to India recently on a two-weeks' visit for Buddhist studies and to explore aspects of ancient cultural and political relationships between Mongolia and India. He visited Buddhist centres of learning and held discourses with scholars at these centres.

Professor Lubsanvandan reported that there were Mongolian translations of 5,000 ancient Indian works on philosophy, astronomy, mechanics, *āyurveda*, and *yoga*, available in his country, of which he had been able to trace only fifty of the originals in India. These translations, he explained, dated from 500 B.C. and were carved on wood. They were incorporated in two Mongolian encyclopaedias. Attempts are now being made to prepare new translations of great works like Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* and to publish them along with the older versions. An effort is also being made to translate the two encyclopaedias into English.

At the suggestion of the Mongolian Embassy in New Delhi the Sahitya Akademi has undertaken to publish a translation of a selection of poetical and prose works by the modern Mongolian poet, the late Dr. Dashdorzhir Mongdorzh. Dr. Mongdorzh died very young but he left a deep imprint on Mongolian literature. The translations now being sponsored by the Sahitya Akademi will be in Hindi, and later in some other Indian languages. This will enable Indian readers to have an idea of this author's contribution to modern Mongolian literature.

Tibetan-Sanskrit Encyclopaedia

The International Academy of Indian Cul-

ture is publishing an encyclopaedia of Tibetan-Sanskrit Culture and History in twenty volumes. These volumes will cover a period of about 1,000 years, the most important period being between the seventh and thirteenth centuries.

The Dalai Lama and several Tibetan scholars now in India will help the Academy in preparing the volumes.

Indian Influences on Philippine Culture

Juan Rodrigo Francisco, a newly-appointed Professor of English at the Philippine Christian College in Manila, is the author of the first comprehensive work documenting Indian influences on the culture of the Philippines. He returned to Manila recently after completing four years of graduate work in Indology at Banaras Hindu University and Madras University under the sponsorship of the Indian Government. Prior to travelling to India in 1947, he had completed two years of study at the University of Chicago. His work in the United States was in the field of linguistics, particularly Sanskrit. In India he completed a doctoral dissertation entitled 'The Indian Influences in the Philippines with Special Reference to Language and Literature'.

Commenting on his work in India and in the United States, Mr. Francisco said that Philippine culture displayed many examples of Hindu influences. He cited Sanskrit root words in various Philippine languages, particularly Tagalog. In addition he noted that Philippine vernacular literature carried many character images and allusions which were basically Hindu in origin.

Schoolboys' Enterprise

A schoolboy society, perhaps unique, has been founded by a final-year pupil of the Phillips Andover Academy, a private secondary school in Andover, Massachusetts. The Asia Society, as it is called, has grown in one year to a membership of 500, out of a total

school enrolment of 800, for the purpose of taking a serious interest in Asia.

The Asia Society carries on a programme of activities comparable with those of similar groups on many United States university campuses. It meets twice weekly, publishes a bi-weekly news-letter, and has persuaded the school administration to offer a special course on Asian history covering the past century and a half. The activities of the society include film shows about India and other Asian countries, Asian exhibits in the school library, and informal discussions at least once a week to explore subjects to be covered at the more formal regular Sunday night sessions. The society is able to obtain the services of speakers of distinction, and discussion leaders well informed in their fields.

A recent issue of the Asia Society's news-letter was devoted to the subject of Rabindranath Tagore in observance of the centenary of the poet-philosopher's birth.

A New World History

The Age of Reason, the title of the first of a series of volumes on world history under the general title of *The Mainstream of the Modern World*, has been published by Doubleday, the New York publishers. Sir Harold Nicolson, the author of *The Age of Reason*, discusses the personalities, philosophies, political upheavals, literature, and art of the eighteenth century. Among the authors now preparing manuscripts for the series are Harrison E. Salisbury on Russia, William L. Shirer on India, France Winwar on Italy, Emily Hahn on China, and Kay Boyle on Germany. John Gunther is the editor.

Centre for South Asian Studies

A recent Ford Foundation grant of

\$1 million is enabling the University of Pennsylvania to expand its South Asian Regional Studies Department into a leading world centre in its field.

Launched in 1947 as the first programme of the kind in the United States by Dr. Norman Brown, the noted American authority on India, the department now numbers more than twenty specialists in languages, history, anthropology, geography, government, and other aspects of South Asian culture. The department also seeks to include guest teachers from South Asia. Distinguished Indian teachers who have served in the department in the past include Dr. B. B. Misra, Professor of History at the University of Patna; Dr. S. K. Chatterji, Emeritus Professor of Linguistic and Comparative Philology, Calcutta University; and Dr. R. C. Majumdar, formerly Vice-Chancellor of Dacca University.

Gandhi Memorial in Britain

Members of the British Parliament and friends of India, at a meeting in the House of Commons recently, decided that a memorial to Mahatma Gandhi should be established in Britain. Suggestions as to the form the memorial will take will be considered by a national committee. The committee will also raise funds for the memorial. Among those elected to the national committee were Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Mr. Hilary Marquand, M.P., Sir Godfrey Nicholson, Mrs. Evelyn Emmet, M.P., and the Rev. Reginald Sorensen, M.P. The committee appointed a number of trustees among whom are Earl Attlee, Mr. R. A. Butler, Home Secretary and Leader of the House of Commons, Mr. Clement Davies, M.P., and Sir Frederick James, Deputy Chairman and Managing Director of Tata Ltd., London.

INSTITUTE NEWS

Foreign-Student Adviser

On 5 July the Institute received a visit from Mr. W. Wallace Maner, Mrs. Maner, and their son and daughter. Mr. Maner is the foreign-student adviser to the State University of Iowa, Iowa City, and Director of that University's International Centre. He was in India for the purpose of lecturing on the subject of his work.

Mr. Maner's visit was made possible by a Fulbright grant which has been established as a contribution toward the improvement of foreign-student counselling in American colleges and universities, and as a means of furthering understanding of American higher education by university faculty members and students in India, and, similarly, furthering understanding of higher education in India on the part of American participants.

Library and Reading Room

In May, 241 books were added to the accession list in the Institute's library, of which 220 were purchased and 21 were gifts. 1,500 books were borrowed and 1,132 were issued for reference. The reading room contained 332 Indian and foreign periodicals. There was an average daily attendance of 96 readers.

During the second half of May a display of Indian and foreign journals was arranged in the library, being special issues published to celebrate the birth centenary of Rabindranath Tagore.

The following is a selection of books taken from the accession list for the month of May, with library catalogue references:

EDUCATION. *Essentials of Educational Psychology*. Charles Edward Skinner. 1960. (370.15|SKI); *General Education and Indian Universities*. G. D. Parikh. 1959. (378.54|PAR)

LAW. *A Comparative Study of the Indian*

Constitution. Sirdar Dharendra Kumar Sen. 1960. (342.54|SEN)

HISTORY. *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*. Shahpurshah Hormasji Hodivala. 1957. (954|HOD); *New Patterns of Democracy in India*. Vera Micheles Dean. 1959. (954.07|DEA); *History of Mysore and the Yadava Dynasty*. G. R. Josyer. (954.87|JOS)

GENERAL PSYCHOLOGY. *Essentials of Psychological Testing*. Lee J. Cronbach. 1960. (151.2|CRO)

Social Science. *Cultural Patterns and Technical Change*. Edited by Margaret Mead. 1954. (301.2|MEA)

LANGUAGE. *Sanskrit in Indonesia*. J. Gonda. 1952. (499.2|GON)

MATHEMATICS. *Mathematics in Western Culture*. Morris Kline. (510.9|KLI)

THE ARTS. *Ancient Indonesian Art*. A. J. Bernet Kempers. 1959. (709.91|KEM); *Italian Gothic Sculpture*. John Pope-Hennessy. (730.945|POP)

LITERATURE. *Last Essays*. Thomas Mann. Translated by Richard and Clara Winston and Tania and James Stern. 1959. (804|MAN); *The Lost Childhood and Other Essays*. Graham Greene. 1952. (814|GRE); *The Oxford Book of German Verse*. Edited by H. G. Fiedler. 1957. (831.08|FIE); *Sanskrit Culture in a Changing World*. B. Bhattacharya. 1950. (891.2|BHA)

PHILOSOPHY. *An Introduction to Philosophical Analysis*. P. C. Chatterjee. (101|CHA)

Children's Library

During the month of May there were 391 members on the roll of the children's library. 1,193 books were borrowed, and 288 books were added to the accession list. 54 books were classified and catalogued. There was an average daily attendance of 64 readers.

Students' Day Home

Owing to the termination of the Intermediate and Degree examinations at Calcutta

University, the number of students daily attending the Students' Day Home during May was much reduced. The average daily attendance was 189. Those taking meals or tiffin in the canteen averaged 109. No new text-books were purchased or catalogued during May, the total remaining the same as in March, 4,838.

The British Information Services continued its programme of documentary films by showing two more films to the students.

International Hostel

Among those who stayed in the Institute's International Hostel during May and the first part of June were the following:

Dr. Constantin Vassilakis, Ph.D., Principal of Veria's Higher Secondary School, Athens, who was in India for studies under UNESCO's Major Project on the Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values;

Mr. Renato Berger, a writer, and Mrs. Berger, a medical technician, from Switzerland, who were on a study tour;

Mr. U Ba Maw, B.Sc., from Burma, a demonstrator at Mandalay University, undergoing technical training in the Geological Survey of India, Calcutta, under the Colombo Plan; and

Dr. Sudhansu Chandra Bhattacharya, M.A., T.D., Ph.D., Principal of the D.S.P. Multipurpose School at Durgapur, West Bengal, who was in Calcutta for study.

Also staying at the International Hostel as long-term residents are 9 university students, 2 research scholars, 2 lecturers, and 5 graduate trainees.

Visitors

Among the visitors to the Institute during May and the first part of June were the following:

Srimati Asha Devi Aryanayakam of Sevagram, Wardha; and

Mrs. Jennie Barrell, the General Secretary of the Y.W.C.A. in Calcutta.

Scripture Classes

During May the following scripture classes continued to be held:

Śrīmad Bhāgavatam: This class, conducted by Swami Omkarananda, was held every Wednesday, at 6 p.m., with the exception of 24 and 31 May, when the class was not held. The average attendance was 653.

Bhagavad-Gītā: This class, conducted by Swami Mahananda, was held every Friday, at 6 p.m. The average attendance was 725.

Mahābhārata: Professor Tripurari Chakravarti conducted a class on the *Mahābhārata* for many years in the Institute's old building at 111 Russa Road. Professor Chakravarti is again conducting a class on the *Mahābhārata* which is being held every Monday, at 6 p.m.

Sanskrit Catuspathi

The Sanskrit *catuspāthi*, conducted by Pandit Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya, Śāstrī, Tarka-Vedānta-tīrtha, continued to be held during May on Mondays, Tuesdays, and Thursday, at 6 p.m. 6 students are studying *Pañcadaśī* and *Gītābhāṣya*.

Indian Language Classes

During May the following classes were held:

Hindi: Pandit Bhubaneswar Jha continued his classes. A new session started on 16 May in the Prārambhika (beginners') class, which was held on Tuesdays and Fridays, from 6.30 to 7.30 p.m. 36 students attended. A new session also started on 16 May for the Praveśa (intermediate) class, which was held on Tuesdays and Fridays, from 7.30 to 8.30 p.m. 5 students attended. The Kovid (diploma) class also continued its course, the class being held on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays, from 7.30 to 8.30 p.m., and on Saturdays, from 6.30 to 7.30 p.m. 2 students attended.

Bengali: This class, conducted by Professor Saurindra Kumar De, continued to be held every Wednesday and Friday, from 7.30 to 8.30 p.m. 3 students attended.

German: The beginners' class, conducted by Countess Keyserling, was closed for the summer vacation from 1 May to 4 June.

French: The beginners' class, conducted by Mr. Cadelis, was closed for the summer vacation from 15 May to 15 June.

Persian: The beginners' class, conducted by Mr. Kamgar Parsi and Dr. Hira Lall Chopra, was closed for the summer vacation from 2 May to 31 May.

AUGUST LECTURES

At 6 p.m.

August 5 Trends in African Literature

Speaker: Bela Datta Gupta, M.A.

Lecturer in Sociology, Calcutta University

President: Suniti Kumar Chatterji, M.A., D.Lit.

August 12 Plotinus and Christian Mysticism

Speaker: R. K. Das Gupta, M.A., P.R.S., D.Phil.

President: Father P. Fallon, S.J.

August 19 Achievements of Indian Buddhist Monks Outside India

Speaker: Saccidananda Bhattacharya, M.A.

President: Sadananda Bhaduri, M.A., Ph.D.

August 26 William Carey

Speaker: Rev. Dr. William Stewart, D.D.

Principal, Serampore College

President: Kalidas Nag, M.A., D.Litt.

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OBSERVATIONS

THE TREND TOWARDS INDIAN 'THOUGHT' IN THE WESTERN QUEST FOR TRUTH

3. THE PROBLEM OF EVIL

ONE of the most fundamental problems facing the human being, a problem common to all mankind, is the problem of evil. The story behind the culture of every people is largely the story of the manner in which a solution to this problem has been sought by that culture. Similarly, the story of the spiritual development of every individual is largely the story of the manner in which he deals with the events in his life which bring him his personal share of this universal problem.

Thus it is that to the thinking westerner today the need for a satisfactory solution to the problem of evil plays an important role in his quest for truth. This need takes its place as one of the basic requirements which must be fulfilled for the westerner today before he can adopt a system of beliefs, attitudes, and practices, and through them seek to satisfy the intellectual and emotional aspects of his inner life and spiritual growth. Among these basic requirements we have

discussed two in 'Observations' in the July and August issues of the *Bulletin*, under the titles 'The Scientific Approach' and 'Concepts of History and Cosmology'. The fourth and last of the series will be entitled 'Comprehending Jesus'.

The modern westerner is as determined as any of his ancestors to grapple with the problem of evil, and it may be that in the huge dimensions of the crisis of the present age lies an incentive far greater than man has ever known. Under the pressure of this crisis, combined with the prevailing scientific spirit which demands a rational approach to all problems, the thinking westerner is forced to review very critically the solutions to the problem of evil offered by his own culture and tradition. Here two courses are open to him, the way of the philosophers and the way of the Christian tradition. The result of his critical review of these two alternatives is the discovery that the one is as unsatisfactory as the other.

NO SOLUTION

In *Mind* (April 1961) appeared 'A Note on the Problem of Evil' by Marvin Zimmerman of New York University. Professor Zimmerman refers to a stimulating discussion in *Mind* (July 1958) in which 'Professor Farrell challenges Professor Mackie's suggestion (*Mind*, April 1955) that no proposed solution of the problem of evil can withstand criticism'. Professor Zimmerman then proceeds to challenge, in turn, Professor Farrell's own assertions. The following two points raised by Professor Zimmerman will be of interest here:

'Farrell states that "God has brought things into existence that his goodness might be communicated to and reflected in them". He continues, "If this range and hierarchy of created being or good is to be manifested in a universe, there must be an inequality in things. Otherwise, some grade of goodness is not exemplified in it." (p. 401) Farrell takes the existence of an inequality or hierarchy of things to be an indication of God's *goodness*. However, is it less reasonable to consider existing inequalities an indication of God's *evil* rather than good where *in fact* we find them to be evil, e.g., slavery, disease, poverty, etc., since we are assuming *God to be omnipotent*? This leads to the final point.

'Farrell goes on to say "it might argue against the omnipotence of God if there were no evil. For in order to avoid evil, God would by the law of contradiction be obliged to prevent any or some privation of good. It would follow necessarily that He would have to restrict his power by not creating all or some contingent goods. His power would thus be impeded and limited by evil—i.e. by non-being. If it were not absurd, this would indeed be a limitation of his omnipotence." (pp. 402-403)

'What Farrell is suggesting is not that, if God were omnipotent he could avoid evil, but on the contrary, in order to avoid evil

God would have to restrict his power, i.e. limit his omnipotence.

'There seems to be a fundamental error here. I have already referred ... to Farrell's attempt to link the concepts of evil and contingency, which accounts for his saying that in order to avoid evil God would have to avoid creating contingent goods. This statement holds only to the extent we take the concept of contingency to imply evil, and consequently turns out to mean that in order to *avoid* evil, God would not be able to *create* evil (contingent goods).

'The error lies in the fact that Farrell is suggesting that God's omnipotence would be limited if God could not do *both* (create and avoid evil), although he has already rejected the view that omnipotence implies the power to perform *contradictory* acts. "Since what is contradictory in the formal sense is ... irrelevant to omnipotence." (p. 401) But even waiving this, if, as Farrell asserts, the *absence* of evil might argue against God's omnipotence since it would restrict his power to *create* evil, the *presence* of evil (which is admitted by Farrell) would likewise argue against God's omnipotence, since it would restrict his power to *avoid* evil.

'I would conclude from all this, that Farrell has really offered (contrary to his own intentions) additional support to Professor Mackie's suggestion that no proposed solutions of the problem of evil can withstand criticism.'

Turning next to *Philosophy* (April and July 1961), in which Ninian Smart of the London University writes on 'Omnipotence, Evil, and Supermen', we find that Mr. Smart's conclusions likewise add nothing to the solution of our problems. Mr. Smart writes:

'It has in recent years been argued by Professors Antony Flew and J. L. Mackie, that God could have created men wholly good. For, causal determinism being compat-

ible with free will, men could have been made in such a way that, without loss of freedom, they would never have fallen (and would never fall) into sin. This if true would constitute a weighty anti-theistic argument. And yet intuitively it seems unconvincing. I wish here to uncover the roots of this intuitive suspicion.

'There are in the argument two assertions to be distinguished. First, that causal determinism (i.e. the claim that all human actions are the results of prior cause) is compatible with free will. I call this the Compatibility Thesis. Second, there is the assertion that God could have created men wholly good. This I shall call the Utopia Thesis. An apparent inference from the latter is that God cannot be both omnipotent and wholly good, since men are in fact wicked.'

Mr. Smart then embarks upon what he calls 'anthropological fiction', imagining other worlds where men, or, rather, beings unlike men, have been created wholly good. In conclusion he writes: 'My anthropological fiction seems to bring out the point that moral discourse is embedded in the cosmic *status quo* (or even more narrowly, in the planetary *status quo*). For it is applied to a situation where men are beings of a certain sort. Thus the abstract possibility that men might have been created wholly good loses its clarity as soon as we begin to imagine alternative possible universes. If then the Utopia Thesis is quite unclear, it cannot assert anything intelligible about God. And so it cannot serve as part of an anti-theistic argument. There remains (*sic*) of course many serious difficulties for the theist in regard to human evil. But the Utopia Thesis is not one of them.

'Or not yet. We shall see how the science fiction goes.'

These two examples of philosophical thinking on the problem of evil make it quite clear that the average thoughtful westerner can expect no help from the philosophers

towards the solution of the problem of evil. Next, then, he must examine the doctrines of Christianity, for these doctrines, whatever his attitude to them, stand as part of his environment. They are a heritage which he cannot ignore.

GOD AND THE DEVIL

The Devil is as important a character in the Christian story as is God. In Judaism and in Islam, the Devil, or Satan, is mainly the agent who administers God's wrath. But in Christianity the Devil is something more than this. He is the Power of Darkness. Writing on this point in *Myth and Ritual in Christianity*, Alan Watts says: 'One of the special distinctions of Christianity is that it takes evil more seriously than any other religion. While not allowing the Principle of Evil the rank of equal and opposite to the Principle of Good, as in pure dualism, it insists that evil is in no sense whatsoever of divine origin. It takes its rise exclusively from the finite, created world, but at the same time constitutes an appalling danger of eternal consequence—which God permits but does not condone. The true Christian is, therefore, unceasingly on his guard against this dread reality, and, for all his faith in God, walks through life with the sense that living is a real adventure because it contains a real danger of infinite subtlety and horror. "Brethren, be sober, be vigilant, for your Adversary the Devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about seeking whom he may devour; whom resist, steadfast in the faith." These are the opening words of Compline, the regular prayer of the Church which, day after day, brings the work of worship to its close for the night. . . .

'This conception, so marvellously peculiar and sinister, brings into sharp contrast the Christian sense of the goodness of God. For what the Christian consciousness sees in all the trappings of glory, of *shekinah*, of the

blinding radiance of the Trinity, is not so much beauty, or even truth, as goodness. Beauty has seemed a deceptive attribute, shared alike by God and Satan, who also knows the truth—and trembles. What belongs essentially and exclusively to God is inflexible righteousness, and historical Christianity simply has not tolerated any notion of God as an Absolute “beyond good and evil”. Thus the Being of being, the Ultimate Reality, has for the Christian mentality—a definite character, a specific and particular will, such that goodness does not exist merely in relation to evil but is, from everlasting, the very essence of God. As we shall see, this conception is as monstrous and sinister, in its own way, as that of the Devil. It represents the crucial point at which historical Christianity is “aberrant” among the great traditional doctrines of the world, though the aberration is not so much from any defect of the myth as from the minds of those who have been its official interpreters.’

The reason why the conception of goodness as the very essence of God is described by Alan Watts as ‘monstrous and sinister’ is that goodness of necessity implies evil, not merely logically but psychologically. This, as Alan Watts explains, is the law whereby ‘every extreme turns into its opposite, whereby Satanism is actually created by Puritanism and devilry by sanctity. Thus the conception of the everlasting Heaven of goodness, love, and delight is no less monstrous than that of Hell. For it is essentially the *same* conception’.

Satan, in the Christian myth, as the Power of Darkness, is the originator of sin. It is very significant that the word ‘sin’ originates from a Greek expression which means ‘to miss the mark’. ‘The mark’ is the true centre of life, Reality itself, the eternal Present wherein our real life consists. To ‘miss the mark’ is thus to be identified with time which is relative, leading to the error of

identification with the body and the whole of the relative world. Missing the mark implies the individual’s identification with the ‘illusory’ self instead of with the Self which is the ground, the divine principle, which never really becomes the individual, but which temporarily assumes the form of the individual. Satan, in the Christian story, is actually the personification of this ‘missing the mark’. He is God, or the Self, *seeming* to be an ego, an individual. But he is only one aspect of this, for he is a personification of ‘the wrath of God’, the dark aspect of existence.

Thus he who would avoid falling into the clutches of Satan must see not many, in the form of good and evil, but One, which is the centre behind them both. According to Indian thought, the seeing of many is the great sin of all the world. And, as we have seen, the Greeks, too, regarded sin as that which is ‘off the mark’, away from the centre. If to ‘see many’ and to be ‘off the mark’ is sin, it follows that both good and evil are ‘sin’, for both good and evil depend upon ‘the many’, taking individual forms to be real in themselves, and both good and evil exist only as long as they are ‘off the mark’, regarded as absolutes and not as ‘seeming’.

It is of interest to note that Christian doctrine recognizes that both good and evil are ‘off the mark’, for it asserts that even moral actions are sin if they are done ‘lacking the divine Grace’. In practice, however, this has been interpreted to mean that good actions are only good if they are performed under the auspices of the Church. Thus divine Grace has been interpreted not as the Self, the centre beyond relative good and evil, but as a permanent form of good without evil. This is why a very common experience among earnest Christians is the experience of not being able to attain ‘the grace of salvation’ by repentance, in spite of completely earnest and sincere efforts.

On this subject Alan Watts writes: 'Generally speaking, the penitential observances of the Church have, in practice, a sentimental rather than a spiritual atmosphere because they express the feeling of remorse rather than "metaphysical conversion" or *metanoia*. From the earliest times they have dwelt upon the extreme "horror" of sin, and upon how deeply it "wounds the feelings" of Christ, and "grieves" the Holy Spirit. While it is all too true that the "missing of the mark" called egocentricity underlies all the enormities of human behaviour, Christians have seldom recognized that the inculcation of shame, horror, and guilt is in no sense a cure for sin. It is merely the opposite of misconduct, the automatic reaction of the ego to social rejection, and, like every mere opposite or reaction, it is nothing more than a swing of the pendulum. The pendulum will continue to swing between good and evil until the weight is raised to the fulcrum, the Centre above and beyond the opposites. For sentimental guilt by no means destroys egocentricity, being nothing other than the sensation of its wounded pride—a pride which it then labours to restore by acts of penitence and piety. . . . The state of Grace has been confused with a permanent swing of the pendulum in one direction—an impossibility so long as the end, the ego, remains weighted. . . . Furthermore, the division of the human mind into "I" and "me" presents the problem of self-control in such a way as to lead to endless confusion—since the human being tries to dominate and regulate his emotions and actions, which are concrete, with the force of an ego and will, which is purely abstract. As a result, man is thrown into a state of conflict with himself which can never be resolved in the terms in which it is proposed. Good-intentioned "I" wrestles with wayward "me" like a rider on an unbroken horse. . . . But this conflict between "I" and "me" is not so much a self-

consciousness as unconsciousness—a failure to see that the righteousness of "I" has the same motivation as the sinfulness of "me", both alike being attempts to save, to continue, myself—the illusory abstraction from memory. . . .

'Salvation is always the ending of the mind's fascinated identification with the dead and unchanging image of what it was. It is a complete reversal of the "natural" order of things, a *metanoia*—the Greek word for "repentance" meaning precisely a "turning-around-of-the-mind", so that it no longer faces into the past, the land of the shadow of death, but into the Eternal Present.

'So long as the mind is captivated by memory, and really feels itself to be that past image—which is "I"—it can do nothing to save itself; its sacrifices are of no avail, and its Law gives no life. For it is under the spell of death, identified with an impotent abstraction so that, in the language of symbolism, it is "formed of clay", or wandering in the wilderness, in "a dry and barren land where no water is". And under this spell it remains, hopelessly and helplessly captive, just so long as this dead image continues to give any illusion of life, so long as one thinks or feels that "I" is able to do anything in the way of a creative act. Therefore the necessary condition for the miracle is the realization that this "I" can do nothing—the discovery of its total and inescapable captivity. The "I" must confess that it is mere dust, that "there is no health in it", for liberation from the "I" is impossible so long as one retains any hope in its powers.

'On the other hand, the miracle can come to pass if all hope in the "I" is abandoned, if that wherein man thought his life consisted is seen beyond any doubt to be unreality and death. The one thing, then, which is the indispensable preparation for the miracle of man's becoming "no longer I, but Christ", for the birth of Godhead in man,

is the confession of "sin"—not however, in the current sentimental sense of the word, but in the true metaphysical sense of *hamartanein*, "to miss the mark", to be off the point. The mark or point here—equivalent to the "strait and narrow gate" or the "needle's eye" which is the entrance to heaven—is the timeless, eternal moment wherein our real life consists. To be "off the mark" is to be identified with the past, and thus "the soul that sinneth shall die". Repentance in "dust and ashes" is simply the clear admission that everything which I know (remember) as myself is dead, and can do nothing. The "I" which is the past can give no salvation from the past.'

Unfortunately the Christian theologians were never able to grasp the inner significance of Satan as the personification of 'missing the mark'. Instead of viewing Satan as one aspect of God, the dark aspect of existence, they saw him only as the dark aspect of the 'illusory' individual self to which they had given a false reality. The history of Christianity is thus nothing more than repeated failure to grasp the fundamental truth of its own myth and make the wisdom of the myth available to its followers. The whole failure is epitomized in the character of Satan, or Lucifer, who should have remained the symbol of the dark aspect of existence, a shadow revealing light by contrast, as his name suggests, for Lucifer means 'the bearer of light'.

Christian theologians themselves 'missed the mark', for they tragically missed the most important point of the myth. The result is a religion which offers no help to its followers. As Alan Watts writes, 'Christianity has been expounded by an orthodox hierarchy which has consistently degraded the myth to a science and a history, and resisted the metaphysical interpretation which other great orthodox traditions have always allowed. Thus "theologized", the myth is unable to liberate Western man from his-

tory, from the fatal circle of a past which loses all touch with reality in its increasing absorption in the arid fantasies of abstraction. For the living God has become the abstract God, and cannot deliver his creatures from the disease with which he is himself afflicted. . . . In sum, then, the tragedy of Christianity is the confusion of its myth with history and fact. For this is the realm of the abstract and the dead—of the seeming self. Degraded to this realm, Christ and Lucifer alike became images of the ego, of the past and dead man who does not liberate but only binds.'

All this considered, it seems likely that the problem of evil will remain unsolved for the Christian, and also, therefore, for the westerner who may have rejected Christianity but has not yet grasped the true myth that underlies it. The problem of evil can never be solved—in this the philosophers are right—while the dark side of existence, 'the wrath of God' is not accepted together with the light side. While the mind tries to pursue good without any evil, pleasure without any pain, and refuses to admit that the very nature of life on earth is a coincidence of opposites, confusion must persist, and the problem of evil remain unsolved.

RETURNING TO THE MYTH

The word 'myth' has been used in the foregoing paragraphs in a particular sense, and not in the dictionary sense of a 'purely fictitious narrative'. 'Myth', as the word is used here, is a story which represents the deepest truths of life. These truths are universal truths, and myth, in this sense, therefore, represents universal, perennial philosophy. Theology, on the other hand, inserts certain interpretations and comments into the story, and comes to certain conclusions regarding the story. For example, theology may insist that the story is fact in the historical sense. Upon these interpretations and conclusions, doctrine is formulated.

It is clear from the example we have studied, the treatment meted out to Lucifer, that the Christian myth has been sadly misinterpreted by the theologians, and this has led to confusion and to insoluble problems. It naturally follows, therefore, that the way out of this confusion is a return to the original meaning of the Christian myth. For many western thinkers today, the simplest way to do this, in the absence of Christian leadership in this endeavour, is to study the myth in its most basic form, as universal principles or the perennial philosophy.

The personal accounts of sixteen western thinkers who achieved this for themselves have been published as a symposium, edited by John Yale, under the title *What Vedānta Means to Me* (Rider & Co., London, and Doubleday & Co. Inc., New York). In his contribution to the symposium, John Yale who is Brahmachari Premā Chaitanya of the Ramakrishna Order) writes convincingly of his own youthful struggle with the problem of evil:

'A final stumbling block to any adjustment to Christianity on my part, was its to me inadequate handling of the problem of evil. There is the force of evil, personified by Satan; and of good, exemplified by God. Each wars in this universe, and in men's hearts, at times one winning, and at times the other. However, the end of the story is known in advance: God has the greater power and is sure to triumph eventually.

'To this I always said: "Then why does he let it go on—all this mess, all this suffering? If he is really stronger, why doesn't he just put an end to the agony?"

'And I was given this answer: "Oh no. We grow by suffering. Evil is permitted for its chastening value. We are trained by evil."

"But are we?" I would reason. "Is evil a proper tool for a good Almighty to use?" (Youth is always shocked that the

Creator should be so much less perfectionist than he!) "Many are not trained at all—only downed by the world's evil. If God is omnipotent, and it is trained people that he wants, then why does he not just create us already chastened, trained, finished?"

"Because we do not permit him to," was the reply. "Because of the perversity in man's heart. Man wants to do wrong; he likes doing wrong. He was once perfect, but he chose to turn away. He chose, as he still goes on choosing, to spurn perfection."

'I saw, of course, that Christians must take this position, for without it the whole idea of Christ as special redeemer—on which all Christian theology is based—would fall. But really, who can agree that any human being would choose evil, clear-mindedly prefer to spurn God? One could be ignorant, impassioned, impetuous. But would anyone rationally decide to remain permanently perverse, habituated in a course which must lead to his own eternal pain? Nor could blaming Adam be an excuse, for why should a specific I suffer as a result of the failure of some indefinite archetype who lived, if he lived at all, thousands of years ago?

'And if man doesn't choose evil for himself, then God must choose it for him. But advancing the theory of predestination—that God selects some people to be lost—well, that seemed to me to be blasphemous; that is, again, making God demonic.

'That man has a tendency to be less than a saint, that pain may be educational, I readily admitted. But that God should will man to suffer, or that man should rationally pursue wickedness that I could not and would not accept.'

These problems were solved for John Yale when he studied the principles of the perennial philosophy as set out in Indian thought under the name of Vedānta:

'Vedānta's position, I learned, is that there is no evil in any absolute sense, just as there is no good. Both are only provisional prop-

ositions which dissolve before a larger proposition. Vedānta solves the problem of evil by abolishing evil. This is done through the use of the great concept of *māyā*.

“Really” there is only God. Hence man’s true being is God, spoken of as the Ātman or Self. Ultimately we are Sat-Chit-Ānanda—absolute Existence, absolute knowledge, absolute Bliss. But an intoxication of ignorance obscures our true condition. Vedānta terms this bewitchment *māyā*. Vedānta does not try to explain *māyā* or justify it; Vedānta says only that *māyā* is the fact of man’s normal sight and as such possesses a provisional reality. *Māyā* is made up of pairs of opposites: pleasure-pain, happiness-misery, health-sickness, birth-death, anticipation-disappointment. Man is a seeking being. He seeks pleasure and gets it, but must at the same time accept the other side of the coin, which is pain. He is granted youth, a blessing, but in accepting youth he must equally accede to old age, which is not. Seeking drives him on from day to day, from sweet-sour experience to sweet-sour experience. Some days are better, but some are also worse. Man goes from life to life trying to siphon off solely the good but always ending up with a frustrating mixture.

‘Eventually, Vedānta told me, a man realizes that every experience must always give only a false lead. He begins to hunger for something more lasting. In Vedāntic terms, he begins to discriminate, and through discrimination to become willing to renounce the pursuit of immediate, relative ends in exchange for the expectation of something less immediately exciting but more subtly satisfying and lasting. Thus, again in Vedāntic parlance, it is said a man becomes a spiritual seeker, turning inward; and through discipline, meditation, and the movement of grace, dissipates the spell which has obscured the real Self.

‘When one has the vision of the Ātman, one knows then that evil was only a dream,

as was earthly good; one possesses a consciousness beyond relative evil and good. Evil no longer exists for such a man.’

FREEDOM

To every intelligent person it will be clear that in order to solve the problem of evil the first step to be taken must be the cultivation of a clear grasp of what evil actually is. Every attempt to establish evil as an entity in itself, a reality separate from another reality called ‘good’, ends in failure and in worse than failure; it leads to misery and frustration and to all the suffering involved in any circular pursuit which keeps the seeker bound to his own error. By pursuing good as separate from evil, the seeker loses all touch with reality.

The picture changes, however, as soon as recognition is given to the fact that good and evil are inextricably combined, that one cannot be had without the other. This becomes easier to grasp if we imagine the sum total energy in the world to be made up of good and evil, spread out all over the world like the waters of a lake. Any disturbance in the waters of the lake gives rise to a wave and, at the same time, to a corresponding hollow. The hollow and the wave are interdependent, one cannot exist without the other. The sum total of the water in the lake, however, undergoes no change. Similarly, in the world of good and evil, the sum total of energy is not changed by good or evil. Good in one place carries with it, as part of itself, evil in another. What makes one man happy, of necessity, makes someone else, somewhere, unhappy. One man’s gain is another man’s loss, truly and literally. Not even one grain can be had by one person without taking from another.

Because this process is largely an unconscious one, we find it hard to accept guiding factor in human endeavour. We see the wave as something real and desirable in itself, and therefore try to pro-

duce only waves without hollows. In trying to do this, however, we merely perpetuate the whole process, creating waves and hollows all the time, just as the bullock trying, but never succeeding, to grasp the hay tied before his nose, merely perpetuates the process of grinding out oil. Like the bullock following the hay, we follow the will-o'-the-wisp of happiness that always eludes us, and thus, fruitlessly, we may pass our whole lives.

Fortunately, however, there is in every man a spark that not only bids him extricate himself from this situation, it tells him, with conviction, that he can do so. The circular pursuit is broken the moment he heeds this inner conviction and begins to seek the happiness beyond material happiness, the happiness that can be attained without causing sorrow to any. Beyond the opposites of happiness and sorrow, good and evil, is the centre of all being, the Self. Reaching that centre, the seeker becomes free from both evil and good, for he sees that both evil and good are but manifestations of the Self in the physical world.

It now becomes clear that the solution to the problem of evil is to be found in the perennial philosophy which finds its clearest expression in Indian thought. The Christian myth, as one expression of the perennial

philosophy, offers that solution to all who are able to separate the myth from its theological and other interpretations and read its message aright. The perennial philosophy states that the highest knowledge is knowledge of the Self, the ground of all being. This knowledge, however, does not arise as long as man thinks that he can find good, happiness, in the transitory world. Man wrongly identifies himself, his true Self, with his own mind. But mind is merely a part of relative existence, the instrument of the experience of good and evil. So long as man mistakenly takes his mind to be his true Self, he remains 'off the mark', and is captivated by the experiences of the mind. To attain freedom, therefore, man has to be 'on the mark', aware of his true identity with the Self. There can be no freedom until man frees himself from his own mind. As the mind is the cause of bondage, it can also be used to lead man to freedom, to the knowledge of the Self. This is the goal of life, for with knowledge of the Self comes also love, and with love come joy, peace, strength, and freedom.

The fact that more and more westerners are now reaching out towards the life-giving message of the perennial philosophy is, with the far-reaching implications of this fact, the one sign of light on the dark western horizon.

The difference between a good and a bad man does not lie in this, that the one wills that which is good and the other does not, but solely in this, that the one concurs with the living inspiring spirit of God within him, and the other resists it, and can be chargeable with evil only because he resists it.

Men are not in hell because God is angry with them; they are in wrath and darkness because they have done to the light, which infinitely flows forth from God, as that man does to the light of the sun, who puts out his own eyes.

WILLIAM LAW

REACTIONS OF THE PEOPLES OF EAST AND WEST TO THE BASIC PROBLEMS OF MODERN LIFE

From 1 to 9 November the Institute will hold an East-West Cultural Conference in collaboration with UNESCO. This Conference is related to UNESCO's Major Project on the Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values. Below is printed the Basic Document which describes the purpose and procedure of the Conference and gives all essential information. It also includes the questionnaire which will form the basis for the discussions.

THE Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture has a threefold field of work.

Firstly, it seeks to present a proper interpretation and appraisal of Indian culture, and its full implications in the modern context, to make it the basis of the cultural integration of India and strengthen the bonds of unity between the different parts of the country. The great spiritual traditions embodied in India's cultural heritage stand today as the recognized foundation on which to build the India of the future, and India must fulfil her role in the comity of nations only on the basis of her own distinctive culture. The genius of Indian culture is the spirit of assimilation. India's future strength depends on her ability to adapt herself to modern world conditions and to imbibe and assimilate all that is worthy in other cultures. The work of the Institute is a significant pointer to the means of consolidating in India's national life these principles and ideals of cultural life and thought.

Secondly, it seeks to promote better knowledge and understanding and cultural relationships between India and other countries. In this age of communication, India, in common with the rest of the world, has been brought into close contact with ways of life and thought different from her own. It is therefore essential to cultivate an understanding of those other cultures and, in turn, help them towards an understanding of Indian

culture. Mutual understanding would lead to mutual enrichment, particularly if allowed to fulfil itself in India's tradition of the appreciation of different viewpoints as diverse expressions of the same basic truth.

Thirdly, it seeks to promote knowledge of the cultural heritage of mankind-as-a-whole as a background to the individual cultures of the world. This will enable individual cultural values to be viewed in proper perspective and will provide channels for their mutual appreciation. On deeper levels such an outlook will also provide a basis for the development of a mankind conception and a will towards mankind, and thus advance the cause of international understanding and co-operation and peaceful co-existence on the solid basis of the unity of mankind.

The threefold aim of the Institute will thus be seen to be in full accord with the aims of UNESCO's Major Project on Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values. When, at its ninth session at New Delhi, in November 1956, the General Conference of UNESCO adopted this Major Project, it also decided to hold in relation to the Project an international symposium at the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture at Calcutta. It is in fulfilment of that decision that the present Conference is being held.

OBJECTIVE

The objective of this Conference on **Reac-**

tions of the Peoples of East and West to the Basic Problems of Modern Life' is, by analysis, by comparison and contrast, and by confronting, each with the other, different reactions to common problems, to help forward the Major Project in its determination to reach constructive conclusions in international understanding and appreciation, inspired by the ideal of the solidarity of mankind.

Although the title of the Major Project uses the terms 'East' and 'West', these terms do not really represent definable units. East and West are 'definable only as two halves of a whole and in terms of the ideas they hold about each other'. Nevertheless, most people do regard themselves as belonging to one or other of these two groups. Any attempt, therefore, to bring peoples closer together must take this fact into account, although, at the same time, care must be taken not to confer on the opposition between East and West a reality which it does not possess. Preconceived ideas, harmful simplifications, and psychological and political obstacles are among the main difficulties to be overcome.

The purpose of the present Conference, holding before itself the aims of the Major Project and the difficulties involved in achieving those aims, is to provide an opportunity to thinkers and men of forward vision, to meet together and, in an atmosphere of free, frank, and friendly discussion, move a little nearer to understanding each other's value judgements which determine their reactions to modern world problems.

THEME OF THE CONFERENCE

The theme of the Conference is 'reactions of the peoples of East and West to the basic problems of modern life'. The scope of the discussions, primarily intended for the promotion of mutual appreciation of eastern and western cultural values, has deliberately been conceived very widely, so as to enable

the participants to gather together the experiences and ideations of varied human groups throughout the world. The subject is a vast one, and it is necessary to ensure some unity of approach to the various problems under discussion. A questionnaire is therefore given below, but it is intended merely to indicate the general approach to the theme. It is, however, desirable that each participant should bring in the problems peculiar to his own region or to the human group which he represents, and the distinctive features, if any, of the reactions of the people to such problems.

Twelve internationally recognized scholars and thinkers will participate in the Conference. These participants will be selected from different countries so as to represent the various cultures of the world. A limited number of observers will be invited to attend the Conference.

PROCEDURE

The Conference will last for nine days, the fifth day being recess. The inauguration of the Conference will take place in the evening of the first day when, at a public meeting, general addresses will be given by invited guests concerning the objectives of the Conference.

The subject for discussion at the Conference will be divided into three main categories, namely, (i) Religious Thought as a Component of Cultural Values, (ii) Modern Socio-Economic Patterns as Affecting Cultural Values, and (iii) Cultural Values as Affecting the Evolution and Inter-relations of Cultures.

For six days there will be two sessions daily, one in the morning and one in the evening.

The morning session every day, lasting from 9 to 12, will be a symposium, two consecutive sessions being devoted to the discussion, from the various viewpoints, of each of the three categories of subjects.

The evening session, lasting from 5.30 to 8.30, will be a general session attended by a large invited audience and the general public, at which prepared addresses will be given by two participants, one representing the East, the other the West. They will each speak for forty-five minutes covering in a general way as many points in the questionnaire as they choose. These two addresses will be followed by a recess of half an hour during which the audience will have the opportunity to send in written questions. The questions will be scrutinized by the Chairman, and the speakers will be invited to answer the questions he selects. One hour will be devoted to answering questions and to the Chairman's closing observations.

The last day of the Conference will be devoted to summing up. At the morning session the participants will summarize their views on all the subjects discussed. At the evening session, which will conclude the Conference, some representative spokesmen of the participants will present a summary of the views expressed during the six-day discussions. The concluding speech of the Chairman will terminate the proceedings of the Conference.

QUESTIONNAIRE

INTRODUCTORY

1. Is there any justification for the assumption that the value judgements and affective reactions of the so-called eastern group of peoples with regard to the problems of modern life are different from those of the so-called western group? If so, what are the basic factors responsible for such variation?

2. Do you believe in fundamental differences in the mental make-up of human groups? Can these differences, if any, be removed by a change of objective conditions, such as political, social, and economic conditions? Can philosophical rethinking or psy-

chological investigation help in the reconciliation of these differences?

3. Do you agree that what is generally felt good or right by the members of one community may be regarded as bad or wrong by the members of another? Do you believe that in order to develop mutual appreciation of eastern and western "cultural values, stress should be put on the necessity of a mutual knowledge of the psychological motivations in the various cultures, so that as soon as the members of one community are aware of the psychological motivations of another they may reach a state of rationally founded toleration?

RELIGIOUS THOUGHT AS A COMPONENT OF CULTURAL VALUES

1. Do you find religious thought a component of cultural values in your society? What part does it play in meeting the basic problems of modern life?

2. Has the society in which you live any religious problems arising out of the conditions of modern life? If so, what are these problems?

3. What is the attitude of the society you live in towards its religious myths and legends? Do they in any way influence your present-day life?

4. Taking religion to be concerned with the nature of the ultimate Reality or spiritual Ground of the universe, the nature of man, and the relation between man and that Ground, and between man and man, do you think that the religious thought of the society in which you live has undergone any change, or is likely to undergo any change, as a result of:

(a) the interchange and impact of ideas between the different countries of the world; and

(b) modern scientific discoveries?

5. Do you think that the ascetic ideals of the religions of the country to which you belong--such ideals as self-denial and

abnegation, the ideal of the interior life of contemplation, the ideal of equanimity—are meaningful in any way to the individual and to society in day-to-day life?

6. Do you think that the organization of the society in which you live is governed or influenced in any way by ethics based on religious beliefs?

7. How do you think it possible to appreciate all religious faiths and yet be true to one's own?

MODERN SOCIO-ECONOMIC PATTERNS AS • AFFECTING CULTURAL VALUES

1. Do you find signs of disintegration of the ancient pattern of the social structure in your society, because of changes in objective conditions? Do you find the emergence of new patterns which advocate:

- (a) transformation of the old ones?
- (b) total rejection of the old ones and substitution by the new ones?

2. Do you find old forms of racialism and 'caste-ism' being replaced by sharply divided classes? If so, what are your reactions to such a development?

3. Are there existing social disabilities from which the members of your society suffer in practical life? If so, what would you suggest as the means to remove them?

4. Does the gradual disintegration of family life, or the modern reorientation of family life, pose any serious problem in your society? If so, how would you face the problems?

5. How far is industrialization in your country being influenced by:

- (a) individual and social attitudes towards economic progress?
- (b) attitudes towards accumulation of wealth?

6. In what manner is industrialization being accepted in your country? Do you find any characteristic difference in the manner of acceptance in the West and in the East? What effects are being produced

by industrialization on the standards of life, the ways of life, and on value-judgements?

7. Has there necessarily been any link between industrialization and urbanization in your society? What have been the effects of urbanization on the ways of life, on value-judgements, and also on family relations and family-size?

8. How far have recent plans for economic development affected:

- (a) urban-rural relationships?
- (b) industry-agriculture relationships?

9. What have been the responses of your society to innovations in general and to mechanization in particular? How far has mechanization affected the general outlook of man and his sense of values?

CULTURAL VALUES AS AFFECTING THE EVOLUTION AND INTER-RELATIONS OF CULTURES

1. What are the present-day components of cultural values and how far do these reflect the spiritual strength of the community and contribute to the solution of the basic problems of modern life?

2. To what extent is the thinking, feeling, and living of the people in the society in which you live governed by ancient traditions? Are there any ancient traditions in your culture which are no longer actively forceful, but which could be, and should be, revived?

3. Do you think that your society, as it is today, adequately expresses its own cultural heritage? If not, what steps do you think should be taken to strengthen your national culture?

4. Do you find any sharp conflict of value judgements in your art and literature? If so, do you find any dominant tendency arising out of such conflicts?

5. What is your idea of cultural unity? Should it lead to a drive towards cultural homogeneity, or to the acceptance of different cultures as individual contributions to

the cultural heritage of mankind and, as such, complementary to each other?

6. Do you think that cultural values may serve as a harmonizing medium between the incongruous and different levels of economic and technological developments on the national and international plane? Do they in any way help solve the problems of racial differences and social stratification?

7. How can a world point of view as well as regional points of view be formulated and encouraged in the development of mutual appreciation of cultural values?

CONCLUSION

It is not expected that all the speakers will arrive at a set form of conclusion; but in arriving at their own conclusions they will do well to remember the spirit which underlies UNESCO's Major Project and will be found embodied in the following extract from *Orient Occident*, Vol. I, No. 2, p.8:

'Neither Orient nor Occident represents a truly self-contained unit; the diversity of cultures existing within each is enormous; the interaction of these, in every historical period, has been multiple; their limits cannot be traced with any precision, and many peoples cannot be included in either one or the other of these cultural groupings. It is

better, therefore, to try to distinguish, within the Orient, and also perhaps within the Occident, several great areas of civilization.

'Further, to speak of Orient and Occident as if they are two entirely different worlds, separated by a clearly defined boundary is tantamount to engaging in discrimination between people, or at least to opening the door to that practice.

'Despite the foregoing, it has to be recognized that most men today regard themselves as belonging more or less exclusively to one or other of these two groups.

'It is therefore desirable that any action undertaken with the object of bringing peoples closer together should take account first of all of this opposition subjectively felt by men, while avoiding any tendency to confer on the opposition between Orient and Occident a reality which it does not possess. As in other fields, it is a question of breaking down preconceived ideas and fighting against harmful simplifications which are a contributory factor in keeping people apart. Lastly, when presenting the values of individual cultures and their relationships, it is necessary to recall that the culture of mankind, founded as it is on the diverse values of each of these, retains a profound unity.'

'There is a principle which is pure, placed in the human mind, which in different places and ages hath had different names; it is however, pure and proceeds from God. It is deep, and inward, confined to no forms of religion, nor excluded from any, where the heart stands in perfect sincerity. In whomsoever this takes root and grows, of what nation soever, they become brethren in the best sense of the expression.

UNDERSTANDING FREEDOM

W. H. DAWES

This is the last of a series of seven lectures on 'Spiritual Foundations of Western Culture' given by Miss Winifred H. Dawes at the Institute early this year, in collaboration with the Spalding Trust of Oxford, England. The lectures were designed to promote a true understanding of western culture which, widely thought of as materialistic, has roots that go deep into spiritual experience, the common heritage of mankind. These lectures have been published in the Bulletin, commencing with the March issue.

THE time has now come to recapitulate the main points of this series of lectures. We discussed scientific method in the first lecture, and noted that it was a tool of the mind only. We found that there was danger of allowing the tool to take control and condition our judgements. This can so easily impose a pattern upon reality to fit the requirements of the tool, and so limit and distort reality itself. It stifles also the potentialities and the spontaneity of our lives and tends to reduce us to uniformity in the name of unity. We noted also that, even with the utmost care and control of the evidence and the experiment to prove the findings, scientists cannot help giving some sort of anthropomorphism to the workings of nature. This is a projection of the human mind itself and it is the same process which inspires some religions Deism and Paganism, for instance. We cannot do without some substitute for metaphysics in our thinking, but modern science after the Renaissance, threw over metaphysics. We glanced at Bacon's findings in his *Novum Organum*, for this work heralds the changed view, and we found that although he himself included metaphysics, subsequent generations concentrated upon the physical half of his philosophy to the neglect of the whole.

The neglected metaphysical content of our knowing has, however, been saved by our poet-philosophers, of whom Shakespeare is one of the greatest. This concerns that part of our experience which cannot be proved by scientific method but which, nevertheless, is necessary for the right application of the scientific method, and even for the seeing of the whole truth; and that part of experience is provable in the total experience of life. The poet-philosopher in his art shows the methods, the development, and the result of the proof, and in doing so provides us with guidance in our judgements. He makes the invisible and sometimes unconscious lines of habitual communication between men clear and sane and healthy, and, incidentally, he gives us the language to express the clearer view.

A NEW VISION OF FREEDOM

The second and third lectures explained how Shakespeare does this by his clarification of the abstract qualities of judgement, honour, love, and power. We studied in some detail many of his tragedies and one comedy, and we noted the new quality of love as Christian charity which has entered into the western tradition since the last great achievement of the art of tragedy by ancient Greece, a quality which in effect transforms all the

others. In fact, it might be said to reverse the idea of the hero. No longer is the absolute ruler the ideal, nor is fame the goal of an honourable life, love, too, is no longer governed by Eros alone, and the power by which men live and judge, govern and learn, the power that is the source of all our being, is known as a power held in trust, and a trust to be returned to its source. The earthly king in his own right is no longer the hero but as 'God's spy' he commands our utmost respect and our love. He is one of ourselves. In this we are, in fact, all kings by the power of the divine love which permeates us as individual men and as brothers. The whole history of the western tradition is the complementing of this conception of divine right by the realization of divine love and divine light, something I tried to describe as 'sovereign-personality'—what has also been called 'mankind-as-a-whole', and what the Christian religion calls 'the Person of Christ'.

Plato had come very near this conception in his *Symposium* but the Greeks had not yet put it wholly into practice in life. Even Socrates, great as was his life and his sacrifice for his ideals, was inspired rather by the love of knowledge for the few than for the love that embraced all men however lowly. It is, in fact, the recognition of this new quality of charity in human affairs which has ultimately released, and is still releasing, the humble strata of society everywhere.

We discussed also the art of tragedy and saw that it is the turning point from art to action. Its theme is faith in the encounter with the deepest crisis of life and death. The catharsis, or purification of emotion, which we experience as we watch it on the stage, comes about through the breaking down of the inhibitions which we have built around ourselves in our attempt to evade these issues in real life. We are hardly to blame for so evading them for we are still young in experience. But

in this art we experience a freeing of the soul, an opening of the flood-gates, and we see where we are on life's path more clearly. We achieve a vicarious integration by means of art.

But destiny will not let us retain our benefits vicariously. It demands sooner or later that we live our lives in accord with the new vision if we are to grow spiritually. In this path one must go on or disintegrate. And so in the fourth lecture we discussed Milton and Cromwell where the passive and active facets of the communal soul of England face these issues and mould her destiny and her history. It leads to the greater realization of what freedom means. Freedom is man's greatest aspiration and yet freedom involves loss and sacrifice to retain and fulfil itself. It is this strange unearthly quality of containing the opposites and yet being free of them that marks it as a spiritual gift—or perquisite!—the Greeks were not quite sure which, unless, of course, Aeschylus told us the final view in the lost plays of his Promethean trilogy.

In England, king and country in civil war paid the price of freedom, and the people learned the new responsibilities of the gift, and gradually their conception of government and sovereignty became clarified and established in their institutions. We moved a further stage towards the greater of the arts, that of living freely as members in community: free yet belonging. This surely, by all our intuitions, is the ultimate goal of all mankind. It is the spiritual state: a community of 'sovereign-personalities'.

We have noted already that man cannot do without a symbol to express his spiritual realizations. Even abstract words came into the language by way of human symbols—the Olympic gods. To lose the personal to obtain the word is not always a gain, for we may lose some of the wholeness of the meaning on the way. This is what has happened to much of our talking and

writing. It is even the flaw in scientific method. We use *clichés* and words which have become customary sounds, and tools which have become customary habits, instead of vehicles of true meaning. We may lull ourselves to sleep, imagining that we are becoming educated, but true education consists in bringing meaning into personal experience; the personal testing which keeps it alive.

In the fifth lecture we discussed the dilemma of Faust who evades the testing. Faust is the counterpart of Hamlet. Hamlet does not evade the truth—his whole trouble is that he so earnestly seeks it. He questions and considers, but he uses the wrong methods, rational enquiry and empirical proof, and action fails. Here in Shakespeare's Hamlet we begin to realize that a true act is also spiritual. It, too, contains the opposites within itself and is free of them. Thus also does the *Bhagavad-Gītā* teach: action, but freedom from the fruit of action. Faust, on the other hand, wants the freedom and the fruits. Mephistopheles—a sort of anti-Kṛṣṇa—is his guru. He offers the sweets which, at the end, turn bitter, very bitter. It is significant that both these great works, *Hamlet* and *Faust*, are so haunting to the modern world. They represent two ways of answering the great challenge inherent in man's freedom, which is also his power of consciousness. (Did not the Greeks know it was something divine?) Both ways are inadequate. They are human ways of dealing with fire. There is only one way: the prayerful offering of freedom for a new vision. In contrast, we discussed a modern play, Christopher Fry's *The Dark Is Light Enough*, where this new-old truth seems to be realized once more in modern times, in art and language.

SERVICE THE OBJECT OF FREEDOM

In the sixth lecture we attempted to trace where true freedom has been carried out in action in the course of history, where it

has played its part in the art of living. In the lives of individuals, facing in themselves the responsibility of freedom, and in the establishment of government of the people by the people for the people, we find the development of the dignity of service. This is, in a way the equivalent of the breaking of castes which debase the man to the work. The idea of service to others raises and dignifies the work to the man. Throughout the whole of this development of service some other quality is being realized, the sovereign power of personality, which is the fulfilment of the prophecy of Christ: the meek shall inherit the earth. Even this word 'meek' has lost some of its original meaning and is often interpreted as weakness and is therefore contemptible. The meek man is he who is worthy of kingship but withholds himself. The most humble worker today is inheritor. He too realizes that this inheritance imposes the same choice upon him even as, in its descent to him, it imposed the choice upon king, aristocrat, bourgeois, and leader. The way of Faust or the way of Hamlet: the way of desire or the way of thought. Faust denies meekness utterly. Hamlet tries to come to terms with it rationally. In the end, though, we have to admit that life, growth, and being must prevail. In other words, the way of Christ and the way of the Buddha. Thus the way of meekness, as well as the status of meekness, is sovereign. Meekness is the purified imagination submitting itself to the promptings of divine will: *dharma*, it might be called. The handmaiden of the Lord listening to his still, small voice. Somehow the full realization of the practical side of this handmaiden's duties in society has not been fully perceived. My own suggestion of relating her to right convention, to 'settle' the hero, was somewhat of a pioneering effort. There was an interesting question handed up on this subject, and I shall conclude this summary by answering the question.

The question was: How far have the conceptions with regard to woman's contribution towards western culture in the past undergone a shift towards good or bad with the advent of a civilization based on industry and science? How far, as yet, have thinkers been able to arrest deterioration by washing off old conventions as outmoded?

In trying to answer this I would say that women, too, are 'uncertain people in an uncertain time'. They do not realize their true role, I feel. C. S. Lewis has described what I would call 'right convention' as 'a delicate balance of trained habits laboriously acquired and easily lost ... on the maintenance of which depend both our virtues and our pleasures and perhaps the survival of our species'. As alternatives, he adds, we are reverting to stock responses and propaganda. We may perhaps speak of 'washing off' old, bad habits, that is, of changing the stock responses, or revising the propaganda. But right convention, which decides in a given period the character we shall most admire and emulate as the example of the habits we would acquire ourselves, is not subject to the same time sequence governing new tools and new fashions which are the products of industry and applied science. Constancy is the virtue we would develop in the circumstances. This right convention belongs to the unchanging pattern of human nature. Young people lacking true guidance to inspire them today, because they imagine they can see no example to follow, are setting up examples of their own. Teddy Boys in England, Hipsters in America, Beatniks everywhere, are all attempts to be something distinctive or different. The aesthetic sense has gone awry as well as the moral one, at least, it is being tested in strange ways. Young people are setting up guys instead of heroes! But like all search for relative beauty, or even experiments with relative ugliness, these are false aims which will tire before they strike

true. Read *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (Act V. Sc. i) for Shakespeare's comments on this.

I feel that there is a lot of work necessary on this subject. For example, we need a study of the concept of 'sentiment'. True sentiment is not reprehensible, as some intellectuals allege; it is one side of our knowing. It is the basis of the romantic quest, and the strange choice of modern youth is by no means the only one which has gone astray. The romantic movement in France, as is evidenced in *Fleurs du Mal* by Baudelaire, and in *Madame Bovary* by Flaubert, leads to disillusionment and cynicism; it failed in Germany, as we saw in *Faust*. A review of Hermann Brock's *The Innocents*, which I read recently, describes this modern author as portraying 'the collective and individual indifference to suffering and evil which prepares the ground for totalitarian injustice' and shows that the same problem is still with us. Yeats also finds that 'the worst are full of passionate intensity. The best lack conviction', and gives us his new germinal idea as a sphinx with 'gaze blank and pitiless as the sun'. This indifference and pitilessness is lack of sentiment disciplined by the right example, and it allows emotion to revert to undisciplined savagery even whilst the intellect is refined to scientific disciplines. This blank unseeing sphinx-like gaze is the failure to recognize the tragic issue inherent in all life as its way of growth. Right convention canalizes emotion as empathy, to use a modern word for sentiment, that is, feeling for others as ourselves. Furthermore, to show that the subject is one of universal importance, there was, I noticed in the Calcutta press, mention of an interesting debate which had been organized by local university students on 'Civilization advances, poetry dies'. The poetry referred to is, of course, the poetry of sentiment. But Dante gave the answer long ago. Virgil, as poetry, departs at the

threshold of paradise for his own good reasons; this is in order that Beatrice, as beatitude and also as the soul of Florence, may lead Dante on to the higher and greater truth. And the poet-philosopher, Dante himself, goes all the way and fulfils the work of Virgil. 'This is the end of the romantic quest where we 'see and feel' how beautiful is truth. Our poet-philosopher Shakespeare, takes it a stage further still and recognizes that the tragic issue is one for all mankind and points the way to the unseen hero. Women today can follow on from here and confirm, strengthen the conviction, and encourage.

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS

Aristotle says that the object of tragedy is to purge pity and fear. But we find the conception of tragic terror changing from age to age. Why is it so? Why, to the Greeks, was tragic terror the recognition that 'man is a victim in some vast scheme', that he is caught in a net woven round by Fate? And why did Shakespeare see man as trapped in the meshes of character, so that he could write, 'character is destiny?' Thus, why does the conception of tragic terror change from age to age?

The second lecture was particularly related to this question. It is truer to say that Aristotle describes catharsis as a purging of the soul by the means of pity and fear. There have been only two periods of great tragedy in the world's history, ancient Greece and the first Elizabethan England. What happened between to make the difference was the life of Christ. This reversed the conception of the hero. The times, in both periods were out of joint, hence the tragic vision, but now man begins to realize that he is born to set them right. The enemy is not outside of himself, as Fate, but within himself as the flaw in character. It is the recognition of this which is the first step towards self-reliance, that is, the new vision

of humanism. Shakespeare, though, is very careful to indicate which self is the perfect one upon which to rely.

* * *

According to Shakespeare, 'character is destiny'. A fatal flaw mars the fineness of a character and brings about tragedy. For example, the hero Hamlet is above the common run of men. So, to him, the world is an 'unweeded garden'. He reflects and hesitates and is led astray by sentiment. Othello is noble, but jealous. Thus both of them meet a tragic end. Now, what is the fatal flaw in the character of Julius Caesar (the political hero) and Brutus (the hero-as-man) in the tragedy *Julius Caesar*?

Hamlet is above the common run of men. However, it is not sentiment which leads him astray but the attempt to answer spiritual matters by means of rational human thought, with the result that he acts rashly. We are right, of course, to think rationally about our own plans and schemes, but when a spiritual dilemma faces us we must decide with our will what is right, and act in faith. 'The readiness is all' makes the difference between faith and rashness, but 'readiness' here refers to the purified will, our state of being, rather than to the mind. Regarding Julius Caesar he is a Colossus, a *deus*, something far more than a political hero. He stands for universal standards in Shakespeare's play. Brutus is a hero-as-man, certainly. But what do you mean by a political hero? One who stands by a political creed or party? Both of these are man-made institutions and he who follows them, or even he who leads them, is no greater than Brutus. Julius Caesar is, perhaps, one example in drama of an ideal and, therefore, his actions are not very dramatic or intriguing. He is far more potent as spirit. He is without fear, and if he has a fault I should say he is, perhaps, without pity too, a quality which distinguishes Brutus. But the true

drama does not really get going until after Julius Caesar is murdered. It is this act which sets the human problems we watch so intently as they become unravelled. Julius Caesar, as a character in the play, is necessary to show us Brutus' lack of faith in the highest self of man as leader. In a later play, *Measure for Measure*, the absent Duke serves the same purpose as the haunting spirit of Julius Caesar. Hamlet, in contrast, lacks faith in the highest self in himself. This lack of faith, leading to rashness, is the flaw in the human character. It is somewhat the same thing as *avidhya*, ignorance, which obscures *vidhya*, knowledge. Humanism recognizes a responsibility to bring the concept to society.

Which two characters in English drama and literature of the periods covered in the lectures, might have first and second place as the nearest to the ideal personality based on spiritual strength? What would be the reasons for so placing them, and how could they be compared?

The fifth lecture dealt with this matter. The nearest ideal, I think, is the Countess in Christopher Fry's *The Dark Is Light Enough*. She possesses the strength to be the 'divine non-interference' where lives are made and unmade by her very presence. One might also say that Caesar is ideal worldly power, Prospero is ideal mind, Henry V is ideal leader of men; he becomes one with them in their experience. It is true, Henry V does throw over his youthful friend Falstaff, but that is Shakespeare's way of telling us 'away with overweight of fat and worldly materialism if you wish for kingship'. Caesar, you recall, liked plump ones around him. As regards ideals though, Shakespeare is too much of an artist to portray perfection fully. Prospero is perhaps the only exception and it is significant that he sinks his book and turns to prayer at the end.

As we saw, the real drama of Julius Caesar begins after the stage is cleared of him. Drama is the art of human action and the interest of the play is in the flaw and the effects of it. The perfect ideal is only to be expressed in terms of negation, as he who is without flaw. I am sure Shakespeare intended to indicate Christ as the perfect Person in relation to whom we are able to judge the flaws. There is really no second choice.

Is western culture, as it stands today submerged by modern scientific civilization, a different edifice, built on a separate foundation, from that of medieval times? If not, how would one justify or support such a view?

We must not forget that the word 'foundation' is used here as a metaphor. Eckhart said 'every nature emanates from its appropriate form'. Culture is the striving to find the true form in a nation. I called it 'the communal self' and I have tried to reveal Britain's communal self to you, in other words, her soul. The self does not change. A spiritual foundation is an eternal quality which we are always striving for. We find it sometimes, and then lose it and seek again to refind. But it, itself, is always the same. In one lecture I called it the star which guides our striving. In another the brick the builders throw away but which becomes the corner-stone for future building.

The difference between medieval times and modern scientific times is one of emphasis. Medieval culture was protected, and then later constricted, by the Roman Catholic version of Christianity. The Renaissance marks the individual emerging to refind the star of his being: a protest at first, and even that went too far. It became constricted in the material wealth which accrued in the new life which was released. But the same star still guides. Modern Christians who are

sincere take their authority from principle rather than from a canon of dogmas. But dogmas also have their part in helping us to refine the principle. Principles are spiritual. They may be lost sight of, but they are never submerged. A spiritual foundation is one of those things which 'flow forth finite into time whilst abiding in eternity'. Our modern versions of culture, although so often clouded by the tools of science, still flow from the same spiritual source. It is deeper perhaps in the earth. This also is the way the spirit incarnates. The end of the process was prophesied when every particle of material would be proved to be of the spirit.

I feel, myself, that the Reformation (Protestant, if you like to call it so) was a necessary phase of Christianity, correcting excesses. The same principle as of government and opposition operating in the field of religious dogma. This has been instituted quite legitimately and happily in our Parliament of State in Britain. We need to get the same idea into a parliament of religions perhaps. But the Person of Christ still abides as the corrective of all excesses; He who descended into the tomb, into the very material earth, and rose again. The descent of spirit into matter in the human state is the theme of the art of tragedy, as I have tried to explore.

* * *

Are there any contributions from modern English drama or other representative literature portraying the spiritual foundations of western culture as it stands today?

The contributions from modern English literature have been touched upon in the review of Christopher Fry's play. Other examples are *Murder in the Cathedral*, *Family Reunion*, and *The Cocktail Party*, by T. S. Eliot. All are related to the spiritual foundations of western culture today.

* * *

Is there any eastern writer in English,

in modern times, who can be considered to have entered the field of English representative literature, whose work is very widely read, and who has influenced 'world culture' today with musings of the spirit?

Unfortunately I do not know enough about eastern writers to give a comprehensive answer. But Rabindranath Tagore is certainly one who is read in the West. Whether he has greatly influenced 'world culture' with musings of the spirit, future generations will be better able to judge. A lecture by Richard Church at this Institute on 'Tagore and Society' gave a very comprehensive answer to this question as far as it is possible to judge today.

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The Scriptures say of human beings that there is an outward man and along with him an inner man.

To the outward man belong those things that depend on the soul, but are connected with the flesh and are blended with it, and the co-operative functions of the several members, such as the eye, the ear, the tongue, the hand and so on. The Scripture speaks of all this as the old man, the earthy man, the outward person, the enemy, the servant.

Within us all is the other person, the inner man, whom the Scripture calls the new man, the heavenly man, the young person, the friend, the aristocrat.

ECKHART

My daughter, build yourself two cells. First a real cell, so that you do not run about much and talk, unless it is needful, or you can do it out of love for your neighbour. Next build yourself a spiritual cell, which you can always take with you, and that is the cell of true self-knowledge; you will find there the knowledge of God's goodness to you. Here there are really two cells in one, and if you live in one you must also live in the other; otherwise the soul will either despair or be presumptuous. If you dwelt in self-knowledge alone, you would despair; if you dwelt in the knowledge of God alone, you would be tempted to presumption. One must go with the other, and thus you will reach perfection.

ST. CATHERINE OF SIENA

THE LIBERAL MIND OF THE BUDDHIST EMPEROR ASOKA

RADHAGOVINDA BASAK, M.A., Ph.D.

Dr. Radhagovinda Basak is a well-known Sanskrit scholar and historian. Among his publications are a Bengali translation of Kautilya's Arthashastra, a treatise entitled Asokan Inscriptions, and a treatise on Pravarasena's Setubandha. The lecture, printed below, was given by Dr. Basak at the Institute on 25 February.

BUDDHISM is based on ethical principles. It teaches people to cultivate the noble sentiments of friendship, compassion, joyousness, extensive liberality, detachment from worldly attractions, the sacrifice of selfish interests, and a life of austerities. Following these principles, the Buddhist Emperor Aśoka seems to have been 'good in conduct, wise, and virtuous', in accordance with the teaching of the *Dhammapada* (VI.9) which says: 'If, for his own sake or for the sake of others, a man wishes neither for a son, nor for wealth, nor for sovereignty, and if, also, he does not wish for his own prosperity by unfair means, then that man is sure to be good in conduct, wise, and virtuous.'

Aśoka was a great benefactor, especially to the members of the Buddhist Congregation (Saṅgha) on whom he lavished his wealth after having abandoned all attachment towards everything he possessed, namely, his men, money, and monarchy. In many of his edicts engraved on rocks and pillars Aśoka applauded the virtue of liberality towards Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas. It is quite believable that during the last illness of the Emperor there was a total depletion of the royal coffers due to his excessive gifts to Buddhist monks and Buddhist institutions in India.

I shall illustrate this particular virtue of liberality in Aśoka's character by relating the whole story of his noble deeds as we

read about them in the ancient Buddhist Sanskrit treatise, the *Divyāvadāna*, which contains among other matters a section (No. 29) called *Aśokāvadāna* which has till now remained, so far as I know, untranslated into the English language. The following is my own translation of the whole of the *Aśokāvadāna*:

While King Aśoka's faith in the Lord's teaching was established (fully) by making a gift of the half of an *āmalaka* (a fruit, the emblic myrobalan), he addressed the monks asking, 'By whom have abundant gifts been given for (the propagation of) the teachings of the Lord?' The monks replied, 'By the householder, Anāthapiṇḍada'. The King asked, 'How much has been given by him for (the propagation of) the teachings of the Lord?' The monks said, 'A gift of one hundred *koṭis* of (gold) coins was given by him for the teaching-service of the Lord'. Hearing this the King thought, 'He who is (only) a householder has given a gift of one hundred *koṭis* of gold pieces for the Lord's teaching-service'. He said, 'I, too, shall give a gift of one hundred *koṭis* of gold pieces for the teaching-service of the Lord'.

When Aśoka erected eighty-four thousand *dharmarajikās* (*stūpas*) he gave away one hundred-thousand pieces (of gold). At the places of (the Lord's) birth (the garden or village of Lumbinī), of his enlightenment

(Gayā), of his turning of the wheel of Dharma (Mṛgadāva in Varānaśi), and of his attainment of *parinirvāṇa* (at Kuśīnagara)—in each of these places one hundred-thousand pieces of gold were given away: (this gift) to recur every five years. Out of these four hundred-thousand pieces given, three hundred-thousand were meant for the feeding of the *bhikṣus* (monks) thus: one (hundred-thousand pieces) for the Arhans and two (hundred-thousand pieces) for the *Saikṣas* (novices), and also for meritorious works for the people in general. Offering this treasure and making a gift of 'the great land' (i.e. his own vast dominion), of the ladies in the harem, of the multitude of ministers, of his own self, and of his (son), Kuṇāla, to the (Buddhist) Congregation or Assembly of Āryas, he redeemed them (all) by paying a price of four hundred-thousand gold pieces. (In this way) a gift of ninety-six *koṭis* (of gold pieces) was given by him in the Lord's service.

Meanwhile he (the King) fell ill. The King then felt afflicted by the thought that he might not live (much longer). He had a minister, Rādhagupta by name. He and the King (in early life) threw dust (on each other) (i.e. they were playmates in boyhood). When Rādhagupta saw King Aśoka thus afflicted, he fell at his feet and addressed him with folded palms: 'O King, for what reason does your face appear bedewed with tears—the face which has fully drunk (i.e. has been endowed with) the manifold beauty of hundreds of lotuses, and which, possessing (power like) the glare of a hot sun, could not be gazed at by strong multitudes of your enemies approaching (towards you) at once?' (Verse 1)

The King said, 'Rādhagupta, I do not feel sorry for any loss of my wealth (or property), of my own kingdom, nor for my separation from my house. But I feel sad because I shall have to be separated from the Āryas (i.e. the Buddhists). Again; my

shedding of tears is due to my thought that I shall not (be able to) worship personally the Saṅgha which is endowed with all virtues and revered by men and gods, by supporting the same with excellent food and drink. (Verse 2) And, moreover, O Rādhagupta, this was my wish that I would make a gift of a hundred *koṭis* (of gold pieces) in the service of the Lord. That desire of mine has not been fulfilled.' Then King Aśoka began to send to Kukkuṭārāma (monastery) four *koṭis* of gold coins for the fulfilment of his desire.

At the time, Kuṇāla's son, Saṃpadi by name, was enjoying the rank of Crown prince. His ministers said, 'Prince, King Aśoka will (only) live for a short while. This wealth is being sent to Kukkuṭārāma. Kings (as you know) are strong (only) by possession of treasures. (This King) must be interdicted'. Immediately the (royal) treasurer was forbidden by the prince. So long as it (such expense) was not prevented, King Aśoka's meal had been served on a golden plate. After finishing his meal the King used to send the golden plate to Kukkuṭārāma, (but the) use by him of a golden plate was now banned. (Then) his meal was supplied on a silver plate, and those plates also he sent to Kukkuṭārāma. Then the use of silver plates was stopped. And when his meal was served on iron plates, those also King Aśoka sent to Kukkuṭārāma. Then his meal was presented on earthen plates. At that time there remained in the hand of King Aśoka half of an *āmaḷaka*.

Then King Aśoka, in anxiety, having called together the ministers, and the citizens asked them, 'Who is now the sovereign of the land?' Then the minister (Rādhagupta?) rose up from his seat and, having approached towards the King, said to him, after bowing with folded hands, 'Your Majesty is the sovereign of the land'. Then King Aśoka with his eyes and face wet with flooding tears spoke to the ministers,

'Why, are you speaking an untrue thing, out of courtesy (or kindness)? We are deprived of our lord-paramountcy. But the residue of half an *āmalaka* yet remains, and my ownership lies only in this thing. Fie on sovereignty which is ignoble and which can compare itself with the cataract of the water of a turbulent river! A terrible poverty has caught hold of me, the King of men'. (Verse 3) The King continued, 'Or, who can alter the words of the Lord? That "all prosperity ends in adversity" has been declared by the truth-telling Gautama, and this can never prove false'.

As whatever order (is passed) by me, that is without delay revoked by my mind, that (order) is turned away nowadays like a river obstructed by the rock-slab of a great mountain. (Verse 4) 'Having had unrivalled command over the land, with its affrays and revolts crushed, and having uprooted haughty multitudes of enemies, and also having given comfort to the poor and the afflicted, the miserable King Aśoka does not at present shine, with his residence lost, like the Aśoka tree drying up with its leaves and flowers shrivelled and quite withered and fallen.' (Verse 5) •

Then King Aśoka spoke to an officer, who came near, in these words, 'Gentle sir, would you please do a last act on behalf of myself, one who has lost his sovereign power on account of his attachment to his previous characteristics? Please take this half of an *āmalaka*, go to the Kukkuṭārāma monastery, and give it to the Congregation. You should, after worshipping the feet of (the members of) the Congregation, tell them in my own words, "This thing (only) is the treasure now of the King whose sovereignty prevails over Jambudvīpa. This (my) last gift is to be so distributed (for food) that my donation made for the Saṅgha may be participated in (by all)".' He also added, 'On this day, this is my last gift. My sovereignty and this (donation) have attained their

(innate) disposition (or end). For myself, bereft of health, physician, and medicine, there is no protector outside the multitude of the Āryas. (Verse 6) Because this gift is my last one, you please partake of this in such a manner that the donation made to the Congregation may today be spread out (among all its members)'. (Verse 7)

That (royal) servant promising King Aśoka by saying, 'So be it, your Majesty', proceeded to Kukkuṭārāma, taking the half of the *āmalaka*. Arriving before the elders, he gave them the half of the *āmalaka* and, with folded palms, addressed them, 'The King who, having ruled over the land, having been endowed with the height of unrivalled supremacy, and having tormented the people like the sun when it has reached its midday height, is at present deprived of his own (good) deeds. He realizes the loopholes of destiny and stands forlorn of his majestic power like the sun when the day wanes. (Verse 8) By him has this half of an *āmalaka* been given to the Congregation, after greeting the members of it with his head bent low in devotion, as a mark of the unsteadiness of (royal) fortune'.

• Then the Elder of the Saṅgha addressed the monks, saying, 'O venerable ones, now you may demonstrate your perturbation. Because thus it has been declared by the Lord, "The adversity of others is a matter of (deep) perturbation". (In such a situation) what good-natured man is not disturbed? And the reason? This most liberal and great Maurya King, Aśoka, is now reduced to the position of owning only half an *āmalaka*, though he is the sovereign of Jambudvīpa. (Verse 9) This lord of the earth being deprived of his (kingly) office by his servants (officers), gives truly (sincerely) this half an *āmalaka*, disregarding the state of mind of ordinary people who are proud on account of their passion for a sufficiency of the enjoyments of fortune'. (Verse 10)

Meanwhile the half *āmalaka* was pounded to powder and mixed up with the soup and served to the^f (monks of the) Saṅgha.

Then King Aśoka asked Rādhagupta, 'Tell me, Rādhagupta, who is at present sovereign of the land?' Then Rādhagupta fell at the feet of Aśoka and said to him with folded palms, 'Your Majesty is the sovereign of the land'. Then King Aśoka, raising himself up a little and looking on all the four quarters and folding his palms (in salutation) towards the Saṅgha, said, 'Now I, offering a large treasure, am offering a gift of the whole of the land up to its sea (boundaries) to the community of the disciples of the Lord'. And he also said, 'To the Saṅgha I give this land with the Mandara mountain—the earth which wears the blue cloak of the greatest oceans, and whose face is decorated with the mines of many a jewel. For this (act of making a gift) the fruits will be enjoyed (by me). (Verse 11) Moreover, this gift (does not signify that) I long for the abode of Indra (i.e. heaven), or the fruit (of possession) of the world of Brahmā. I have already given up the desire to have a royal fortune which is as fickle as a current of rapid-flowing water. But on account of the fruits of this gift which have accrued to me who am great in devotion, I shall acquire lordship over my (own) mind, which is (so much) valued by the Āryas and which never suffers change or reverse'. (Verse 12)

By this time (the gift) had been put in written form (document) and sealed with an ivory seal. Then the King, after giving away 'the great land' to the Saṅgha, passed away (to eternity). When the ministers bore away (the body) in a blue and yellow litter (or bier) and worshipped his body with the intent of laying it down (for cremation), Rādhagupta said, 'King Aśoka made a gift of "the great land" to the Congregation'. Then the ministers enquired, 'Why so?' Rādhagupta replied, 'A desire arose in the mind of King Aśoka, namely, "I shall

give a gift of one hundred *koṭis* (of gold pieces) in the service of the Lord". When ninety-six *koṭis* had been given by him, the Queen intercepted the act (of giving). In fulfilment of his purpose the King made a gift of 'the great land'. The ministers, by giving the remaining four *koṭis* in the service of the Lord, redeigned 'the great land' and established Saṃpadi on the throne. Bṛhaspati was the son of Saṃpadi, and Vṛṣasena was Bṛhaspati's son; Puṣyadharman was Vṛṣasena's son and Puṣyamitra was Puṣyadharman's son.

He (Saṃpadi) sent for the ministers (and said), 'What may be the way by which our name (renown) may last long?' They replied, 'There was the King named Aśoka who was born in your Majesty's family. By him were established eighty-four thousand *stūpas* (*dharma-rājikās*). As long as the Lord's teaching will prevail, so long his fame will last. Your Majesty also should construct eighty-four thousand *dharma-rājikās*'. The King said, 'King Aśoka was highly powerful. Is there any other way (for fame to last long)?' His Brāhmaṇa priest was an ordinary man, not faithful (i.e. not believing in Buddhism). He said, 'Your Majesty, name (fame) will last for (these) two reasons'.

Meanwhile, King Puṣyamitra, by equipping his army of fourfold troupes, proceeded towards the Kukkuṭārāma (monastery) with the purpose of destroying the religious teaching of the Lord. At its door a lion's roar (war-cry) was raised (by the monks?). Then the King being afraid entered Pataliputra. This happened twice and thrice. Then calling for the *bhikṣus* (monks) and the Congregation, he said, 'I shall destroy the Lord's teaching. Do you wish to have *stūpas* and monasteries?' The *bhikṣus* accepted (the offer). Then Puṣyamitra, having (destroyed) the monasteries and killed the *bhikṣus*, went away. He reached the Śākala country. By him it was said, 'Whoever will

bring me the head of a (Buddhist) *Śramaṇa* will be given by me a hundred pieces of *dīnāra* (gold) coins'. Then they (the people) began to offer such heads on account of the idea of *dharmarājikās* being beyond the pale (of the King's favour). Hearing this the King began the slaughter of the Arhats. (But) he attained destruction of consciousness. His attack on others did not succeed. Leaving aside his effort (to do evil) he entered into a place of concealment. There (in the place called) *Duṣṣṭrā* a *Yakṣa* lived and (he) thought, 'This teaching of the Lord will be lost. I have (myself) entered into the discipline (i.e. the condition of a novice in Buddhism). I cannot do any evil or unpleasant deed to anyone'.

The *Yakṣa's* daughter was asked (for in marriage) by the *Yakṣa* *Kṛmiśa*. But he (the former) did not give her (to the latter) because he was an evil-doer. Later, however, this daughter was given by him to *Kṛmiśa* for the protection of the teaching of the Lord and for the security (to take care) of the property (i.e. the *stūpas* and the monasteries given in the Lord's honour).

The great *Yakṣa* applied himself to following King Puṣyamitra. The King (however) could not be killed on account of his power. Then the *Duṣṣṭrānivasī Yakṣa* caught hold of the other *Yakṣa* (his son-in-law) who had been following King Puṣyamitra (for the latter's) protection, and went away to a mountain. He (then) went in a southerly direction. The *Yakṣa* *Kṛmiśa* then brought a big mountain and with it obstructed King Puṣyamitra who was accompanied by all his army and conveyances. His designation of *muniḥata* (i.e. one who killed the ascetics) was established. The Maurya lineage came to an end when King Puṣyamitra was killed.

As you have observed from the above translation of the *Aśokāvadāna*, there are certain references to matters concerning politics and the persecution of the monks after the Emperor's death. These may form topics for historians to deal with and I have refrained from any discussion of them. Only this is evident that the *Dīvyāvadāna* was composed after the end of Puṣyamitra's reign.

☉ Friend, hope for Him whilst you live, know whilst you live, understand whilst you live; for in life deliverance abides. •

If your bonds be not broken whilst living, what hope of deliverance in death?

It is but an empty dream that the soul shall have union with Him because it has passed from the body;

If He is found now, He is found then;

If not, we do but go to dwell in the City of Death.

BOOK REVIEWS

EDUCATION AND THE AIM OF HUMAN LIFE. By Pavitra (P. B. Saint-Hilaire). (Sri Aurobindo International Centre of Education, Pondicherry. 1961. 85 pp. Price not stated.)

This booklet is designed to serve as a 'bridge-book' between Sri Aurobindo's educational thought and the lay mind. It can claim to be an authorized compendium of Sri Aurobindo's views on education as developed in his writings.

In the early sections of the book, which are original, the writer tries to discover what is wrong with the present-day education, and why. In his view modern education has gone wrong in caring too much for society and too little for the individual: 'collective' education has been emphasized to the detriment of 'individual' education, and so of education as a whole. Again, our education is bad because our society is degenerate, the two being indissolubly bound together. The concept of Progress, which has become the main drive of the world today, ignores the subtler aspirations of man. Our society is competitive: it measures success in terms of wealth. Education in such a social setting is necessarily a race for diplomas, obtained by whatever means, followed by an elbowing for jobs in which success condones the means, however devious. Education can be reformed only when a change for the better has begun in society, or at least the need for a better education has come to be felt.

It cannot be said yet that we have reached this point. The concept of Progress which dominates the world today stood, at its inception in the seventeenth century, for emancipation from tradition, convention, and prejudice. Supported by a simultaneous development of theoretical and applied science, it seemed to herald a new dawn. Human per-

fectability became an axiom; political equality seemed to be secured by a series of revolutions, and material prosperity by the harnessing of the forces of nature in the service of man.

It was to be discovered presently, however, that all this had been achieved at a heavy cost. Capitalism came in the wake of the Industrial Revolution and brought with it conflict between labour and capital, and class-hatred. The eighteenth-century hope that science as a pursuit of truth would ensure moral progress, that knowing more, man would be wiser and more just, was cruelly belied. Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity became empty words, and there was a drift towards authoritarianism. Science refusing to recognize any source of knowledge other than the senses, and making compatibility with known facts and utility in production its criteria, has virtually abjured truth. By this fall from its *dharmā* it has ceased to be of help to man in his spiritual quest. Progress has proved a mirage.

This is notwithstanding what has been achieved by social and political reform. America has produced a civilization of plenty, but is yet bored; and Russia, in demonstrating the tremendous power of concerted effort in the achievement of material ends, has had to 'give the go-by' to spiritual values. The ideal of a 'Welfare State' seems to be losing its inspiring power.

Not that humanity has abandoned itself to despair. The new Prospective Movement in Europe which thinks it a mistake to seek to understand the present by the past, and sees the ridiculousness of 'entering the future by moving backwards', is not without a certain premise. It tries to realize that man lives in a world of constant rejuvenation, and tries to penetrate into the countless possibilities contained in the future in order

to shape the present. It is too early to predict what success the new movement will have. Meanwhile humanity continues to be confronted with a crisis.

Many regard the present crisis as the last convulsion of a dying civilization. Sri Aurobindo views it as the birth-pang of a new order. Time, in his view, is ripe for an imminent 'mutation' of the human species.

The writer of this review believes that India will have an important part to play in this new birth. Hinduism is not a closed religion, in that it has been re-writing the eternal *dharma* continually to meet the changing needs of man. As late as yesterday Ramakrishna enriched the spiritual heritage of India by demonstrating the unity of all religions. Aurobindo has visualized a world in which man, with his highest aspirations fulfilled, will move on to an unimaginably wonderful future.

That a new education is called for at this juncture is self-evident. Sri Aurobindo has expounded the principles of this education, and its procedure is being tried out at the Sri Aurobindo International Centre of Education at Pondicherry, under the direction of the Mother.

There has been a great volume of research work done in education in recent years in the West, and many new methods of education have been devised and are being tried out. But they are insufficient in that they do not solve the opposition between the individual and society, in not viewing both child and society as evolving soul-entities moving towards a fuller manifestation of the Divine in this world. None has tackled the problem of education in its integrality.

It has been the preoccupation of Sri Aurobindo to show that society and the individual grow in and through one another. Within this general harmony, teaching will be showing the child how to learn according to its own powers, by discovering: teaching is setting the child on the road to discovery.

Hammering the child into the shape desired by the teacher or parent is a barbarous and ignorant superstition. It is a selfish tyranny over a human soul and a wound to the nation. The teacher is not one who knows and gives knowledge, but a friend and helper to whom the children come gladly and confidently in case of difficulty, and who suggests rather than imposes. The child is a soul whom the teacher's soul must meet and help to come forward, to master its instruments, gain experience, and grow and, eventually, to manifest the powers inherent in it.

The Integral Education of Sri Aurobindo takes into account the entire complexity of man's nature. Education, to be complete, must be fivefold in relation to the five principal activities of the human being: the physical, the vital, the mental, the psychic and the spiritual. Whatever type of body a man may have, by accepting it as a starting point, he must by concentrated effort and appropriate training develop the possibilities it contains and make it into a fit instrument for as perfect a life as possible. Vital education will train the desires, sensations, feelings, passions, the energies of action, the will of desire, the reactions of the desire-soul in man, and all that play of possessive and other related instincts, such as anger, fear, greed, lust, that belong to this field of nature. The organization and training of this complex of forces is of the utmost importance for the building up of character. There is another part to it: the training of the aesthetic being, beginning with the education of the senses. In mental education the greatest mistake is to make an accumulation of factual knowledge. This error distorts the whole process of education. The all-important thing is assimilation of knowledge resulting in culture. Psychic education should help the discovery of the soul, the real man within, through personal effort and aspiration; seeking in oneself that which is independent of the body

and of the circumstances of life. The discovery of that in the depth of one's being which carries with it the sense of universality, limitless expansion, timeless continuity; to spread out and live in everything and in all beings this leads to the supreme liberation.

The final step is spiritual education. In psychic education we are still within the world of forms, though time may be endless, space limitless. But in the next stage we are beyond time and space, and are one with the Eternal through self-surrender.

This is progress from below upwards. There is yet another kind of education, progressing from above downwards—from the spirit to the body. By this twofold movement a new ascent of the species above and beyond man will be secured and lead finally to the appearance of the divine race upon earth.

The Sri Aurobindo International Centre of Education is tentatively trying to translate this educational ideal into practice, but does not in any way claim to have realized it.

Except for a feeling that the author makes too large a use of quotations from Sri Aurobindo and the Mother in his account of Integral Education, there is nothing to urge against this admirable little book on a great subject. Its clarity of thought and expression will commend it to all who seek an introduction to Sri Aurobindo's philosophy of education.

S. N. ROY

THE QUINTESSENCE OF VEDANTA. A translation of the *Sarva-vedānta-siddhānta-sārasaṅgraha* of Śaṅkarācārya by Swami Tattwananda. Edited by Prof. V. A. Thiagarajan, M.A. (Sri Ramakrishna Advaita Ashrama, Kerala. 1960. 191 pp. Rs. 3.50.)

This is a very refreshing and stimulating book, modestly produced. Śaṅkarācārya is the most dominating spiritual and religious

figure in India. He had an intellect as clear and powerful, as relentless and overpowering, as the meridian sun, he searched and expounded the vast and endless *sāstras* of India. He gave a perspective and synthesis to Indian philosophy and an exposition of the spiritual sciences of India which have no parallel. He himself was a prolific writer. No branch of philosophy, religion, and spiritual experience escaped his vision and his pen. No man left a richer and more bountiful intellectual and spiritual legacy, whose fragrant influence still remains undimmed across the centuries of vast historic upheaval.

Naturally, a good deal has been written about Śaṅkarācārya and his many works. This book does not pretend to present anything new but it serves the most useful purpose of presenting, in an admirably impressive way and within a surprisingly short compass, the quintessence of Śaṅkarācārya's Vedānta philosophy. The original text is given and the English rendering follows the original text. The translation, though not literal, is excellent and successfully brings out the idea of the text. The reader will find the book interesting and rewarding in every sense. The sub-headings and titles grouping the relative verses under their respective themes make the book readable from any portion on any theme. This is a great advantage when the subjects dealt with in the book cover the whole cosmology, including the nature of Ātman or Self, *māyā*, *karma*, the physical and mental disciplines of *yoga*, the nature of mind and knowledge, liberation, and salvation.

To the busy man of today this book brings to his doorstep a glimpse, and the inspiration, of the magnificent philosophy and spiritual aspiration of Śaṅkarācārya, the crowning glory of India's deathless heritage of thought on the nature and destiny of man.

P. B. MUKHARJEE

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

Dutch Oriental Studies

The whole of South-East Asia is increasingly becoming an area of international interest as a field for oriental studies. Foremost among the orientalist in this area are the Dutch. In the eighteenth century the oldest oriental society in the Netherlands was founded in The Hague, the Royal Institute of Philology, Geography, and Ethnology.

One aspect of the Institute's work is closely associated with the fact that outside a limited area, comprising about twelve million people, the Dutch language is hardly known. In view of this the Netherlands Government has developed a twofold plan designed to enable Dutch oriental studies to secure wider circulation by means of translations into English. The aim is to provide people abroad with a survey of the material available by publishing a series of carefully-planned bibliographies covering a number of subjects in the field of Indonesian Humanities. This will at the same time draw international attention to the great Dutch libraries of oriental studies, like those of the Royal Institute at The Hague, the library of the former Ministry of Overseas Affairs, the library of the University of Leyden, and the collection at the Royal Tropical Institute.

The Royal Tropical Institute at Amsterdam, founded fifty-one years ago, is a world centre for research and information connected with tropical and sub-tropical countries. It has three scientific departments: the Department of Tropical Products, the Department of Cultural and Physical Anthropology, and the Department of Tropical Hygiene and Geographic Pathology. In addition, it has a Department of General Affairs. There is also a museum. In the Department of Tropical Products there is a documentation bureau which carries out, in addition to other work, surveys of literature dealing with eco-

nomie and agricultural development in tropical and sub-tropical areas. There is a soils laboratory where, since 1952, samples of soil from forty-two tropical countries have been received for analyses. There is also a chemical, biological, and technological laboratory dealing with plants, seeds, crops, insects, timbers, etc., and with such problems as suitable packaging for the tropics.

The Department of General Affairs provides a central library (which includes a room set aside for United Nations publications), general information and public relations concerning the Institute, courses for people going abroad, translations into and from most oriental languages, lectures, and educational activities, and a photographic bureau with a vast store of photographs, lantern slides, and films on tropical countries and related subjects.

The World Council of Churches

At a recent Conference in Berlin delegates from thirty countries met to discuss the World Council of Churches aid programme in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The possibility of co-operation with the Eastern Orthodox Churches in Turkey, Greece, and Yugoslavia, as well as with the Coptic Churches in Egypt and Ethiopia, was also discussed. Dr. Leslie E. Cooke, Head of the Inter-denominational Aid and Refugee Service of the World Council of Churches, announced that as a step towards raising the economic standard in the development areas, the Council would in future give scholarships to students of technology, and not to students of theology only, as hitherto. A report read at the Conference revealed that in 1956 forty-five camps run by the Ecumenical Youth Service were established in twenty-six countries, and were being extensively used by local youth.

The delegate of the African Conference of

Churches, Sir Francis Ibiem from Nigeria, looked forward to the day when the African Churches could take an active part in the community of all Churches of the world. Rev. John Thetkyi of the Burmese Church Council expressed his country's gratitude for help received.

Education through Art

'Man and Art --East and West' was the theme of the third General Assembly of the International Society for Education through Art, held recently in Manila, in the Philippines. The meeting was organized by the Philippines National Commission for UNESCO, with the idea of providing educators from Orient and Occident with an opportunity of exchanging views on education through art in school and society.

The three hundred delegates recommended that while this branch of education should draw inspiration from the indigenous culture of each country, frequent exchanges of exhibitions, book lists, films, and slides were important in broadening aesthetic sensitivity. They also stressed that art teachers should be trained in knowledge of the psychological and aesthetic development of children.

The Birth-place of Zoroaster

The German Archaeological Institute in Istanbul, under the leadership of Professor Rudolf Naumann, has recently made some interesting discoveries in Persian Azerbaijan, about 250 miles north-west of Teheran. These may well lead to new information about Zoroaster, the founder of the ancient national religion of Iran. Excavations carried out by the Institute have brought to light a number of buildings, including many temples and places of worship, distributed about halfway up a mountain. These buildings date from the ninth to the sixth centuries B.C., after which time they were apparently used as simple dwellings. Many of the finds seem to support the tradi-

tional belief that this region of Azerbaijan is where Zoroaster was born in about 630 B.C.

International Book Fair

An important annual exhibition of books, the International Book Fair, will be held in Frankfurt, West Germany, from 17 to 23 October. Some two thousand leading publishers of the world are expected to participate. The Director, Publications Division of the Government of India, will represent India's book industry.

This year the Fair has a special significance for India as the Vice-President, Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, will receive the Peace Prize Award of the German Book Trade.

Books for Asia and Africa

A 'People-to-People' book collection has been organized in Chicago for the purpose of sending suitable books to the nations that need them. Volunteers have conducted the project through private and public agencies. Members of a labour union contributed \$1,000 for driving trucks to collect and haul the books. They also drove the trucks without pay. 300,000 books, destined for new nations in Asia and Africa, have been collected. The subject matter ranges from applied science to modern fiction and law. Commercial firms and private individuals donated the volumes. The campaign will be later extended to Los Angeles and Cleveland.

Industrial Enterprise

Since 1952 the Volkswagen (motor car) factory in Wolfsburg, West Germany, has been holding a series of art exhibitions regularly. The most recent exhibition was of French painting from Delacroix to Picasso, composed of works on loan from forty museums and twenty-five private collectors in twelve different countries, particularly the U.S.A. and Canada.

INSTITUTE NEWS

Formal Opening of the New Building

Since 1960 the Institute's new building has been in full use with the exception of the section which contains the auditorium, reception and meeting rooms, the universal meditation hall, and offices. By November this year the remaining work will be completed and, on 1 November, the new building will be formally opened.

Sri Jawaharlal Nehru has kindly consented to perform the opening ceremony. On this occasion the Institute will have an opportunity to introduce the Prime Minister to the expanding work of the Institute made possible by the new building.

Sri Nehru has also agreed to inaugurate on the same day the East-West Cultural Conference, information about which follows.

Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, the President of the Institute, will preside over both functions.

East-West Cultural Conference

In this issue of the *Bulletin* readers will find an article entitled 'Reactions of Peoples of East and West to the Problems of Modern Life'. This article consists of the Basic Document of the East-West Cultural Conference, and is an introduction to the aims and aspirations of the Conference which the Institute is preparing to hold from 1 to 9 November, in collaboration with UNESCO. The Conference is a contribution to UNESCO's Major Project on the Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values.

The Basic Document has been sent to all invited participants and observers. It is planned that the answers to the questionnaire in the Basic Document, and the addresses to be delivered at the Conference, by the participants, will appear in printed form.

Those who have so far agreed to attend

the Conference as participants are the following: from Germany, Professor Dr. Gustav Mensching of Bad Godesberg, Mosenstrasse. His two books, *Tolerance and Truth in Religion*, published by Quelle and Meyer, Heidelberg, in 1955, and *The Sons of God*, which contains chapters on Sri Ramakrishna and Swami Vivekananda, published by Kurt Desch, Munich, in 1958, have had a wide circulation in Germany. From America, Professor E. Adamson Hoebel, Head of the Department of Anthropology at the University of Minnesota. He has been President of the American Anthropological Association and Director of the Social Science Research Council, and a Member of the Advisory Panel on Social Science Research of the National Science Foundation. From Canada, Professor J. F. Leddy, Vice-President (Academic) and Dean of Arts and Science at the University of Saskatchewan. From Britain, Professor E. W. F. Tomlin, at present Visiting Professor of Philosophy at Chicago and other American Universities. From India, Professor Radhakamal Mukherjee, formerly Vice-Chancellor of Lucknow University and now Director of the J. K. Institute of Sociology, Lucknow; Professor T. M. P. Mahadevan, Professor of Philosophy at Madras University; and Dr. R. C. Majumdar of Calcutta, formerly Vice-Chancellor of Dacca University.

Dr. C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar has consented to be the Chairman of the Conference.

School of Humanistic Studies

Dr. Helmut G. Callis, B.A., M.A., Dipl.Ec., Ph.D., and Mrs. Maud Callis, B.A., Cand.med., M.A., Ph.D., made a short visit to the Institute in July to discuss the Institute's plans for its School of Humanistic Studies. Dr. Callis has been assigned to the Institute by the United States' Educational Founda-

tion as a Fulbright Professor for the academic year 1961-62.

Reception to Hindu Religious Endowments Commission

On 17 July a Reception was held in the Institute in honour of the Chairman, Dr. C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar, and the members of the Hindu Religious Endowments Commission.

Among those who attended the Reception in addition to the members of the Commission were the following:

Dr. Kalidas Nag; Hon. Mr. Justice K. C. Sen; Dr. R. C. Majumdar; Sri Sankar Saran; Dr. Pratima Bose; Dr. Hira Lal Chopra; Swami Lokeshwarananda; Dr. S. C. Chatterji; and Sri B. S. Kesavan.

Following the Reception, at 5 p.m. Dr. Aiyar addressed a meeting on 'The Function of Religious Centres in the Life of India'. In his talk Dr. Aiyar described the work of the Commission, and went on to suggest that temples and maths, founded centuries ago to provide spiritual training and to function as centres of comprehensive learning, could today play a vital role in shaping the country's moral structure. For this, Dr. Aiyar recommended that an improvement in the management of temples was necessary.

Swami Vivekananda Centenary

On Sunday, 9 July, a public meeting was held at the Institute to consider plans for the celebration of the birth centenary of Swami Vivekananda in 1963. Dr. S. K. Chatterjee, Emeritus Professor of Linguistics and Comparative Philology, Calcutta University, and Chairman of the West Bengal Legislative Council, presided at the meeting. Among those who spoke were the following:

Dr. R. C. Majumdar; Dr. Kalidas Nag; Sri Saila Kumar Mukherjee; and Swami Sambuddhananda.

The meeting appointed a working committee and an executive committee. A

general committee, with international membership, has also been formed.

Special Meeting

On 21 June a talk in Bengali on '*Gitar-Bani*' was given by Dr. Mrs. Sobharani Basu, M.A., D.Litt., at the Institute to a large audience.

Dr. Basu is lecturer in Philosophy and Sanskrit at Banaras Hindu University, and is the wife of Professor Arabinda Basu, Spalding Lecturer at Durham University, England.

Recital

On 22 June a swarode recital was given at the Institute by Ustad Umar Khan. He is the son of the late Ustad Sakhawat Husain Khan and represents one of the oldest *gharanas* of swarode. He was at one time head of the Instrumental Music section of the Morris College, Lucknow.

Library and Reading Room

In June the number of volumes added to the accession list in the Institute's library was 469, of which 431 were purchased, and 38 were gifts. A total of 468 books was classified and catalogued. 1,654 books were borrowed and 1,389 were issued for reference. The reading room contained 335 Indian and foreign periodicals. The average daily attendance was 117 readers.

Children's Library

During the month of June there were 410 members on the roll of the children's library. 1,248 books were borrowed, and 48 were added to the accession list. The average daily attendance was 65 readers.

Students' Day Home

As the new session in the colleges had not yet begun, and as the results of all of the university examinations had not yet been published, the number of students daily attending the Students' Day Home during June

continued to be much reduced. The average daily attendance was 162. Those taking meals or tiffin in the canteen averaged 92. No new text-books were purchased or catalogued during June, the total remaining the same as in March, 4,838.

The British Information Services continued its programme of documentary films by showing two more films to the students.

International Hostel

Amongst those who stayed at the Institute's International Hostel during June and July were the following:

Professor Miroslav V. Fic, M.A., and Mrs. Fic, M.A., B.T., from Canada, who were in transit for Rangoon where Professor Fic is attached to the University of Rangoon;

Mr. David Wilton Steadman, B.A., M.A., from America, who was on tour;

Dr. Satya D. Dubey, Ph.D., and Mrs. Dubey, from America who were in transit for America. Dr. Dubey is a senior mathematics statistician;

Mrs. B. Kohli, from Britain, the wife of Mr. P. Kohli of the U.K. High Commissioner's office, New Delhi, who was on her way to Europe;

Mademoiselle Anne Albouy, a teacher from France, who was in transit for Saigon where she would take up a staff position in the Lycée Française;

Srimati Manorami Devi, B.Sc., From Bangalore, who was in transit for Santiniketan;

Sri Kundan Lal, from Delhi, Personal Assistant to the Planning Commission, New Delhi, who was on an official visit;

Dr. N. K. Nofani, M.S., Ph.D., from Bombay, a Junior Research Officer, Biology Division, Atomic Energy Establishment, who was on a visit to Calcutta University; and

Sri Devinderpal Singh, B.Tech. (Hons.), M.Tech., from Karnal, who was on a private visit.

Visitors

Amongst those who visited the Institute during June and July were the following:

Professor Henry Mergenan of Yale University, and Mrs. Mergenan; and Mrs. O. R. Underhill.

Scripture Classes

During June the following scripture classes continued to be held:

Bhagavad-Gītā: This class, conducted by Swami Mahananda, was held every Friday, at 6 p.m. The attendance numbered from 800 to 850.

Mahābhārata: This class, conducted by Professor Chakravarti, was held every Monday, at 6 p.m. The attendance numbered from 850 to 1,000.

Śrīmad Bhāgavatam: This class, conducted by Swami Omkarananda, was not held during June.

Sanskrit Catuspathi

The Sanskrit *catuspāthi*, conducted by Pandit Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya, Śāstri, Tarka-Vedānta-tirtha, continued to be held during June on Mondays, Tuesdays, and Thursdays, at 6 p.m. 6 students are studying *Pañcadaśī* and *Gītābhāṣya*.

Indian Language Classes

During June the following classes were held:

Hindi: Pandit Bhubaneswar Jha continued his classes. 46 students attended the Prārambhika (beginners') class, which was held on Tuesdays and Fridays, from 6.30 to 7.30 p.m. 7 students attended the Praveśa (intermediate) class, held on Tuesdays and Fridays, from 7.30 to 8.30 p.m. 7 students attended the Parichaya (advanced) class, held on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays, from 6.30 to 7.30 p.m. 2 students attended the Kovid (diploma) class, held on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays, from 7.30 to 8.30 p.m., and on Saturdays, from 6.30 to 7.30 p.m.

Bengali: This class conducted by Professor Saurindra Kumar De, continued to be held every Wednesday and Friday, from 7.30 to 8.30 p.m. 9 students attended.

Foreign Language Classes

During June the following classes were held:

German: A new session started on 7 June. The beginners' class, conducted by Countess Keyserling, continued to be held on Wednesdays and Saturdays, from 6.30 to

7.30 p.m., and from 7.30 to 8.30 p.m. 79 students attended.

French: The new session started on 16 June. The class for beginners, conducted by Mr. Cadetis, continued to be held on Tuesdays and Fridays, from 6.30 to 7.30 p.m. 22 students attended.

Persian: The new session started on 1 June. The class for beginners, conducted by Dr. Hira Lal Chopra, continued to be held on Mondays and Thursdays, from 6.30 to 7.30 p.m. 4 students attended.

SEPTEMBER LECTURES

At 6 p.m.

September 2 **Classical Systems of Indian Philosophy—a Survey and Synthesis (fifth lecture)**

Speaker: S. C. Chatterjee, M.A., Ph.D.

President: The Hon. Mr. Justice P. B. Mukharji

September 9 **American Liberalism Reconsidered**

Speaker: Dr. Steven Ebbin

Deputy Cultural Relations Officer, U.S.I.S., Calcutta

President: A. B. Rudra, M.A., Ph.D.

September 16 **Gandhi and Tagore**

Speaker: Shashi Bhusan Das Gupta, M.A., Ph.D.

President: Priya Ranjan Sen, M.A.

September 23 **Delacroix: His Paintings**

Speaker: Jacques Pouliquen

Director, Centre Cultural Francais, Calcutta

President: O. C. Gangoly

September 30 **Logical Positivism and its Metaphysical Implication**

Speaker: Pratima Bowes, M.A., T.D., Ph.D.

President: Sailaja Kumar Bhattacharya, M.A., D.Phil.

BULLETIN OF THE RAMAKRISHNA MISSION INSTITUTE OF CULTURE

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OBSERVATIONS

THE STUDY OF CULTURES AS A BASIS FOR WORLD UNDERSTANDING

IN THE speech drafted on the eve of his death, Franklin Delano Roosevelt called for a supreme effort by the living generations 'to cultivate the science of human relations, to live together and work together in one world at peace'. These words of the great American war-time President were written before the dropping of the first atomic bomb, several years before the invention of the hydrogen bomb, and more than a decade before man's conquest of space.

But, even today, the development of the science of human relations is still alarmingly lagging behind that of natural science with its ever-increasing accumulation of the means for man's self-destruction. While the earth and the space around it have become technically one, mankind continues to live in a world rent asunder racially, socially, and culturally. While scientists set out to explore the moon and Mars, people know little yet about the minds and ways of their neighbours in an age which has made the whole planet one single neighbourhood. Such ignorance, at a time when understanding and

tolerance give the only assurance for survival, augurs ill for mankind's future.

There was never a time when the objectivity and searching scrutiny of the social scientist were as greatly needed as in our age. For nations and governments, being the products of their environment and cultural tradition, are not themselves aware of the mainsprings of their conduct, and culture-alien attitudes are regarded as an aberration and invitation to aggression. Consequently, power is wielded in excess of social understanding, and basic laws of mental hygiene and intercultural relations are continuously violated. Thus this new world of ours, which ought to be based on an equilibrium of cultures, is daily endangered by a vain search for a balance of power which, time and again, has been proved by history to be unworkable.

One of the chief causes of our modern dilemma is the now unchangeable fact that modern existence has thrown different peoples and civilizations into intimate contact; but our expanding social universe has enlarged too rapidly for our national and pro-

vincial imaginations to cope with. Therefore, contacts with outside ways of living and thinking generate confusion and antagonism on all sides. Furthermore, as traditional ideals and cultural traits reside deep in the habits and emotions of the people, they are not easily susceptible to rational correction and change. In addition, and fortified by established patterns of racial prejudice and national self-admiration, existing emotional and ideological animosities are being intensified by other differences caused by vested economic and political interests. Inevitably, international disturbances follow each other in rapid succession, and the United Nations, intended to relieve frictions, displays rather a conspicuous tendency to emphasize them, as was, for example, the case in the Congo dispute. More often than not, statesmen and diplomats are seriously infected with the very germs they hope to eradicate.

The dangers of our dilemma are now multiplied by the fact that the clashing psychic forces of humanity, neatly divided up and encased in national compartments, are now equipped with techniques so useful and powerful in war that they may cause the total destruction of civilization, if left to work themselves out without rational direction. Indeed, since there is no defence against atomic bombs, man must make an end to war or war will make an end to man.

Scholarship, which has no answer to the crucial problem of how to compose national and cultural differences, will not only find itself involved in an eventual catastrophe but will also be partly responsible for it.

THE PRESENT LIMITATIONS OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

At present we are still living in the pre-scientific epoch with respect to the means for understanding social events, although the events to be understood are the consequence of the application of scientific knowledge to

a degree unprecedented in history. Social and political action is being taken, often haphazardly and arbitrarily, on the basis of information distorted by propagandists and of calculations serving the designs of 'jingoistic governments and special-interest groups. In the light of this, the question takes on crucial importance: Is it possible for the scientific attitude to become such a weighty and widespread constituent of culture that it may shape human desires and purposes? For, if the impact of scientific knowledge, as the prospective foundation of future national policies, fails, competition and conflict between unintelligent forces will lead to even greater disaster than we have encountered so far.

If this conclusion is correct, a further question poses itself as to whether or not social science has now advanced to the point where it can reliably specify the requirements of orderly social and intercultural relations. Fortunately, there are indications that the relative backwardness of social science is in the process of being overcome. The shortcomings of social science, in part self-imposed by positivistic research habits, cultural bias, and departmental over-specialization, have increasingly evoked the criticism of leading minds in the social science field. Malinowski, for example, has warned us that isolated treatment of cultural traits can 'become sterile because the significance of culture expressed itself in the 'relation between the elements'. Generally, it may be stated that the most complex phenomena of human group life, such as nations and cultures, have, quite understandably, not found the adequate attention and systematic study they deserve. Prospects of carrying out such elaborate studies have been improved by the fact that modern social science has now made available the framework of a generalized theoretical system, which may serve as a guide for solving problems of comprehensive and dynamic analysis. With its aid,

investigation of complex group structures can now be undertaken intelligently with the justified hope of understanding, explaining, and scientifically guiding institutional change and the healthy conduct of intercultural relations. Benedict has stressed that, at the present time, social thinking has no more important a task before it than taking adequate account of 'cultural relativity'. Furthermore, there is much greater agreement among social scientists today than even twenty years ago, as to the effects of cultural peculiarities on political decisions and economic development. Finally, the impact of culture on personality, and vice versa, has been studied intensively, resulting in penetrating insights into both.

Regarding the practical form studies in culture may take, comprehensive research is to be recommended in values related to cultural heritage, and in political ideologies related to leadership and national aspirations. Every basic value, we must realize, sets norms of conduct, and national action, as with any other type of action, cannot be understood apart from an intricate system of underlying values. The task suggested is more difficult, however, than may first seem on the surface. In order to discover what the ideas and values of a people are, to estimate their strength and the degree of their flexibility, it appears necessary to scrutinize closely the institutions and aspirations in which values are embedded.

Values, after all, are intangibles: they must be studied through the forms of their manifestation and behavioural expression, while due attention has to be given, also, to their causal relations to history, environment, and resources. Moreover, the conscientious scholar can neither permit his investigation to be coloured by the views of politicians and politicizing laymen, who habitually look at foreign cultures with lenses of their own, nor can he afford the risk of an equally popular and dangerous over-

simplification, namely, of taking into account merely prevalent opinions, or majority opinions, or the predominant ideologies as may be peculiar to a leading class or to a government in power. Karl Mannheim's point is well taken, that people tend to imitate the actions and opinions of the ruling class, and that national character, in this sense, is really the behaviour characteristic of the ruling class which is gradually adopted by the lower strata of society.

Nevertheless, the social scientist who studies living societies in their entirety and is interested in the dynamics of their movements, should not lose sight of ideological undercurrents regardless of whether these groups happen to be minorities or whether they are leading, led, or suppressed. Open-mindedness, in this respect, will be an invaluable aid in gauging the strength of ideological currents and the tendencies of institutional change. In particular, the modern scientist, in due appreciation of the growing interdependence of contemporary world affairs, needs to have constant awareness that the culture of today's world is not a mere sum of its parts. The behaviour of any local portion of humanity is a function not merely of its own traits and morals but also of an interaction of these with the quite different ones of other cultures and outside influences.

Research into the institutions and values within a nation must be looked upon only as a first and preparatory step, to be followed by an even more complex one, namely, suggesting ways and means of adjusting national cultures to each other. In this connection we cannot escape awareness of the great difference between the national and international spheres. Within a nation, the political process is guided by law, and law, in turn, is based on fundamental values commonly accepted by the people. In the international realm, by contrast, agreement as to what is right or wrong has not developed to the

point of providing standards for either politics or law.

Keeping this in mind, any suggestion that the establishment of 'one world' should begin with the drafting of a world constitution, appears utopian, for such an approach disregards the fact that a constitution grows out of the accepted moral axioms of the human beings to whom it applies. Until those standards exist, any constitution will not be better than a piece of paper. For example, the American colonies on the one hand, and the states of India on the other, were united under their constitutions because they recognized that each belonged to common cultures. The nations of the world, by contrast, do not yet recognize that they belong to an emerging common culture.

Facts such as these suggest that the attack on the problem of cultural adjustment must begin with assimilating basic values rather than with trying to impose common law from above. On the other hand, nobody will suppose that all national ends and values existing in different cultures can be, or ought to be, assimilated. Here the observation is in order that certain nations or cultures may be found to rest on different assumptions, sometimes compatible and sometimes not. In case of compatibility, the task will be that of correctly relating the compatible elements of the two cultures by enlarging the ideals of each so that they enrich and sustain rather than combat or destroy each other. With contradictory doctrines, as, for example, between Anglo-American and Russian economic theory, the problem will be to provide foundations for a new and more comprehensive theory.

Cultural assimilation can be achieved without attempting to obliterate cultural differences indiscriminately. There are many different values which can well exist side by side, and which give, indeed, the different peoples their character and colour. Fortunately, most values which can be shared,

and which enrich those who do share them, are expressed in human endeavours of the spirit, of the mind, and of the arts. There are less desirable values, however, which are disruptive and mutually exclusive by their very nature, such as chauvinism of all types, racial prejudice, religious intolerance, and, generally, the belief in force. Other incompatible views and national aspirations would have to be moulded by wise, scientific, and educational leadership for the sake of peace and harmony. Impartial scholars, drawn from many different lands, could best consider how their several cultures can support each other and the common good and, returning to their homes, teach their findings.

CULTURE AS A BASIS OF INTERNATIONAL ORDER

Mutual adjustment of national cultures however is not merely a matter of change in values but, to repeat, also of change in institutions in which traditional values are crystallized. In any given society these institutions are closely interdependent and form a compact system of great rigidity which, in turn, mobilizes a combination of forces in support of its maintenance and is, as a rule, backed by powerful vested interests.

These vested interests have the common characteristic that they have a stake in the *status quo* and that, in their fear of seeing the *status quo* disturbed, they tend to ward off and to resist outside influences. By so doing, they build formidable barriers against institutional change, social progress, and intercultural adjustment.

Colonial administrations offer numerous examples where acculturation was more or less systematically discouraged or even punished, with the result that intercultural learning did not take place or took place only partially.

Discussions on national character and behaviour are often carried on with too much emphasis on political and economic

factors, while too little understanding is shown for cultural background, social structure, and psychological idiosyncrasies. Indeed, preoccupation with problems of economic development and of political nationalism (the consequence of a century-old predominance of western culture over all others) has obscured the fact that eighty or more major nations of the world fall, culturally and historically, into a few main categories. These main culture regions may be briefly described as follows:

1. The western culture region. It is divided into a southern or Latin branch, and a northern or Germanic branch; the latter includes the U.S.A., Canada, and several members of the former British Empire.

2. The Russian culture region. It includes the East European and Asiatic nations which, grouped around a racially Slavonic nucleus, are now ideologically integrated through the doctrine of soviet-type communism.

3. The Sinitic culture region. It includes all nations of the Far East and South-East Asia that historically derived their philosophy, script, and learning mainly from Chinese sources.

4. The Indian culture region. It includes the states of India and those nations and cultures in southern Asia that derived their philosophy, customs, and arts predominantly from Indian sources.

5. The Islamic culture region. It is loosely organized around the Arab League but has cultural Islamic affiliates on the Indian sub-continent and in Indonesia.

6. The Hispano-Indian culture region of Mexico, Central, and South America.

7. The new nations of Africa.

8. Other groups are culturally and politically of minor importance or include tribes along the margins of civilization.

The study of nations in their cultural context may well allow a profounder and more systematic approach to the problem of international relations and adjustment than

any other attempted to date. It is based on the recognition that every political society, from the nomad tribe to the sovereign nation, builds up its own ethos and distinctive culture, and that national cultures are not self-sufficient and isolated phenomena but are related to others in the culture families. Hence, cultural ideology gives a key to the understanding of the social structure as well as the behaviour of nations and, by the same token, offers an organic basis for ordering their relations. Political, legal, and economic agreements of reasonable permanence will be relatively easier where cultural and ideological affiliation is close. The relations between Canada and the U.S.A., or between the members of the Commonwealth of Nations, or those of the European Common Market, are impressive examples.

It is hardly to be expected that eighty sovereign states can be brought directly into a working federation; but six to seven culture regions, each with a self-governing structure of its own, might conceivably effect such an organization. In the consideration of this circumstance, research on cultural regionalism is to be highly recommended. It would provide rational means for the determination of local and regional equilibria in different parts of the world, after which it might be possible to discuss with more intelligence the problems of world organization.

RESEARCH AND EDUCATION IN INTERCULTURAL UNDERSTANDING

Research in the comparative science of national cultures and their interaction may well be undertaken in three or four successive steps.

First, examination of the ideology and social structure of individual nations. These would be descriptive and analytical studies of national ideologies, institutions, social groups, and national aspirations.

Second, comparative study of nations in the context, and as sub-species, of their respective culture regions. Such comparisons would be made with a view to a given nation's integration into that area. For example, Germany's problem of adjustment to other western nations may be examined, or the role of Egypt or Iraq within the Islamic culture region.

Third, comparative study of culture regions and of their problems of acculturation, such as between Russian and western culture, Hindu and Chinese civilization or, broader still, East and West.

The final step would logically lead to investigation of problems of the world community as a whole. Here the political, economic, and cultural bases of international coexistence and co-operation in our emerging world civilization would be investigated. Historically, emphasis in this context would be on the learning process between cultures, on common traits of social and cultural development in different societies, as well as on specific contributions which particular cultures, religions, or eras made to mankind's heritage as a whole.

It should be realized that inquiries into the bases of world understanding must be conducted with a positive aim in view. Attainment of understanding and peace, if they mean no more than the absence of war, are merely negative accomplishments. Indeed, nowhere is more perfect peace to be found than in a cemetery. World understanding should be the basis of something positive if it is to be worth while. The ideal to be sought after is a cultural synthesis, a community of values, a co-operative world-wide endeavour in technical, economic, scientific, and artistic accomplishment, incomparably superior to those of the national and regional cultures of our day.

Work in the comparative science of national and regional cultures may be developed from small beginnings at any institute of

higher learning, where the spirit of the universities has not fallen victim to vocational training and departmental segmentation. However, it should be realized that no single institution can have available specialists of all cultures and regions.

On the other hand, nobody in a particular locality may be sufficiently interested in broader issues to co-ordinate special talent for the tasks in the overall study of culture. Shortcomings of this sort can be overcome by the organization of research at a national or international centre which would seek to enlist the co-operation of qualified and interested scholars in other places. In this way, it would be feasible to co-ordinate local specialists under one comprehensive plan of research which would cover every single country or region on the face of the earth. The co-operating institutions would specialize in whatever they are interested in or particularly equipped to do, directing their attention to one or more nations, to a region, or to the problem of inter-relations. At the same time, they could undertake the important task of training specialists for the particular area under their special consideration to serve government business, or intellectual pursuits.

The most ambitious possibility of all would be to set up a special 'Institute of World Culture' with a permanent and resident faculty. Ultimately, nothing less than such an Institute may be necessary in order to provide the selective standards and judicious guidance required by such sprawling institutions as the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization.

There is, presently, not enough appreciation of the fact that the attack on the problem of intercultural relations is a complex scientific task, rather than a political matter or the natural consequence of mere good will. The earlier and the more systematically scientists undertake this task, the better for them and their society.

The centralization of work in one international institute would have the advantage of creating an effective organization for overall co-ordination, for the setting of standards, and promoting intellectual exchange. Such exchange should, if possible, include international exchange of scholars and students, of books and periodicals, of methods and results of investigation, of teaching materials, and of information on artistic achievements. A multilingual journal concerning itself with problems of culture and of intercultural relations, and featuring a discussion forum with the purpose of exchanging ideas among scholars of different nationalities, would be equally valuable.

It goes without saying how important it would be to open the eyes of college youth to the problem and potentialities of our emerging world civilization. That there would be interest for more courses on that subject is unquestionable. The pedagogical necessity is also evident as a counterweight on the campus against the overwhelming number of lectures dealing with specialized or vocational subject matter.

Courses encouraging the students in fundamental thinking and critical judgement, by comparing the values and institutions of different cultures, are still rare. Such instruction, broadly humanistic in outlook, which would raise basic questions on the human purpose, the purpose of knowledge, and the principles of social organiza-

tion, could close the gap. In addition, courses with theoretical emphasis would bring the proven methods of the social sciences to bear on the practical problems of contemporary international and intercultural relations.

Last, but not least, life in the crowded world of the twentieth century demands that part of every student's education makes him acquainted with at least one civilization other than his own. Only thus can he acquire the tolerance for thoughts and ways that will make coexistence possible in an international world. Only such education can promote adequate understanding of one's own culture as well as of mankind's common heritage. By cross-fertilization it can open unique opportunities to enrich the student's own life as well as that of his society.

Greater insight, gained by comparative studies of national and regional cultures and guided by carefully checked and constantly refined theory, will furnish objective standards for the wise selection of social and foreign policies. It will help to dispel cultural bias among laymen as well as scholars by raising their sights across geographical and spiritual frontiers. It will facilitate and promote intelligent international adjustment. By so doing it holds the promise of contributing to the scientific guidance of social relations in an age of science.

HELMUT G. CALLIS

Culture is the widening of the mind and the spirit. It is never a narrowing of the mind or a restriction of the human spirit or of the country's spirit.

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

THE STUDY OF MAN

MICHAEL POLANYI, F.R.S., D.Sc., LL.D.

Professor Michael Polanyi, a scientist and philosopher of great distinction, has been, since his retirement in 1958, Professor Emeritus at Victoria University, Manchester. As a Professor of Physical Chemistry and, later, of Social Studies, Professor Polanyi is widely known. His published works include Science, Faith and Society, Logic of Liberty, Personal Knowledge, and The Study of Man. The lecture printed below was given at the Institute on 7 January.

RELIGIOUS dogma, in the days when it controlled all knowledge, was a source of many errors. Now that the scientific outlook exercises predominant control over all knowledge, science has become the greatest single source of popular fallacies. This is not to denigrate science. Scientific genius has extended man's intellectual control over nature far beyond previous horizons. By secularizing man's moral passions, scientific rationalism has evoked a movement of reform which, in the last hundred and fifty years, has improved almost every human relationship, both public and private. A rationalist concern for welfare and for an educated and responsible citizenship has created an active mutual concern among millions of previously submerged and isolated individuals. Scientific rationalism has indeed been the main guide to intellectual, moral, and social progress since the idea of progress first gained popular acceptance about a hundred and fifty years ago.

But, unfortunately, the ideals of science are nonsensical. Current biology is based on the assumption that you can explain the processes of life in terms of physics and chemistry. And of course physics and chemistry are both to be represented ultimately in terms of the forces acting between atomic particles. So all life, all human beings, and all works of man, including Shakespeare's

sonnets and Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason*, are also to be so represented. The ideal of science remains what it was in the time of Laplace: to replace all human knowledge by a complete knowledge of atoms in motion. In spite of much that is said to the contrary, quantum mechanics makes no difference in this respect. A quantum mechanical theory of the universe is just as empty of meaning as a mechanical theory.

This is the heart of the matter. This is the origin of the whole system of scientific obscurantism under which we are suffering today. This is why we corrupt the conception of man, reducing him either to an insentient automaton or to a bundle of appetites. This is why science denies us the possibility of acknowledging personal responsibility. This is why science can be invoked in support of totalitarian violence; why science has become the greatest source of dangerous fallacies today.

THE DANGERS OF SCIENTIFIC DETACHMENT

I have said this so often that I tend to forget that to most people such talk must still sound fanciful or at least wildly exaggerated. So let me give some examples of the absurdities imposed by the modern scientific outlook. Listen to three authoritative voices denying the existence of human

consciousness: (1) 'The existence of something called consciousness is a venerable hypothesis: not a datum, not directly observable.' (2) 'Although we cannot get along without the concept of consciousness, actually there is no such thing.' (3) 'The knower as an entity is an unnecessary postulate.' These three statements were made respectively by Hebb, Kubie, and Lashly at a Symposium on Brain Mechanism and Consciousness in 1954. It is not that these distinguished scientists really believe that consciousness does not exist. They know, for example, that pain exists, but feel obliged to deny the existence of consciousness for it eludes explanation in terms of science, and so, as scientists, they must deny its existence in the interest of science.

You meet the same situation in the study of society. Anthropologists must try to describe social groups in strictly scientific terms. So most anthropologists will insist on carrying out their analyses of society without mention of good and evil. A distinguished anthropologist has represented the unspeakably cruel murder of supposed witches, as a cultural achievement. 'Some social systems', he writes, 'are much more efficient than others in directing aggression into oblique or non-disruptive channels. There is no doubt that witchcraft is Navaho culture's principal answer to the problem that every society faces: How to satisfy hate and still keep the core of society solid.'

For this kind of scientific anthropology social stability is the only accepted value and becomes therefore the supreme social value. Yet all the time we know, and the anthropologists know it like everybody else, that the stability of evil is the worst of evil. They ignore this vital fact only for the sake of scientific detachment. The more absurd their attitude, the more it adds to their reputation of scientific severity.

The roots of this perversion go deep. The rebellion of scientific rationalism which over-

threw religious authority, was based on the appeal to facts against dogma. Positivism merely pursued this movement to its logical conclusions by repudiating metaphysics along with dogma. The Viennese school of philosophy carried out this programme by rejecting as metaphysical any statements about the world that are not verifiable, or at least falsifiable, by experience. This view discredits all ethical statements. For if you say that it is wrong to bear false witness, you say something that cannot be proved or disproved by any facts. No conceivable occurrence, no measurement or observation, can decide whether any action is moral or immoral, just or unjust, good or evil. Hence to call something immoral, unjust, or evil has no empirical meaning; and it appears doubtful, then, whether it has any other meaning than the kind of exclamation one may utter when biting at a worm inside an apple, or when shouting 'boo!' to stop others from doing things which you find disgusting, or for any other reason want to prevent from being done.

Admittedly, this conception of moral judgement is felt to be unsatisfactory. For whenever we utter moral condemnation or approval, or else seek guidance in a moral dilemma, we always refer to moral standards assumed to be generally valid. And we revere men like Socrates or Gandhi who faced death to uphold such standards. Hence the later disciples of philosophic positivism are engaged now in great efforts to save moral standards from being cast out as altogether unfounded. But in vain. So long as science remains the ideal of knowledge and detachment the ideal of science, ethics cannot be secured against sceptical doubt.

In earlier ages philosophers could keep their gravest doubts among themselves; Hume brushed them aside for a game of backgammon; his great successor, Kant, still thought that there was no danger of philosophic scepticism ever gaining popular in-

fluence. But ours is an age of philosophic mass movements. Any glance at my bookcase or at the morning's newspaper reveals the same corrosive passion for destroying man's moral image of himself. Two little English books were written simultaneously in 1942, one entitled *The Abolition of Man*, the other *The Annihilation of Man*; the first by C. S. Lewis, the second by Leslie Paul. C. S. Lewis takes a school-book on English as a specimen of the debunking of moral and aesthetic sentiments by the teachings of our time. He acknowledges that this debunking had started after the First World War with the purpose of saving men from being swayed by nationalist propaganda. But he warns that the dishonouring of traditional ideals will merely divert man's moral passions into baser channels. Leslie Paul's book bears out this view. He quotes the following lines of Oswald Spengler by which he acclaimed Hitler in 1934: 'Man is a beast of prey. ... would-be moralists ... are only beasts of prey with their teeth broken ... remember the larger beasts of prey are *noble* creatures ... and without the hypocrisy of human morals due to weakness.' Observe the argument: (1) man is a beast; (2) his hypocrisy is revolting; and (3) beastliness alone is honest and noble. You may think this moral approval of brutality to be a German vice. But Simone de Beauvoir hails the glorification of crime and lust by the Marquis de Sade as great moral pronouncements; and then identifies these teachings of crime and lust with the exposure of bourgeois ideologies by historical materialism. So the French Marxist writer transmutes bestiality into moral rebellion even as the Nazi historian does. We see here how scepticism drives men's moral sentiments underground, whence they re-emerge combined with sadism as a creed of salvation by violence. Fascism thus converted patriotism into a cult of brutality, even as Marx has converted utopianism into a

science. Our age is racked by the fanaticism of unbelievers.

This is what C. S. Lewis meant by the 'abolition of man'; it is what I had in mind when saying that science is the greatest source of dangerous fallacies today. The question is: Can we get rid of all these malignant excrescences of the scientific outlook without jettisoning the benefits which it can still yield to us both mentally and materially?

PERSONAL KNOWLEDGE AND THE SCIENTIFIC METHOD

In this talk I shall suggest that we should try to mend the break between science and our understanding of ourselves as sentient and responsible beings, by incorporating into our conception of scientific knowledge the part which we ourselves necessarily contribute in shaping such knowledge. I shall proceed by a critique of the exact sciences in order to displace, quite generally, the ideal of detached observation by a conception of personal knowledge.

Laplace's ideal of embodying all knowledge of the universe in an exact topography of all its atoms, remains the heart of the fallacies flowing from science today. Laplace affirmed that if we knew at one instant of time the exact positions and velocities of every particle of matter in the universe, as well as the forces acting between the particles, we could compute the position and velocities of the same particles at any other date whether past or future. To a mind thus equipped all things to come and all things gone by would be equally revealed. Such is the complete knowledge of the universe as conceived by Laplace.

This ideal of universal knowledge would have to be transposed into quantum mechanical terms today, but this is immaterial. The real fault of the kind of universal knowledge defined by Laplace is that it would tell us absolutely nothing that we are

interested in. Take any question to which you want to know the answer. For example, having planted some primroses today, you would like to know whether they will bear blossoms next spring. This question is not answered by a list of atomic positions and velocities at some future moment on, say, 1 May 1962. It must be answered ultimately in terms of primrose blossoms. The universal mind is utterly useless for this purpose unless it can go beyond predicting atomic data and tell us whether they imply the future blossoming, or the failure to blossom, of the primroses planted today.

Never mind for the moment whether we could actually infer something about primroses, or about anything else that we may be interested in, from a topography of atomic positions and velocities; it is enough to realize in the first place that Laplace's representation of the universe ignores, as it stands, all our normal experience, and can answer no questions about it. I shall show that this shortcoming of the Laplacean scheme is due to a misunderstanding of the very nature of experimental science.

Consider the use of a geographical map. A map represents a part of the earth's surface in the same sense in which experimental science represents a much greater variety of experience. To use a map to find our way we must be able to do three things. First we must identify our actual position in the landscape with a point on the map, then we must find on the map an itinerary towards our destination and finally identify this itinerary by some landmark in the landscape around us. This map-reading depends on the skill of the person using the map. No map can read itself.

Turn now to the exact sciences which Laplace had in mind when defining universal knowledge. The map is replaced here by formulae like the laws of planetary motion and we find that these are applied once more in three stages. First we make some

measurements which yield a set of numbers, representing our experience at the start; from these numbers we then compute, by the aid of our formulae, a future event; and, finally, we look out for the experience predicted by our computation. Both at the beginning and at the end we identify numbers with observed events, and this is a kind of map-reading for which we must rely once more on our personal skill.

People miss this point when they speak of the exact predictions made by the mathematical sciences. Take, for example, astronomy which was very much in the mind of Laplace when he formulated his ideal of universal knowledge. You might think that Newton's laws predict the exact position of the planets at any future moment of time. But this they can never do. Astronomers can merely compute from a certain set of numbers, which they identify with the position of a planet at a particular time, another set of numbers, which will represent its position at a future moment of time. But no formulae can foretell the actual readings on our instruments. These readings will rarely, if ever, coincide with the predicted numbers as computed from Newton's laws, and there is no rule--and can be no rule--which we can rely on for deciding whether the discrepancies between theory and observation should be shrugged aside as observational errors, or be recognized, on the contrary, as actual deviations from the theory.

Even the most modern instruments are affected by this uncertainty. There is ample evidence that even by using these highly automatized recorders, we cannot exclude a personal bias that might affect a series of readings. So even the most exact sciences must rely on some degree of personal skill and personal judgement for establishing a valid correspondence with, or a real deviation from, the facts of experience. And we may conclude, quite generally, that no science can predict observed facts except by

relying on an art, the art of establishing by the trained delicacy of eye, ear, and touch, a correspondence between the explicit predictions of science and the actual experience of our senses to which these predictions shall apply.

You may feel that I am attributing undue significance to a small and perhaps altogether negligible coefficient in the structure of science. But this is like excusing the housemaid's baby on the grounds that it was so small. It is the principle that matters, and, in fact, the slight gap between theory and instrument readings will turn out to be but the thin end of a wedge, and of a very bulky wedge indeed.

Look at the buildings which compose a modern university. You see rows upon rows of laboratories and dissection rooms, and you see a whole array of teaching-hospitals. Students of chemistry, biology, and medicine spend a good half of their time in these places attending practical classes. All this time is spent by them in an effort to bridge the gap between the printed text of their books and the facts of experience. They are training their eyes, their ears, and their touch to recognize the things to which their text-books refer. They are acquiring the skills for testing by their own hands the objects of which their text-books speak. Here, there can be no question any longer of shrugging aside as a marginal factor the purely personal judgements by which the theoretical body of science is brought to bear on experience. Text-books of chemistry, biology, or medicine are so much empty talk without the personal knowledge of their subject-matter. A distinguished medical consultant's, or surgeon's, excellence is not due to his more diligent reading but to his skill as a diagnostician and healer, a skill acquired by his practical experience. His professional distinction lies in a massive body of personal knowledge.

Remember also that the fundamental

concepts of the biological sciences are drawn from everyday experience in which exact measurement plays no part. The existence of animals was not discovered by zoologists, nor that of plants by botanists. We learn to distinguish living beings from inanimate matter long before we study biology and we continue to use our original conception of life within biology. Psychologists must know from ordinary experience what intelligence is before they can devise tests for measuring it scientifically. It was ordinary people, knowing the sufferings of sickness and the joy of recovery, who set medical science its task.

It is true that the progress of science is ever moulding and modifying our everyday conceptions. But when this is allowed for it still remains true that there is a vast range of everyday knowledge, conveying delicate and complex conceptions, which serves as a guide to biology, medicine, psychology, and to the manifold disciplines which study man and society. And this knowledge is transmitted by adults to the child as he grows up, in the manner of a practical art, in the very same way as a student is taught scientific skills and expert knowledge at the bedside and in the laboratory.

This brings out squarely the general principle which limits the scope of the exact sciences of which the Laplacean vision is the extreme idealization. Most of the questions in which we are interested are of the same kind as that about the blossoming of newly planted primroses. Answers to these questions must be given in terms of *personal knowledge* available to the layman, as corrected and expanded by sciences relying in their turn on the *personal knowledge* of experts. Laplacean predictions would convey none of this personal knowledge. To claim that a world-wide topography of atoms represents universal knowledge is indeed to contradict the very principle by which mathematical theory can bear upon ex-

perience. Hence, if the Laplacean vision, or a corresponding ideal of the exact sciences, succeeded in establishing itself as the total of man's knowledge, it would impose complete ignorance on us.

KNOWING AS AN ART WITH INTRINSIC VALUES

We must revise therefore our ideal of science by accrediting skills and connoisseurship as valid, indispensable, and definite forms of knowledge. And this, I believe, would open the way to a far-reaching relaxation of the tension between science and the non-scientific concerns of man. We shall see this by enquiring into the essential structure of knowing as an art.

A striking feature of knowing a skill is the presence of two different kinds of awareness of the things that we are skilfully handling. When I use a hammer to drive in a nail, I attend to both, but quite differently. I watch the effects of my strokes on the nail as I wield the hammer. I do not feel that its handle has struck my palm but that its head has struck the nail. Yet, in another sense, I am highly alert to the feelings in my palm and fingers holding the hammer. They guide my handling of it effectively, and the degree of attention that I give to the nail is given to the same extent in a different way to these feelings. The difference may be stated by saying that these feelings are not watched in themselves, but I watch something else by keeping aware of them. I know the feelings in the palm of my hand by relying on them for attending to the hammer hitting the nail. I may say that I have a *subsidiary* awareness of the feelings in my hand which is merged into my *focal awareness* of my driving in the nail.

We may think of the hammer replaced by a probe, used for exploring the interior of a hidden cavity. Think how a blind man feels his way by use of a stick, transposing the shocks transmitted to his hand and to

the muscles holding the stick, into an awareness of the things touched by the point of the stick. We have the transition from practical to descriptive knowing and can see how similar is the structure of the two. In both cases we know something focally by relying subsidiarily on our awareness of something else.

Let us confront this conclusion now with the fact that there is one single thing in the world we normally know only by relying on our awareness of it for attending to other things. Our own body is this unique thing. We attend to external objects by being subsidiarily aware of things happening within our body. The localization of an object in space is based on a slight difference between the two images thrown on our retina, on the accommodation of the eyes, on controlling the eye motion, supplemented by impulses received from the labyrinth, which vary according to the position of the head in space. Of all these things we become aware only in terms of our localization of the objects we are gazing at, and, in this sense, we may be said to be subsidiarily aware of them. We may say, in fact, that to know something by relying on our awareness of it for attending to something else, is to have the kind of knowledge of it as we have of our body by living in it. It is a manner of being.

Our subsidiary awareness of tools and probes can be regarded then as a condition in which they form part of our body. The way we use a hammer or a blind man uses a stick, shows that in both cases we shift outwards the points at which we make contact with things that we observe as objects outside ourselves. While we rely on a tool or a probe, these instruments are not handled or scrutinized as external objects. Instead, we pour ourselves into them and assimilate them as part of ourselves.

We may generalize this to include the acceptance and use of intellectual tools

offered by an interpretative framework and in particular by the text-books of science. While we rely on a scientific text, the text is not an object under scrutiny but a tool of observation. For the time being we have identified ourselves with it and so long as our critical faculties are exercised by relying on this text we shall ever continue to strengthen our uncriticized acceptance of them.

There is no mystery about this. You cannot use your spectacles to scrutinize your spectacles. A theory is like a pair of spectacles; you examine things by it and your knowledge of it lies in this very use of it. You dwell in it as you dwell in your own body and in the tools by which you amplify the powers of your body.

This conception of knowledge by indwelling will help to forge the final link between science and the humanities. But before we approach that point we must yet enlarge our scheme of personal knowledge to include the kind of everyday knowledge we have of plants and animals, of life and death, of health and sickness, as well as the kind of expert knowledge which students of biology and medicine acquire in practical classes. We shall achieve this by observing that the two kinds of awareness, which we found interwoven in the use of a hammer or a probe, are present in the same way in our own awareness of a set of particulars perceived as a whole.

Take the case of a practical skill. It consists in the capacity for carrying out a great number of part movements with a view to the achievement of a comprehensive result. The same applies to skilful knowledge, like that of a medical diagnostician; he too comprehends a large number of details in terms of a significant entity. In both kinds of skilful knowing we are aware of a multitude of parts in terms of a whole. The two kinds of skilful knowing are actually always interwoven: a skilful handling of

things must rely on our understanding them, and, on the other hand, intellectual comprehension can be achieved only by the skilful scrutiny of a situation. The kinship between the process of tool-using and that of perceiving a whole has in fact been so well established already by *Gestalt* psychology that it may be taken for granted here without further argument.

The characteristic structure of all personal knowledge will come out even more vividly when we realize that all knowing is action; that it is our urge to understand and control our experience which causes us to rely on some parts of it subsidiarily in order to attend to our main objective focally. As we shall watch the operation of this urge we shall see emerging another important feature of personal knowledge; it will appear that all personal knowing is intrinsically guided by impersonal standards of valuation set by itself to itself.

Take first the process of mastering a skill. In this case the emphasis of our knowing lies on producing a result. The effort of acquiring knowledge and of skilfully applying this knowledge may be then said to be guided by a purpose. It is in the light of this purpose that certain things are made to serve us as tools and that certain movements of our body are skilfully co-ordinated. The economical and effective achievement of this purpose sets a standard to our skill. It is by striving for the fulfilment of this standard that we pick up in practice, usually without any focal awareness of doing so, the elements of a successful performance. Thus the striving by which we extend our person in achieving a skill is in the nature of a purpose.

When, on the other hand, the emphasis of our knowing lies in recognizing or understanding a thing, the effort of acquiring such knowledge may be said to be guided by our attention. A biologist, a doctor, an art dealer, or a cloth merchant, each acquires

his expert knowledge in part from textbooks, but these texts are of no use to him without the accompanying training of the eye, the ear, and touch. Only by attentively straining his senses can he acquire the right sense or feel for identifying a certain biological specimen, or a case of a certain sickness, or a genuine painting by a certain master, or a cloth of a distinctive quality. By such training the expert develops an exceptional fastidiousness which enables him to act as valuer for certain objects.

So every act of personal knowing sets up a standard of excellence. While athletes or dancers, putting forward their best, are acting as critics of their own performances, experts are the acknowledged critics of certain things. And a person is acknowledged as an expert, if he is believed to know whether such things fulfil the standard of good specimens of their own kind.

Thus the observer's participation in the act of knowing leads to a point where observation assumes the functions of an appraisal by standards which he regards as impersonal. Even courts of law will rely on their capacity to appreciate the presence of a degree of ingenuity in a new device, and on this appreciation they will base the granting of a patent. And mathematics can be said to exist as a science only if we trust ourselves with the capacity for appreciating the profundity and ingenuity of certain processes of inference.

We are now ready for the final step which combines personal indwelling with an appraisal according to standards accepted as universal. See how a naturalist appreciates a healthy plant or animal by a standard to which he attributes universality; and how he appreciates in the same way the coherent behaviour of animals and their intelligent performances. Our appreciation is based here on entering into another individual's purpose and action. Feats of intelligence can

be observed only by identifying ourselves with the person whose intelligence we appraise. Our capacity for understanding another person's action by entering into his situation and of judging his actions from his own point of view thus appears to be but an elaboration of the technique of personal knowing, the elements of which we had first identified in the way we read a map, or hammer in a nail, or grope our way in the dark by using a stick.

This conclusion fulfils at least part of my programme. We see that the shortcomings of the Laplacean ideal of science must be remedied by acknowledging our personal knowing as an integral part of all knowledge accepted as such, and that this amendment bridges the gap between the natural sciences and the study of man. Having recognized personal participation as the universal principle of knowing and having determined the structure of this knowledge, we have come to recognize that our evaluation of human actions from the point of view of men as sentient, intelligent, and morally responsible beings, is a legitimate extension of scientific knowledge.

A NEW SCIENTIFIC OUTLOOK

We may, then, go further. We have seen that our personal knowing operates by an expansion of our person into a subsidiary awareness of particulars merged into our attention to a whole, and that this manner of living in the parts results in our critical appraisal of their coherence. We may also accredit, therefore, our living within an historical situation and our acceptance of a certain role in it as legitimate guides to our responsible participation in the problems presented by these situations. Science no longer requires, then, that we study man and society in a detached manner, but restores us instead to an acceptance of our position as human members of a human society.

The transition from observation to ap-

praisal has been reached by following up the knowing of increasingly complex and delicate things. *I believe that this is the path along which the widest contacts can be established between the exact sciences and other domains of the human mind. But I must yet mention a shorter route leading from observation to appraisal, which is found, rather surprisingly, within the exact sciences themselves. I am referring to the system of geometrical crystallography.

Here we have a theory which applies to the facts of experience without making any unambiguous predictions about them, offering instead a systematic framework for the appreciation of any possible facts. Crystallography predicts that there are 230 geometrically different types of atomic lattices underlying all crystals. It determines all possible types of symmetry and distinguishes between higher and lower grades of symmetry. All this would remain true even if no specimen of any crystal could even be observed in fact. Yet, actually, the theory has been validated by a wide area of experience. It has controlled the collection, description, classification, and structural analysis of an immense variety of crystals. And this has established crystallographic theory as part of the exact sciences, and has done so without ever exposing the theory to the hazards of refutation by the facts of experience. For the theory merely prescribes a process of appraising the regularity of any solid specimen in the light of the standards set by itself. Our confidence in such a system of appraisal increases, of course, with the number of instances in which it has been found distinctly apposite to experience, but it is not in the least weakened by the much larger number of instances to which the system does not apply.

To sum up. The line of thought which I have pursued in this paper suggests that in order to reconcile science with the true nature of man we must first revise our con-

ception of science in accordance with the true nature of science. Science does not require that we study man and society in a detached manner. On the contrary, the part played by personal knowledge in science suggests that the science of man may rely, on an extended use of personal knowing.

A personal knowledge of man may consist in putting ourselves in the place of the people we are studying and in trying to solve their problems either as they see them or as we see them. That opens the door for our entry into man's personality in its whole moral, religious, and artistic outlook, as the bearer of an historical consciousness, a political and legal responsibility. It introduces us through an extension of scientific enquiry into the whole sentient, creative, and responsible life of human concerns.

A system of ethics or a code of laws can no longer be regarded as unscientific in a derogatory sense because it predicts nothing that could be true or false, for science is seen to accredit us with the capacity for authentic appreciation of other values than the truth or falsity of a statement. As we know order from disorder, health from sickness, the ingenious from the trivial, we may distinguish with equal authority good from evil, charity from cruelty, justice from injustice.

This may sound a faint answer to my rousing challenge. But let me recall that it was the small voice of philosophic scepticism which eventually swelled to the roar of modern philosophic mass movements. • In any case, our responsibility as thinkers and teachers is to think and teach. If it is true that science has become the greatest single source of dangerous fallacies today, our task must be to revise the scientific outlook so that it should once more inspire rather than corrupt men's thoughts. In our age of vast responses, it may not take very long for such a change in philosophy to exercise its influence throughout our culture.

TAGORE AND INDIA'S TRADITIONAL VALUES

BATUKNATH BHATTACHARYA, M.A., B.L.

Since the beginning of this year several lectures have been delivered at the Institute as contributions towards the celebration of the birth centenary of Rabindranath Tagore. Sri Batuknath Bhattacharya, a former Professor of English at the Surendranath College, Calcutta, delivered this interesting lecture at the Institute on 4 March.

THE genius of Rabindranath Tagore could have sprung and found its nurture only in the milieu of Indian moral and cultural life. To say this is not merely to repeat a fact of history nor to state an after-the-event finding which is thus, like an axiom, self-proven. For to know fully how the great soul of this historic sub-continent, its uniqueness and its majesty, left an impress on his myriad mind is to lose any sense of redundancy in the affirmation, and to realize the psychological necessity implied in it. The study of Indian ideology, extensively mirrored in his writings, is of special interest in the context of present times when diverse forces and thought-systems are assailing the traditional mind from within and without, and washing away the precious silt of antique heritage which has helped renew the spirit of the people from age to age.

In the Foreword to his collected works (*Ravindr-n-rachanavali*, 26-volume edition) the poet says that the country is the creation of its people. It is not of the earth but a thing of spirit. If man shines forth, the land becomes revealed. And again he says 'Here I come to this pilgrim-centre of the world. Here at the focal point of all lands, all races, and the history of all times, resides man divine'. Elsewhere he regretfully points out that we do not, by comparing the Indian with other civilizations, comprehend its intensity, its permanence in human nature,

Dissenting from the view of the sameness of all races, he remarks that the superstition that history in all lands must needs be alike has, of course, to be rejected. He says, further, that man can grow to greatness when he truly feels his distinctiveness. For him, therefore, India has an inner life, a history of the spirit within. The real country lies behind the nightmare, the troubled dream of its political history. We are truly linked with that India which is left out of text-books. Through the stretch of many centuries the roots of our being occupy the vital core of India.

In a *Santiniketan* sermon on 'The New Year' the poet says: 'Today I enter the old, for the old is the inexhaustible store-house of the ever-new. To feel the eternally old amidst the new, our decayed life can bathe in the immeasurable ocean of youth.' (*Ibid.* Vol. IV. p. 376) And again: 'Without trying to work a spell by abstruse interpretation we have to fill the heart with the sap of the past.' (*Ibid.* Vol. IV. p. 400) In the Prologue to *Katha o Kahini* (Tales in Verse, Vol. VII) Rabindranath writes:

O Past, speak, speak to my heart.
Stilled Past, secretly moving, senseless
thou art not.
Penning letters invisible, leaf on leaf of
Life,
Thou writest legends of our forebears,
and they mingle with our marrow,

The poet is the seer who visualizes this immortal India that dwells in the secret recesses of our nature. To objectify it, to give it form and colour, his unresting pen moves in a variety of ways. His productions in this line make up a sizable list. In his collection of songs, *Bharatatirtha*, 'The Motherland ageless and entire', is hymned in sublime accents. Her features and attributes inspire deep meditation in the essays entitled *Bharatatirtha*, *Swadesha*, *Samaja*, *Atmashakti*, *Dharma*, *Sanchaya*, *Parichaya*, *Kalantara*, and *Pather Sanchaya*. In *Valmiki-Pratibha*, *Chitrangada*, *Katha o Kahini*, *Chandalika*, *Achalayatana*, and *Natir Puja*, she is depicted in poetry and drama. In many places in the *Santiniketan* series the message of India's soul is delivered as the philosophy of religion. To piece all these together is to glimpse a complete picture of the spiritual figure of India, which age has not withered nor custom made stale, as reflected in the manifold sensibility of our poet. It will at the same time elucidate the main source of his distinctive religious thought.

THE DISCIPLINE OF THE SERENE MIND

'I am the lover of light', says the poet of himself. About Santiniketan he writes: 'I wanted to impart form to man's desire to express himself. It was for this reason that I sought a hermit's grove to be its scenic background.' (*Ibid.* Vol. XVIII. p. 12) The inspiration of his august father suggested the root-idea of this noble foundation which derived from the hoary past of Indian culture. The seed of Santiniketan is imperishable in the lordly tree of the Ashrama—the forest hermitage. Rabindranath interprets the forest culture of India with an insight and acumen all his own. The fountain-head of the culture of this land is not the city but the forest. The forest, like a nurse, held in its arms the Vedic and the Buddhist periods. India—

opulent, powerful, in the pride of youth—never felt any shame in owning her debt to the forest. Kings and emperors took pride in recognizing meagrely-clad ascetics as their ancestors. The feeling of serenity is the special sentiment of the forest hermitage; it is the emotional experience of fulness, just as the seven colours mingle to make white. The feeling of placid-calm has its origin in an overflowing sense of harmony with the Universe in the manifold courses of the spirit.

The pilgrim resorts of India locate the manifestations of remarkable beauty and grandeur in Nature. Sacred is the Himalayan range, and the Vindhya hills, too, are sacred. All the rivers, which in perennial flow pour the milk of sustenance on human habitations, are sacred. Hardwar and Haridwar, Kedarnath and Badarikashram, Kailas and the Manasa lake, the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna, and the termination of the Ganges in the ocean are all sacred. For, says the poet, India has received the world with worship and not crippled it by enjoyment. These sentiments throb in Rabindranath's short poems, echoing his essay on ancient literature. According to Rabindranath, other countries have thrust their forests outside the pale of civilization; they have made them things of enjoyment and not academics of spiritual communion. Their forests have not been turned into sacred spots, made holy by the experience of the Infinite. The hermitage was the highest expression of Indian civilization. India's sole spiritual striving was to realize in serene meditation the union of the spirit with Universal nature. The poet reminds us that our true education is in the hermitage. The discipline of the mind, the discipline of knowledge, is not in acquiring technical skill in the workshop but in the discipline of sensibility. And he adds that to try to imitate European ideals by sheer force will not yield genuine Europe, but distorted India.

Communion with nature is the ground note of Rabindranath's writings. The main theme is nature, in extent all-pervasive, like the dear one in the lover's eyes, 'in the palace, in all directions, before and behind'—she is everywhere. Under her influence, the character of Indian civilization he visualizes as noble and elevating. In a *Santiniketan* discourse he tells us that through the reverent study of nature man earns the boon of Annapūrṇā, the Goddess of Plenty. But the law of goodness is the norm of religion. Law is the basis of power. Today the boast of civilization is to usurp the seat of the Almighty. To vie with Him in the sphere of power is like Arjuna hurling his dart at Mahādeva—it does not touch Him. Human endeavour, presuming to rival Him, goes beyond its proper bounds, and earns a curse like the unhallowed opposite bank of Kāśī, or withers away like the world of Viśvāmitra's creation.

In the realm of power, God has two aspects: one is Annapūrṇā, the giver of food, the other is Kālī, the terrible, that draws back our limited power. The aspect of gain and achievement is most dazzling and beautiful, but the aspect of ebbing away is full of sadness and fearfulness. It is emptier than the void, it is the total disappearance of fullness.

The poet's incidental interpretation of the symbolism of Hindu divinities is as intimate as it is suggestive. Fullness comes from union with the Universe. This union makes one humble and removes egotism. Humility, he says, is a spiritual power, like the perennial flow of air which, by its very calmness, is more powerful than a hurricane. A storm convulses a small area for a time, but the gentle current of air enwraps the whole earth at all times.

These musings take us to the very heart of that serenity which was the aim of Indian culture. Of the Indian ethos the poet tells us that India never from weakness of heart

made any great truth a mere matter of words, an impossible attainment, incompatible with the conduct of life. He holds that Truth, for India, is monism in knowledge, world-fraternity in sentiment, in practice selfless austerity. Cosmic harmony, awareness of the Infinite, the oneness of all life, absolute non-injury, and complete renunciation have been not merely objects of meditation, but positive ideals to strive for. Irrespective of differences of sect, the uniform aim was the actualizing of the transcendent in knowledge, in love, in deed—the bases of virtue. There are institutes of religion, says Rabindranath, to make this real in the life of one and all.

For example, he refers to non-injury in matters of diet. India, at one time a meat-eating country, has now become almost everywhere vegetarian. This is without parallel in the world. The poet says that if injury to life is not given up the bond of harmony between creatures is lost. Man goes on spreading cruelty, wanton and fearful, on land and water, in the sky, in caves and hollows, at home and abroad. In another instance the poet remarks: 'I hold him an object of reverence who at the time of immersion in a river can with devout sincerity receive the water with all his limbs, with all his mind.' (*Ibid.* Vol. IV. p. 473) Through the stream, the supreme Intelligence has then touched his consciousness in a special way. The teaching which disposes one to esteem as sacred the water for bathing and the food for eating is not one of stupidity. Dullness lies in slighting things of necessity; the awakening of sensibility even by these is possible only through a special manifestation of sensibility.

Into the *Santiniketan* discourses are woven the varied implications of the Upaniṣadic dicta. The poet has in many places said that through the medium of the Upaniṣads his family had come into intimate touch with pre-Purāṇic India. These yielded,

indeed, sustenance to all the theistic philosophies of India and are honoured as their Vedic basis (*Śrutiprasthāna*). According to Tagore they are 'the mighty tree of Brahmalore. Texts such as 'All this is pervaded by the Lord' (*Īśopanīṣad*), or 'Motionless like a tree, the One abides in Heaven. By that Person is all this filled' (*Śvetāśvataropaniṣad*' III. 9), are repeatedly cited by him, and their manifold suggestiveness as the fountain-head of Indian theological speculations is elaborated. These gnomic verses recur like chiming golden bells in his elevating sermons.

THE POET'S FEELING FOR THE LIVING PAST

A visit to the Bhuvaneswar temples unfolded to his mind the message of post-Buddhist Hinduism: to enshrine the Deity in everyday life, to sense His movement in the joy and grief of every moment, and the identity of the soul of the cosmos with the super-Soul. Elsewhere the poet remarks that the omnipresence of God is an old saying, and that the work of great souls is to make the oldest truths fresh and alive.

The *Bhagavad-Gītā* is, in his words, the ultimate truth of Indian history—all the light of the *Mahābhārata* fused and focussed in one place. It has kept alight the beacon of the ultimate goal of life at the crossing of all paths by its harmony of knowledge, work, and devotion. All excursions of the Indian mind have led to the one root-truth—the way and the goal of a complete human life—the centre of all knowledge. The *Brahma-Sūtras*, known as the Dialectic Basis (*Tarka-prasthāna*), he says, is the one great light not only of the religion of the Aryas but of all human creeds.

In interpreting the ancient legends and literary classics of this land, our poet, like a sensitive instrument, seems to record and project the very pulsations of its inner life. His sensibility, subtle and finely emotional,

lights up the mysteries contained through the ages in the depths of Indian life. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, as he says, India wanted to hear the ideal character of complete manhood recited, and to this day it has heard it with tireless rapture; not even the inmates of one's own house are so real as are Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā. To the simple *anuṣṭubh* measures of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, the heart of India has been beating and throbbing through a millennium. The teaching of these great works is the symmetry of all parts blending in the fullness of consequence, in the resolution of all discord. If their lesson be forgotten and they cease to be known, human civilization, Tagore says, will sicken and shrivel and perish from instant to instant in the stuffy, breath-polluted air of the crowded workshop.

Justice in the *Mahābhārata*, impartial, severe, punctilious, spares no character. It weighs them all in the nicest balance, duly blames or praises, sets the value, and subjects them to the inexorable law of Karma. Says Rabindranath: 'Where the hearer is a recluse, without attachment, aware of the inevitable end of heroism, prowess, and greatness, there the poet also is merciless.' (*Ibid.* Vol. V. p. 539) The whole of the *Mahābhārata* is a triumphal pillar raised to the valour and victories of Arjuna befriended by Kṛṣṇa; the Kurukṣetra field is his crowning glory. And yet when the ladies of Kṛṣṇa's family are attacked by robbers in the end, his arm is powerless to raise the all-conquering bow. Thus the destiny of man and life's close are flashed in a series of realistic pictures by the epic poet. With lively emotion, Tagore points out 'the joy of a great idea in which our open-hearted forefathers meditated, renounced, worked, and gave their lives'. (*Ibid.* Vol. IV. p. 400)

Of the nine primal sentiments that, according to the ancients, figure in literary creation, Rabindranath with easy grace

moves through the erotic, the pathetic, and the quietistic, but whether in these or in the heroic, the humorous, or the awe-inspiring, everywhere his innate distinction is a tone of sublimity and dignity, a touch of delicacy and the nicest propriety. It is his style, the rhythm of his thought, the very air he breathes. In fiction and in drama this delicate purity of emotion consistently shows in the treatment of the severe ascetic character exposed to the charm of femininity. Woman's frailty nowhere, as in modern stories and plays, passes into wantonness. The author's concern is to preserve unsullied the austere purity of the anchorite and the devotion of woman to high ideals of chastity, and he wards off lapses even in situations tending to be compromising.

In laying open the principles of Indian culture and trends of life, intellect and imagination are his ready handmaids, together with sincere regard. Clarity of reason, unbiassed judgement, selfless and transparent zeal are everywhere patent. In books, in history, in poetry, he says, this feature of the religious and social behaviour of the ancient Hindus is everywhere manifest. By way of contrast, he adds, materialistic, power-dominated civilization is not the only kind of civilization. Superior to it is civilization which gives primacy to righteousness and the good of all. If righteousness is adjudged as the highest ideal of human civilization superiority must belong to the Indian pattern.

THE TRADITION OF DISCIPLINED LEISURE

To maintain the balance between goodness and active energy, and, while loosening its many fetters on the mind, to attract man to work in society and yet to fit him for liberation, is the highest and the Indian ideal. He points out that because we cannot puff up ancient Indian civilization with material goods we are unable, therefore, to visualize it, and so we do not truly under-

stand it, it does not fully satisfy our intelligence. At the root of this failure is the ever-busy, restless, sensational modern plan of life, in the vortex of which no leisure is left for thought. He adds that in the midst of whirling motion nobody can rightly view himself and the world; everything appears hazy. Those given to enjoyment are exhausted by the excitement of ever-new pleasures. Inside the factories, and outside and all around, men live so huddled together that workmen miss the natural right to aloofness, the privacy of solitude. One of the aims of the Indian life-scheme was to keep the pulse of life free from this hustling, distracted speed of movement.

India is not the bondsman of work. To die in harness is Europe's ideal: the glorious death is to stumble and fall while running, reined and harassed. India also, these days, is getting used to this expression. The end is taken for granted, and therefore no dishonour is perceived in it. For this reason, to renounce is not to run away from the fight. As soon as the work of the world is done, there is release from it, and then ensues the unhampered endless progress of the soul; it is not indolence. This is the truth at the root of life's division into stages. To take to the forest life of a recluse is to start on the broad highway of a career without riches, without belongings. The ideal of work is not man's sole ideal; a much bigger thing is being. Fear that the excitement of work should, as master, overpower the soul such was India's apprehension.

If society is given primacy, the means is made the end. This, India did not intend to do. Hence, fast as are her ties, complete is her renouncement. Work has no end in nature. But India keeps work in the background and expresses herself in being. Being is the ultimate ideal, and not doing. Individual liberty, and life with spacious leisure around—such were the two moulding principles of the Indian social polity. In the mod-

ern overcrowded world and under the pressure of totalitarianism, both are becoming narrowed and curbed. Rabindranath, citing a letter from a Chinese, says that one cannot even fancy the condition of people that can do almost wholly without government. Elsewhere he points out that the treasure of India's austere striving is a liberty larger and higher than freedom. The call of liberty is there in all the activities and usages, in the peace, happiness, and contentment of India. The Indian is solitary and self-absorbed, he carries about him an abiding solitude. Like a majestic tree, he keeps unrestricted space around and underneath, provides shade if shelter is sought, says nothing if one leaves. The bond of beneficence in household duties, and release from bondage for the detached soul—India is quite aloof in the seat of austerities. The uniqueness of India is civilization reared in the forest, in belief unfettered, in usage ruled by the sacred institutes. These traits are, in our poet's works, etched with a deft and ready hand.

The group of essays called *Atmaśakti* sought to rouse spiritual strength and conviction in the nation's drooping soul. In this he says that every race is a limb of humanity. Every unit wins its place by an adequate answer to the question, What has it contrived as a gift, as help for mankind? The main theme of history is commercial enterprise and military expedition. But, says our poet, India never returned home after vexing the world to the bone and marrow by carrying armies and merchandise. Everywhere she won the reverence of men by establishing peace, solace, and the righteous regime. Kingly power was never the supreme riches in our land. The title to Brahminhood, that is, the privilege of knowledge, of virtue, of austerity, was the sustainer of life in society. To pile up wealth and honours is to snap the social bond. In India, the highest in society are the sages, not the rich or the luxurious. The preceptor of steadfast prin-

ciple, solely given to study and teaching, selfless, and not caring for pay, was essential to the Indian academic system and was its glory. Truly emancipated were the Brāhmaṇas. The emancipation of the Brāhmaṇa is, indeed, the emancipation of society. And the poet opined that there was extreme need of this genuine Brāhmaṇic class. In a Santiniketan sermon he said that a man is not truly himself by virtue of wealth or retinue or honour. Even now man, wrapt as a foetus, in animal nature, sucking in blood from the physical world through the vein of instinct, grows in an inert fashion. Self-tied weakness is not greater than man's soul.

EVOLUTION THROUGH THE STRUGGLE FOR UNITY

The question which deeply engages men of science today is whether, in the evolution of man, the form which stands proven in the last hundred centuries of history is the last phase. Rabindranath, as the exponent of Indian culture, takes his stand on realism and, without looking for vague possibilities in the future, points to the peaks of past human eminence. He depends not on speculation but draws on past annals. He says that the trend of human evolution is in the direction of the mind. In *Pather Sanchaya* (Sayings for the Way) he asserts that our striving is in order to realize the Infinite manifesting itself within our limits. The Infinite is true and beautiful within the finite. Man's endeavour is to discover himself, clearly revealed. To discover clearly is to find himself limited within the finite. If I disdain my limits, I shall bar the expression of the Infinite. The majesty of the soul is to transcend the body in the body. The saint personalities of our land can, in the psychic world, in the domain of the heart, easily realize the link with the Infinite. The essay-collections entitled *Dharma*, *Santiniketan*, and *Bharatvarsa* are full of expositions of the excellence that Indian culture

attained in this sphere. Liberty of the individual, he says, is for the last stage of life, in the realm of self-realization, at the end of the responsibility to society and family.' It is not for self-inflation or self-seeking, but for self-attainment, for gathering up the self. To resolve the many discords, the many distractions within and without, there is the striving for inner harmony. 'For the Self forsake the world', runs the śāstraic injunction. This signifies, according to him, that renunciation and detachment are for the experience of the Infinite in the soul. In the Preface to *Chaitra*, he says that the principles in the two apartments of life differ—multiform in the world, at heart alone.

The proof of man's greatness is chiefly in renunciation. The Infinite offers itself as a sacrifice within the limits of the law of Truth. The conflict of the two has been caused by the ego. The European idea is that lack of the conquering spirit is death. This is a distortion arising from extreme desire. Contentment, self-restraint, peace, and forbearance—all these are elements of a higher civilization. A spirit of opposition is at the root of political greatness. The endeavour to assert oneself against another is the basis of political dominance. 'The complex of antagonism seen within European political unity may pull one up against another, but cannot yield harmony within oneself. Hence it has kept alive separation and conflict between man and man, between rulers and ruled, between rich and poor. Politics is external, while it is *dharma* or righteousness which awakens the soul. In days of yore, when prosperity lay ahead, austerity was the chief wealth; and now, when before us lies the prospect of annihilation, there is no end to the appliances of luxury, and the unquenchable fire of enjoyment shooting up in a thousand flames, dazzles our eyes. Against all testimonies to the contrary, India has proclaimed

with great emphasis: By unrighteousness one prospers for a while, sees manifold good, and then vanquishes one's enemies, but perishes at last to the very roots.

Rabindranath's exposition of the Indian social polity while revealing the past is significant for the present. The endeavour of India throughout has been the same—unity within diversity, to point to one goal, to realise the One amidst the many; to seize the secret bond underlying all. Today, the world over, the problem is not how to be one by effacing differences, but how to unite while retaining them. Man loses his patience in binding a large community by a single ideal. India has accepted all, has admitted all. The magic of making the other one's own is the mark of genius. That genius we find in India. All the races and countries are today striding forward to claim seats of equality in the comity of nations and are pulled contrary ways by the tug-of-war for suzerainty between the two major power-blocs; the Indian method of reconciliation merits attention in a world of strife. India has tried to unite the unlike in social bonds by assigning special rights to each. If righteousness is valued, if righteousness is decided to be the ultimate ideal, the method of India claims primacy. In a discourse entitled *Visvabodha* (Cosmic Sense) the poet remarks how the gradual extension of egoism rises in Europe to the sense of imperialism. The universalism of India seeks to make the Infinite explicit, like the *āmālaki* fruit held in the palm. Man does not possess by covering space, nor does he own by overtly using it; he is true as far as he feels, his possession extends to that limit. The attempt to sense the reality of the Infinite in all subjects of creation went so far in India that the metaphysicians of other lands have not dared to reach it.

To spread and stabilize this attitude mnemonic aid was provided, says Rabindra-

nath, in the *gāyatrī* verse. This *mantra* has been explained by him as the simple formula to awaken the consciousness of Brahman. The *gāyatrī* portion is for comprehending within the mind the whole of creation, the rest is for meditating on the visible creative power of the Lord of the three worlds. It is to feel Him by his gift, the intelligence. Tagore adds that the *mantra*, or mystic formula, is a means of binding. For one has to sing it to a particular tune. Again he says that the *gāyatrī* is the word of life, the joy of the devout-hearted. To visualize the Truth, infinite, steady, and serene, the meditative formula is the *gāyatrī*, while *Om* signifies acceptance, of fullness complete. Another aid to spiritual life is steadfastness of faith or *niṣṭha*. The poet likens it to a camel on the desert track. Its function is constant alertness. *Niṣṭha* is unshaken devotion to effort.

THE CHANGING FACE OF INDIA

Indian ideology and the inner currents of the soul are thus shown intimately and closely reasoned, and there is, besides, a total awareness of the glorious features of the race's outer life. In a discourse on 'The Hindu University' (*Ibid.* Vol. XVIII. p. 470), the poet remarks how, to us, the picture of Hindu civilization is like the figure on the page of the solar transition in the almanack. He is, as 'it were, constantly bathing, telling his beads, fasting and wearing himself out with penances, shunning the touch of all else in the world, and standing apart with the utmost hesitancy. But at one time this Hindu civilization was alive, it then sailed the seas, made conquests, did give and take, and founded colonies, and had arts and commerce. Thus it stands out on every page of the *Mahābhārata*. That large and variegated Hindu society, astir with life's urge, engaging in new enterprises by the impetus of wide-awake mental powers, moved forward to truth through error,

reached conclusions through trials, and won success by striving. And he adds that we want not to destroy but to enlarge the concept of the Hindu personality.

By analysis of history the poet shows the trend and rhythm of Hindu society. Like the stream of blood pumped by the 'living heart, now it rushes towards the world, and again it turns towards itself. Now the feeling for universal humanity makes it home-forsaking, then the love of kindred brings it back home. Now lured by the All it forgoes its 'ownness', and again it realizes that to be empty by losing 'ownness' is only to give up self but not to the All.

The religion of Hindu society is the religion of life, of unfolding, of change, of continual receiving and rejection, says the poet. Even within the ancient ideal of India there is a part that is eternal and a part that is temporary. What is for the time being does not serve for another time. But if we choose what is for all time, then, while being Indian, we shall fit ourselves for different ages and changing conditions.

Of the Hindu social ideal, also, the poet's thoughts, gleaned from his extensive writings, light up aspects— its ground plan and norm of behaviour, the individual life, and the body politic. Much of it has passed into the currency of accepted notions. At the root of Hindu civilization comes society, at the root of European, politics; nation and the interest of the State are the aim and cohesive principle of European civilization. At one end of European civilization is the irrepressible thirst for individual liberty, and at the other extreme coercive power. Liberty implies freeing from all restraint, and the haughty desire to act at will, not caring for anyone else in the world. To us society comes first, and the individual next. There are relations amidst whom a man is born, and he must bear himself all his life in their midst. We have claims on one another: such is the frame of society. We are bound

by the ties of mutual obligation. This we know to be good. We share our enjoyment, we work alone. If combat be the law of Nature, that law India has set at naught.

The civilization of which the nation is the distinctive expression has not yet had its final trial.* It is beset with wrong, injustice, and falsehood, and at its core it bears fearful cruelty. The moral principle which is valid for the individual is to be laid aside, if necessary, in affairs of state, this rule is becoming universally accepted. In this respect European civilization today mirrors world polity.

Like the all-beholding sun, Rabindranath has shed his light on all the landmarks of this continent of achievement and speculation which is India, and, like a camera, he has shown up past and present, bright and dark, high and low. Is it possible to educe an integrated whole by piecing together the thoughts and arguments scattered through his volumes?

In *Sesa Saptaka* (the Last Septet) he asks himself: This my whole being, painted with an art of variegated beauty, will it ever, with all its garnerings, all its revelations, be fully bared before any divine eye? And the reply in his own words is:

With all its strivings austere it has sought
experience,

And said, as says the dim figure of
Twilight,

Said, as says the rosy flush of the night's
• close,

Come, Revelation, come.

* (*Ibid.* Vol. XVIII. p. 10.)

TAGORE'S VISION FOR EAST AND WEST

As the lover of light he claims to be, he has interpreted Indian ethos, polity, and culture with an acumen and intimacy which is all his own, and rare even in a traditional mind. The discovery of India is, to

english his own phrase, an incomplete verb (*asamāpikā kriyā*), still unexhausted by the explorers and surveyors of Indology. A reverent approach and an ardent faith in its potentialities mark his exposition. Above all, he stresses 'the hardy strength of poverty, the stilled intensity of silence, the austere benevolence of renunciation' (*Ibid.* Vol. IV. p. 368), as striking traits of the Indian view and manner of life. To perceive Oneness in the many, to forge coherence amidst variety, this is India's inborn virtue. To remember this God-appointed role of India will steady our aim, dissipate our shame—so runs his exhortation.

M. Pierre Amado, until recently Director of the French Cultural Centre in Calcutta, voiced, on one occasion, the West's appraisal and expectation of India. He said that many in the Occident still eagerly look for some place where wisdom is more honoured than folly, than even reason, where it is still the aim of life; some place on earth which still holds to the one Truth which brings peace—that to be is greater than to have. Full of the idea of seizing the forces of nature to conquer happiness, to possess, to possess more, to create more needs, and tired of steel, coal, atomic plants, and satellites to the point of surfeit, they turn to the Hindu's millenary civilization for solving the problem of man in relation to the world and wish it might be the mother who delivers and gives rest from the contentious West. And they have a sense of frustration in finding, instead, the myth of India in the actual conditions of the day.

Is it just a cultural curiosity, an academic diversion, to try to figure this age-old India as glimpsed by Rabindranath's vivid soul? Has it no bearing on social behaviour and national character in independent India? Is it of no help in the synthesis of East and West, often declared to be the great need of the day? The discovery of India, to be valid and authentic, can only be the work

of a genius worthy of the lineage of Vyāsa, Vālmiki, Kumārila, Śaṅkara, Madhva, in which Rabindranath among the moderns has fitly his place. Not a pool, but only the placid sea can mirror the sky. Such a discovery may perhaps stem the disruption of the Indian ethos, the disintegration of Indian unity of which recent happenings are an evil omen. Both these, to be firmly rooted and enduring, must date from a millennial past, from a cultural heritage beyond British rule and English education, which is the rich ideological background Rabindranath envisaged. With the eye of truth he measured the priceless legacy of the past as well as the formidable challenge of the present, and uttered both warning and assurance in compelling accents. He reminds us how our special system was held together by regulating the whole country. Social dealings did not grow slack, uprightness was maintained in transaction, false witness was reprehended, the debtor did not

defraud the creditor, and all men in simple faith honoured the general rules of *dharma*.

On one side is apparent Europe, on the other, the teaching of sacred institutes, the authority of antique tests; on one side is dominant power, on the other only our wavering faith. In this state it is difficult to keep reverence steadily pointed towards India.

In a *Santiniketan* discourse on 'The Modern Age' Tagore points out that everybody is awake today. Politics is a thing of externals, it is *dharma* which truly awakens the soul. The message of the twentieth century is the religious stirring, favourable to the ascetic's spiritual striving. Today, the never-ageing, ever-awake divinity of India is calling to our soul—that soul unfathomable, never vanquished, which has an indefeasible title to, and an unending seizure of, the world of immortality. Dealing blow after blow, pang after pang, His call is *Ātmānam Viddhi*, Know Thyself.

This One in me knows the universe of the many. But, in whatever it knows, it knows the One in different aspects. It knows this room only because this room is One to it, in spite of the seeming contradiction of the endless facts contained in the single fact of the room. Its knowledge of a tree is the knowledge of a unity, which appears in the aspect of a tree.

This One in me is creative. Its creations are a pastime, through which it gives expression to an ideal of unity in its endless show of variety. Such are its pictures, poems, music, in which it finds joy only because they reveal the perfect forms of an inherent unity.

BOOK REVIEW

A YANKEE AND THE SWAMIS. By John Yale. George Allen and Unwin, London. 1961. 224 pp. 25 shillings.

This is a travel book with a difference. Indeed, on one level only is it the story of a journey; on another and more personal level it is the story of the end of a journey. It reflects the experience of a westerner who had already gone very far along his own road to understanding before he came to India to examine, paradoxical though it may seem, the background of the journey he had already taken in spirit.

The seemingly catchpenny title recalls the titles of Arthur Koestler's books: *The Yogi and the Commissar*, *The Lotus and the Robot*; yet the rhythm of the titles is about all there is in common between these two travellers, one from the new world, the other from the old, though both seriously bent on investigating an ancient world. The differences are significant. Koestler, who gives the impression of being as much a displaced person inwardly as externally, felt compelled to examine and observe the many faces of India. Actually calling himself a pilgrim, he yet remained only an exceedingly brilliant observer. John Yale, even before he came to India, had already found his place, the Self, and had already committed himself to an idea, to an experiment in living. It was, therefore, easier for him to give himself up, for a short while, to the experience of living in India as an Indian, so far as it is possible to do so. He gave himself up to experiencing a particular and very important aspect of India not as an observer only, but as a dedicated person who, by identifying himself with an idea, sought to reach the deepest possible truth in the realization of that idea.

Only in *living* an idea—fumbling and searching in the everyday living of it—can one hope to find the secret spring of the

door of understanding. John Yale writes: 'For any guest, it is only good manners to assimilate the manners of the people he is visiting. ... If you merely observe a custom you may think it peculiar or purposeless. But if you participate, its inner meaning may reveal itself to you. I wanted to come to know my Indian associates, not as a guest, not as an outside observer looking in; I wanted to become one of them. How could I really grasp anything of India or Indians otherwise? So I kept quiet about the strangenesses and made the plunge. I took my chances with the rest of the standees on the bus. I immersed my fingers in the curry. Pretty soon the dislocations vanished. I was seeing things from *their* standpoint, and with knowledge, understanding and love came.'

Knowledge, understanding, and love: all these, it is evident from this book, John Yale had developed to an exceptional degree before he came to India. Even so, the adjustments he had to make quite suddenly were severe, though not all were unusual. What was unusual, however, was, first, that when John Yale came to India in 1952, it was as the young Brahmachari Prema Chaitanya of the Vedanta Centre of Hollywood, South California; secondly, this book, compiled from articles previously published, was written eight years after the event, allowing plenty of time for the processes of assimilation and critical reflection. What a delightful difference in approach from the market-catching efficiency of the usual brisk commentaries on India!

The author tells us how '... the aggressive inquirer is gone. The younger man who did the research, who observed and made notes, who judged and came to conclusions, is no more'. Time has passed and he could never again make the journey described in this book. And what was this journey?

Before taking his final vows as a Brahmachari of the Hollywood Centre of the Ramakrishna Order, John Yale felt the need to become acquainted with the practices and policies of the Order in India as these formed the background to the life of the ashrama in Hollywood. He also wanted to visit places associated with the life of Sri Ramakrishna, and to draw near to the nineteenth century founder of the Order. His programme was as follows: 'This man visited all the Vedanta Societies in the United States, England, and France on the way to India. He travelled five thousand miles in India itself and stopped at thirty-eight of the Order's centres. He went to places associated with the life of Sri Ramakrishna and the first apostles of the Ramakrishna movement. He sought out the major holy places of the country, entering the most famous and most closely guarded shrines of Hinduism as a worshipper. He attempted to live as an Indian monastic, while maintaining the coolness of judgment of a Western observer.'

This is the bare outline of a richly descriptive, humorous, and, at times, deeply penetrating examination of an experience. Many details of as great interest to westerners as the more obscure details of religious practice, are given: clothing, bathing, the inevitable boiled, unseasoned vegetables, the perpetual questions of appalling frankness, the lack of privacy, the fear of disease, the shock of destitution and dirt. But the descriptions of the author's reactions to the daily lives of the monks at Belur Math, his visit to Sri Ramakrishna's room at Dakshineswar where Jesus at last became understandable to him, his acute observations during a typical train journey, and his personal discovery of the meaning of the goddess Kali, all these, and many more reflections and discussions, are sensitive illuminations of India by a westerner with a most delicate awareness.

This book is written for westerners in that it sets out to inform and explain (there are photographs and maps, and there is even a recipe for *jellabi*!). But there is another side to it. Many Indians are in exactly the same position, spiritually, as many westerners like John Yale, who, in his thirties, found that to be a successful publisher with sufficient money to enjoy the good things of life, was simply not enough. Yet the 'rank provincialism', as he calls it, of the Christian Churches appalled him, in the same way, perhaps, as the spiritual and intellectual provincialism of a great many of his fellows disturbs the thinking Indian.

Westerners who have lived in India for some time are often struck, on the one hand, by a common tendency on the part of Indians to attribute to India and the East an innate spirituality and to the West an innate lack of spirituality; and, on the other hand, by a prevailing indifference towards, or even a deliberate turning away from, their national heritage. The effects of this provincialism and general deracination are painfully visible in many aspects of Indian life, but perhaps nowhere so tragically as among young people whose minds reflect the admitted decay in educational values, which, in turn, surely implies a spiritual vacuum in the life of the nation.

At the same time as India is experiencing her own particular Slough of Despond, the pressures of the West on her are increasing. The pressures are not only those of a materialist and utilitarian character, but are also of a spiritual nature being concerned with fundamental values and ethical standards. The westerner's eager appetite for knowledge and understanding of the Indian way of life and its traditional values, is an appetite which appears to be increasing in direct ratio to the decreasing interest taken by the Indian in his own culture. As the pressure of the West's probing, analytical mind, with its high standards of intellectual

integrity, increases, how is the modern, rootless, and frustrated Indian going to meet it, or teach his children to meet it?

John Yale does not directly tackle this question as it is not the purpose of his book, though, in passing, he does touch sensitive spots in the Indian psyche. But the relevance of what has been written above becomes clear in the reading of those passages in which he describes the nature of this pressure from the West, and which may be considered in the light of a spiritual challenge to India; not the old-time challenge of exclusive and proselytizing faiths, but something quite new:

'Consider the remarkable broadening out that has occurred in Christian nations in the past few years. Suddenly it is no longer dangerous heterodoxy to hold that the spirit of the one God may be manifest in faiths besides Christianity. College comparative religions courses, in which all viewpoints are treated with respect, are numerous. Anthologies of spiritual literature published today regularly include passages from the *Bhagavad-Gītā* or the Upaniṣads. Members of Christian church groups are often to be found attending Vedānta temples as visitors. In 1956 a book recommending the mysticism of Ramakrishna—Colin Wilson's *The Outsider*—became a runaway best-seller in England and the United States; and Arnold Toynbee's *A Historian's Approach to Religion*, which predicted the emergence of a broad new Oriental-type faith, was nearly as popular. The *Bhagavad-Gītā* in a news-

stand edition has sold in the hundreds of thousands in America and England. *Time* and *Life* have run sympathetic stories about phases of what we would call the perennial philosophy. And the "illiterate" priest of Dakshinēswar has even been quoted in *The Reader's Digest*. A new world of reconciliation seems to be dawning.' And again: 'A new mood is gripping people. In a world where the barriers of distance have vanished, how can the barriers of prejudice remain? Everywhere men and women are learning good things, human things, about other men and women. Exclusiveness, born purely of ignorance, is being replaced by curiosity, even respect. It is dawning on many that ideological isolationism in today's world has become untenable. If a person pursues this line of thinking—if he pushes hard against the walls of the old conditioning—he stands a good chance, sooner or later, of stumbling upon Ramakrishna and Vedānta.'

This should indicate that *A Yankee and the Swamis* is a book to be pondered over by all who are concerned with India.

In conclusion, the reviewer reflects how curious, but symbolically how satisfying, that Hollywood, that image of all that is mercetracious in western civilization, should have become one of the most potent centres from which the ancient and most sane and liberal religious philosophies of the East are influencing not only the West, but, in return, the new, young, uprooted East.

M. M.

God is not a symbol of power over man but of man's own powers.

ERICH FROMM

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

East-West Centre in Hawaii

Dr. Merrill F. Heiser, Dean of the International College of the East-West Centre in Hawaii, was in India during August. He was arranging for selection procedures for prospective students for East-West Centre scholarships. These scholarships will enable Indian students to study in the University of Hawaii's constituent colleges.

At present there are thirteen Indian students studying with East-West Centre scholarships in Hawaii. The Madras Education and Finance Minister, Sri. C. Subramaniam, met them in August during his visit to the Centre.

The Centre is considered to be a novel experiment in education and international understanding. It was created by an Act of the United States Congress in 1960, on the initiative of Senator Lyndon Johnson, as he then was, now Vice-President of America. It was established for the purpose of technical and cultural interchange between East and West. At the Centre, Asian students are trained in graduate and undergraduate courses, and attend seminars on American and Asian studies.

While the East-West Centre administers the funds provided for cultural and technical interchange, the International College, of which Dr. Heiser is Dean, is a body which looks after the welfare and progress of the foreign students enrolled at the University of Hawaii for studies as East-West Centre scholars. The Centre's academic activities are mainly of three kinds. Firstly, students can enroll for any of the several courses of studies at the University of Hawaii's eight colleges. Secondly, the Centre has an international training agency which offers more than a hundred programmes for on-the-job and in-service training with community agencies throughout the State of Hawaii. These courses in the practical aspects of community life, like traffic safety,

delinquency control, and pest eradication, are of durations varying from a couple of weeks to about six months. A third activity is to organize seminars and conferences of senior scholars and specialists. The Indian Vice-President, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, was a participant in one such philosophical conference.

The East-West Centre has scheduled two gatherings of international scholars for 1964. One will be the triennial meeting of the International Comparative Literature Association, to be attended by nearly 150 scholars for about two weeks during August of that year. The other will be a six-week philosophers' conference.

Approximately 200 student scholarships of the East-West Centre will be available for foreign students to study at the University of Hawaii during 1962-63. Of these, about twenty will be for Indians. It is anticipated that the scholarships will increase each successive year and total 1,000 by 1965.

Exhibition of Musical Instruments

The largest exhibition of musical instruments ever displayed in the United States was held recently in New York at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Nearly 1,500 instruments from the Museum's collection of 4,000 specimens from various periods and countries were included. There was a large Indian representation, much of which was a gift to the museum, at the turn of the century, by the noted Indian musicologist, Rajah Sourindro Mohun Tagore.

Save the Children Fund

The Save the Children Fund, founded in 1919, is a British voluntary society dedicated to aiding needy children all over the world.

It was reported recently that the society was preparing a home in Simla where one hundred Tibetan refugee children are to be housed and educated.

INSTITUTE NEWS

East-West Cultural Conference

In the September issue of the *Bulletin* information was given about the East-West Cultural Conference which is to be held in the Institute, in collaboration with UNESCO, from 1 to 9 November.

In addition to those whose names were published as having accepted invitations to participate at the Conference, the following may be mentioned:

Dr. Helmut G. Callis, who is already well known to the Institute and to readers of the *Bulletin*. Dr. Callis will represent America along with Professor E. Adamson Hoebel whose name was given in the September issue of the *Bulletin*. Count Arnold Keyserling, information about whom is given elsewhere in this 'Institute News', will represent Austria. Dr. Z. Safa, Professor of History of Persian Literature at Teheran University, and Secretary to the Iranian National Commission for UNESCO, will represent Iran, and Dr. E. Maung, Minister of Education, Government of Burma, will participate as the Burmese representative.

School of Humanistic Studies

The following is an outline of the aims and work of the School of Humanistic Studies which the Institute is developing during the current academic year.

Unity in diversity will be the keynote of the various studies of the cultures of the world undertaken by the School. Inspired by the ideal of the solidarity of mankind, the aim of the courses will be to cultivate a world point of view in addition to existing regional points of view. By improving and broadening humanistic teaching, it is hoped in this School to elucidate the problem of the unity of civilization, and to promote the development of all cultures in a spirit of absolute acceptance and tolerance which will

guarantee their coexistence and mutual enrichment.

It will be the aim of the courses to utilize, foster, and canalize the growing awareness of the equality of the nations in the international order, of each country's right to free and idiosyncratic development, and of the need for constant adjustment of traditional cultural features to the new forms of social, economic, and political life, whether these be the product of internal evolution or of external contacts.

History will be applied in the courses to demonstrate the special role of each culture, its universal elements, and its unique and living contribution to world culture. Concepts, ideas, and facts of history will become items of knowledge calculated to foster greater mutual appreciation. Traditional values will be studied and related to the circumstances of modern life.

While the courses will provide a scholarly study of culture patterns, the essential objective will be to treat each culture not simply as a subject for study, but to reach the heart of the ways of thinking, feeling, and living of the peoples. The courses will deal with the living traditions of people today, their cultural values, their development, and their harmonious relations. Cultures will be reviewed not only in isolation, but also in their correlation and their interaction. The subject of the interaction of cultures will be given particular emphasis as a new and fertile line of approach.

People all over the world are conscious today of the fundamental unity of mankind. The courses of study will be founded on the fact that every culture is endowed with a universal dimension, not only because it can be understood and respected by all peoples, but because it gives particular expression to the highest qualities of mankind, and because its values contain a wealth of

teaching and inspiration. In this perspective all cultures have classical values. The courses of study will thus aim at the development of mutual appreciation of cultural values; they will also aim at the development of a renewed and broader humanism, within which cultures endowed with their own unshakable individuality, but capable of drawing from each other inspiration and enrichment, will coexist and collaborate. This cultural pluralism, tempered by the necessity for understanding and appreciation of each culture by the others, and inspired by the idea of the universal solidarity of mankind, characterizes the point of view of the present age on the problem of the unity of civilization.

It is in recognition of this point of view, as the next forward step to be taken by all peoples, that the Institute offers the following courses of study:

(i) Mankind's Common Heritage; (ii) Indian Culture; (iii) The Sister Civilizations; (iv) The World's Great Religions; (v) Inter-cultural Relations (India and the world: historical and contemporary); (vi) Bases of the Emerging World Civilization; and (vii) Research and Seminars.

Dr. Helmut G. Callis

In this issue of the *Bulletin* 'Observations' has been contributed by Dr. Helmut G. Callis, who, as readers of the *Bulletin* will know, has been closely connected with the planning of the School of Humanistic Studies. The article, entitled 'The Study of Cultures as a Basis for World Understanding', discusses the educational principles and philosophy which underlie the development of the School of Humanistic Studies.

School of Sanskrit Studies

In addition to the School of Humanistic Studies, the Institute's scheme of work envisages a School of Languages and a School of Sanskrit Studies. The School of Languages is already established and developing, while the School of Sanskrit Studies

was established by the Institute in the first week of September.

Two courses of study have been arranged, general and advanced. The aim of the general course of study is to enable the students to have a general acquaintance with the religious and cultural thought of India. The advanced course of study aims at helping the students either to acquire a special knowledge of a particular branch of Indian thought, or to make an intensive and critical study of important texts, according to the choice and aptitude of the students.

The general course will be a two-year course. Lectures are of two types: (i) Those dealing with the general character of a particular topic, the history of its evolution, its relation and connection with cognate topics, the history of its development and later transformations and ramifications; and (ii) those dealing with the study of selected representative texts.

Ordinarily, the advanced course will be a third year's course after the completion of the general course. But students who already have knowledge of the first year's course may straightway join the advanced course. The third year's advanced course may be followed by a fourth year's course of more specialized and intensive study.

GENERAL COURSE

A. VEDIC LITERATURE

(i) *Saṁhitās* (only the hymns included in the Vedic Selections, parts I, II, and III, published by the University of Calcutta)

(ii) *Upaniṣads* (*Iśa*, *Keṇa*, and *Kaṭha*)

B. BUDDHISM AND JAINISM

(i) Buddhism. Selections from the *Dhammapada* and *Milindapañha*. The *Vimśika* and *Trimśika* of Vasubandhu.

(ii) Jainism

C. PURANA AND ITIHASA

(i) *Sāhitya - ratna - kośa - purāṇetiḥāsa*

- *samgrahaḥ*. Edited by Dr. S. K. De and Dr. R. C. Hazra (Sahitya Academi, Delhi)

(ii) The Epics

The *Rāmāyaṇa*. The *Mahābhārata*

(iii) The *Gītā*

1. SMṚTI AND ARTHA-SASTRA

(i) Manu

(ii) Kauṭilya

2. SAMKHYA AND YOGA

(i) *Sāṃkhya-kārikā* of Īśvarakṛṣṇa

(ii) Yoga. Pātañjala (only Samādhipada and Kaivalyapada)

3. VEDĀNTA

Vedāntasāra

4. LITERATURE

(i) Kālidāsa. *Abhijñāna-śakuntalam* (first four acts only). *Meghadūtam* (Pūrva-megha only)

(ii) Bhavabhūti. *Uttara-Rāma-carita* (first three acts only)

(iii) Vāṇabhaṭṭa. *Kadambarī* (Kathamukham portion only)

(iv) Jayadeva. *Gītāgovinda*. (Songs included in the first five chapters)

There will be a total of 170 lectures in the general course.

ADVANCED COURSE

For the advanced course of study option may at present be made from:

A. VEDĀNTA

(i) Advaita

(ii) Dvaita (Viśiṣṭādvaita of Rāmānuja; Suddha-dvaita of Madhva; Suddhādvaita of Vallabha and Dvaita of Nimbārka)

B. SAMKHYA

C. YOGA (Pātañjala)

D. TANTRA (Both Kashmiri Tantras and Bengal Tantras)

E. BUDDHISM

F. JAINISM

G. SPECIAL

(i) Saints of India

(ii) The *Rāmāyaṇa* of Tulasīdāsa

Lectures on 'The Metaphysics of Science'

Count Arnold Keyserling will conduct a course of five lectures at the Institute under the general heading of 'The Metaphysics of Science', beginning on Tuesday, 14 November, at 5.30 p.m., and continuing on each subsequent Tuesday, concluding on 12 December. The five lectures composing the course will be under the following titles: (i) The Origin of Mathematics; (ii) The Origin of Matter; (iii) The Origin of Life; (iv) The Origin of Consciousness; and (v) The Origin of Language.

Count Keyserling is the son of the late Count Hermann Keyserling who was the founder of the well-known School of Wisdom at Darmstadt in Germany, with which Rabindranath Tagore was associated at one period. After his father's death in 1946, Count Arnold Keyserling directed the School in its later location at Innsbruck in Austria. From 1948 to 1952, he lectured at the Kriterion, an institute of philosophy in Vienna, and directed a publishing firm specializing in philosophical works. In 1957, he was invited to India to deliver a series of lectures, as an honorary visiting lecturer in philosophy, at Visva Bharati, Santiniketan, and at Pilani, under the auspices of the Birla Education Trust. At present, he is a lecturer in the German language at the Sarat Bose Academy and the German Cultural Institute in Calcutta.

Count Keyserling is the author of several books on philosophy and is now preparing his main work, to be entitled *The Metaphysics of the Wheel*. He has been appointed by the Austrian Ministry of Education to represent Austria as a participant at the East-West Cultural Conference to be held at the Institute in November.

Special Meeting

On 8 August 1961, at 6.30 p.m., the Institute had the privilege of listening to Dr. Subodh Chandra Roy, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D., who gave a valuable talk on 'Education for the Blind in the United States'.

Dr. Roy, a naturalized American citizen, is himself blind and has done significant work for the blind in India. He has also made outstanding contributions in the fields of philosophy and sociology. He founded the All-India Lighthouse for the Blind in Calcutta in 1941, and served as its Director and Honorary Secretary for five years. He was nominated a member of the Experts Braille Committee set up by the Government of India in 1941, and served in this capacity until 1948. Dr. Roy's visit to India was sponsored by the United States Government under the Educational and Cultural Exchange Programme.

In his talk to the Institute, Dr. Roy described the highly developed work for the blind in America. He explained about the special training available for blind children, the Braille printing presses, supported by the Government and private funds, which produce text-books for blind students, and the 'talking books' which are played like gramophone records. Dr. Roy stressed the advisability of integrating blind children in the ordinary schools and providing a few specially trained teachers, rather than building special schools and separating the blind children from a normal background.

Observations

The contemplated fourth article on 'Comprehending Jesus', in the series entitled 'The Trend Towards Indian Thought in the Western Quest for Truth', which was announced in 'Institute News' in the July issue of the *Bulletin*, could not appear in this current issue. It is hoped to be published in the near future.

Library and Reading Room

In July the number of volumes added to the accession list in the Institute's library was 246, of which 191 were purchased, 41 were gifts, and 24 were bound periodicals. A total of 312 books were classified and catalogued. 1,933 books were borrowed and 1,633 were issued for reference. The reading room contained 340 Indian and foreign periodicals. The average daily attendance was 136 readers.

Children's Library

During the month of July there were 421 members on the roll. 1,007 books were borrowed, and 23 books were added to the accession list. The average daily attendance was 58 readers.

Students' Day Home

With the reopening of colleges in Calcutta the number of students on the roll increased to 500. The daily attendance during July averaged 209, and those taking meals or tiffin in the canteen averaged 123. In August the number of students on the roll increased to 701. The daily attendance averaged 503, and those taking meals or tiffin averaged 316. During July and August, no new text-books were purchased, the total remaining the same as in March, 4,838.

The British Information Services continued its programme of documentary films by showing two more films to the students during July. The August programme was postponed.

International Hostel

Amongst those who stayed at the Institute's International Hostel during July and August were the following:

Sri G. D. Khanolkar, from Bombay, a scholar and writer, who was on a pilgrimage to Dhakshineswar and Belur Math;

Miss Alice Boner, from Switzerland, a painter and scholar, now resident in Ara-

nasi, who is working on early Sanskrit manuscripts connected with Hindu art and architecture;

Dr. Harry M. Buck, A.B., B.D., Ph.D., from America, Associate Professor of the Bible and Religion at Wilson College, Chambersburg, Pennsylvania;

• Professor Vishwa Nath, Sc.D. (Cantab), F.N.I., from Chandigarh, Emeritus Professor and Head of the Department of Zoology at Punjab University, who was in Calcutta to attend a meeting of the National Institute of Science; and

Miss Carol Sumiko Santoki, from Hawaii, who is taking studies in Indian History and Culture at Calcutta University.

Visitors

Among the visitors to the Institute during July and August were the following:

Dr. Ian Stevenson, from America, Head of the Department of Psychiatry in the Medical School of the University of Virginia. Dr. Stevenson was introduced to the Institute by Swami Akhilananda of the Ramakrishna Vedanta Society of Massachusetts;

Professor C. Thomson, from Canada, attached to the Department of Political Science in the University of Montreal;

Mr. Ryozo Okumura, from Japan, Director of the International House in Osaka;

Dr. Trilochan Singh, formerly attached to Rangoon University;

Sri V. C. Agnihotri, Under Secretary to the Government of India in the Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs;

Professor A. R. Wadia, Director of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences in Bombay; and

Sri Jogendra Nath Gupta, editor of *Sishu Bharati*, the Bengali children's encyclopaedia.

Puja Holidays

From 9 October to 8 November all lectures and classes will be suspended, but the other

departments of the Institute will function as usual, except during the Puja holidays from 16 to 27 October.

Scripture Classes

During July the following scripture classes continued to be held:

Mahābhārata: This class, conducted by Professor Tripurari Chakravarti, was held every Monday, at 6 p.m. The attendance numbered from 1,000 to 1,300.

Śrīmad Bhāgavatam: This class, conducted by Swami Omkarananda, was held every Wednesday, at 6 p.m. The attendance numbered from 600 to 800.

Bhagavad-Gītā: This class, conducted by Swami Mahananda, was held on 1 and 21 July. The attendance numbered from 750 to 850.

Sanskrit Catuspathi

The Sanskrit *catuspāthi*, conducted by Pandit Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya, *Śāstri*, *Tarka-Vedānta-tirtha*, continued to be held during July on Mondays, Tuesdays, and Thursdays, at 6 p.m. 6 students are studying *Pañcadaśi* and *Gītābhāṣya*.

Indian Language Classes

During July the following classes were held:

Hindi: Pandit Bhubaneswar Jha continued his classes. 50 students attended the *Prārambhika* (beginners') class, which was held on Tuesdays and Fridays, from 6.30 to 7.30 p.m. 9 students attended the *Praveśa* (intermediate) class, held on Tuesdays and Fridays, from 7.30 to 8.30 p.m. 7 students attended the *Parichaya* (advanced) class, held on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays, from 6.30 to 7.30 p.m. 2 students attended the *Kovid* (diploma) class, held on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays, from 7.30 to 8.30 p.m., and on Saturdays, from 6.30 to 7.30 p.m.

Bengali: This class, conducted by Pro-

fessor Saurindra Kumar De, continued to be held every Wednesday and Friday, from 7.30 to 8.30 p.m. 9 students attended.

Foreign Language Classes

During July the following classes were held:

German: The beginners' class, conducted by Countess Keyserling, continued to be held on Wednesdays and Saturdays, from 6.30 to 7.30 p.m. and from 7.30 to 8.30 p.m. 73 students attended. On 9 August, at 6.30 p.m., the students of the German language

class were invited to view two films entitled *An Encounter With Germany* and *Mirror of Germany*. This film show was arranged by the Goethe Institute, Calcutta.

French: The class for beginners, conducted by Mr. Cadelis, was held on Tuesdays and Fridays, from 6.30 to 7.30 p.m. and from 7.30 to 8.30 p.m. 62 students attended.

Persian: The class for beginners, conducted by Dr. Hira Lal Chopra, continued to be held on Mondays and Thursdays, from 6.30 to 7.30 p.m. 4 students attended.

OCTOBER LECTURES

At 6 p.m.

October 7 **Worship of the Mother Goddess**

Speaker: Batuknath Bhattacharya, M.A., B.L.

President: Siva Prasad Bhattacharya, M.A.

October 24 **United Nations Day: The United Nations—Its Future**

Speaker: Arthur C. Bartlett

Director, United States Information Service, Calcutta

President: Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharya, M.A., B.L., M.L.C.

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CHINA'S NEW CULTURE AND THE CONCEPT OF MAN

HELMUT G. CALLIS, M.A., Dipl.Ec., Ph.D.

Dr. Helmut G. Callis is a specialist in Asian studies and is well-known to readers of the Bulletin. With his wife, Dr. Maud E. Callis, he spent three years in China making a study of the changing social patterns there. Subsequently Dr. Callis published his work, China, Confucian and Communist (Henry Holt and Co. 1959). The following article is related to the course of lectures on 'The Civilizations of China and Japan' which Dr. Callis is delivering as part of the curriculum of the Institute's new School of Humanistic and Intercultural Studies, in November and December.

HISTORY can become more meaningful by looking at nations or cultures as psychological entities with definable personality traits similar in important respects to the personality of an individual. Like the character of a person, a nation is formed, changed, and shaken by experience. However, if experience is sudden and shocking, we know that a country, like a person, may fall out of character in a Dr. Jekyll-Mr. Hyde fashion, and become neurotic, obsessed, or utterly beside itself. It may take another shock treatment, for example, the catastrophic result of a lost war, to bring a nation back to its senses,

In modern times, Nazi Germany perhaps best illustrates a case of national neurosis, though other nations like Japan or China are also instructive examples. In each of these cases the nation in its critical condition presented the world with a strange mask-like face, seemingly inconsistent with its former self and its historical past.

Through the ravages of domestic and international exploitation over many years, through the triple shocks of devastation, war, and run-away inflation, the Chinese people were driven to despair, accepting, finally, a government of intelligent but brutal fanatics, who were determined to change the *status*

quo in China beyond recognition. As a result, the benign face of old China turned into a scary caricature of its former self, cynically contemptuous of everything that had been dear to the Chinese for three millenia.

Contrary to Marxian doctrines, history, including the history of the Soviet and Chinese revolutions, shows that social systems are products of different leadership with different ideas about man and society. These ideas, in turn, then lead to contrasting patterns of culture and ways of life. Keeping this in mind, we will now proceed to examine the two types of man behind the old and the new China: Confucian man and Communist man.

CONFUCIAN MAN

First, let us ask what were the criteria of the good life, and the time-honoured ideas regarding God, nature, society, and state in traditional China.

In traditional Chinese thought, nature, directed by the 'will of Heaven', was good, orderly, and benevolent—and so was man, if he followed nature. Nature, as the Chinese understood it, was the great model for man and society. If lived in harmony with nature, life would be good and society orderly and harmonious. The good earth and heaven kindly gave what was needed for life. How could nature be bad? And man, too, was good as long as he kept within the bounds of nature's order. But were he to disturb that order, disaster would ensue. Nature would take revenge for man's improper conduct, and flood, drought, and famine would take their toll. In this grand concept of nature man himself played only a humble role.

In the China of old, man was not thought of as the lord of creation to whose service all other life ministered, but just as one among many other living beings in the universe. It is for this reason that in a

Chinese landscape painting man always appeared minute in size—a mere touch added to impressive natural surroundings, such as towering mountain peaks and bony rocks. In other words, Chinese art symbolically suggested that the traditional Chinese did not aspire to dominate or control nature, but wanted harmony with nature. In nature, away from the puny world of men, the scholar-artist could indulge his passion for leisure and solitude, his yearning for peace of mind. In contrast, western art, even in pre-Renaissance days, was always more anthropocentric, more sensual, and full of the artist's own ego. If one compares a Sung landscape in which mountains and clouds swallow up the human imprint, with an Italian painting whose master took nature as a mere background to the human theme, the different mentality of western and Chinese art becomes clearly visible. A Promethean challenge to nature of the type which attempts to steal the fire from the Heavens was totally absent from the Confucian way of life, while humility in relation to nature was an ever-present keynote.

Equally basic to Confucian concepts as man's submission to nature was man's dependence on the kinship group, his family or clan. In the familistic Confucian scheme, man held fixed social responsibilities. No allowance was made for an individualism given to uninhibited gratification of individual wants. If we can speak at all of individualism in the Confucian context, it served only to fulfil the particular role which was traditionally attributed to a social position or class; the role, let us say, of an elder brother, or of a daughter-in-law, or of a member of the scholar-gentry class.

In the Confucian scale of values filial piety was the highest virtue, and family loyalties and obligations were given preference to individual initiative and wishes. Marriages were, of course, arranged. At a typical Confucian wedding the newly-wed couple would

prostrate themselves in front of their parents after the ancestral rites had been performed. If individual self-expression was permitted at all it was only in the form of personal dignity and ceremonial decorum, found even in the humblest peasant in old China.

To make the Confucian personality more vivid by comparing with it personality traits of other cultures, we may observe that in western, especially American, individualism high value is placed upon the creative energies, the 'rights', and predilections of the individual, even though occasionally they may run against the interest of his group. By contrast, the old Chinese stressed an individual's proper place and conduct *within* his group.

Being individual-centred, the American moves towards social and psychological loneliness not rarely to the point of neurotic irritation. On the other hand, being family and group-centred, the Confucian Chinese was inclined to become socially and psychologically dependent, resigned and conservative, thus hampering cultural development and change.

The traditional Chinese, very much like Indians, felt warm and secure by virtue of being a part of the group into which they were born. Moreover, in the Indian way of life, personal security was, and still is, bolstered by belonging to a caste.

The belief in an ultimate natural order which could not and should not be changed by man, was also reflected in Chinese traditional ideas about women. For the acceptance of a hierarchical nature-given order of status made striving for equality of the sexes meaningless, if not sacrilegious.

In the Confucian order, man and woman had each their assigned place into which they dutifully had to fit. In this order men were definitely not regarded as equal to, but *different* from men. Women were supposed to keep company mainly with women, and were supposed to fit only certain

peculiarly female occupations, such as looking after the children, cooking of meals, watching over matters of etiquette and so on; they were not to study or to play a role in public, or to compete with men professionally.

COMMUNIST MAN

Having briefly analyzed the character of Confucian man, let us now look at the cultural personality of Communist man. It will not take us long to discover that they are, indeed, worlds apart.

While Confucian man puts his trust in nature, Communist man wants to be nature's master, he wants to control and exploit nature. Humility has gone by the board together with religion. Here is Promethean man, the challenger of the Heavens; indeed, modern man in the extreme. The contrast between Confucian and Communist China can perhaps best be understood by comparing the position of women in traditional and new China. In the Communist paradise, freed from capitalist snakes and sinful apples, woman has finally achieved the most fully equal equality humanly conceivable. She has been forced, in fact, into complete equality with man, namely, as a beast of burden for the benefit of the state and in the service of the all-overriding steamroller - the totalitarian Communist party machine. Precisely like their male companions, the women of new China now build roads, dig ditches, or chair political committees, while the bearing and nursing of children have become mere private sidelines. But as soon as the child is barely weaned the State takes over.

It is too complex a task to explain here in detail the reasons for the metamorphosis of Confucian man into Communist man. It must suffice to repeat that despair in the wake of misgovernment, starvation, and war, was largely responsible for it and, we may add, that the Marxian world view fitted

China's tragic conditions ideally. For Marxism is, indeed, a philosophy made to order for desperate people who have lost faith in the goodness and justice of God and of men. But having lost hope in justice and fair play, there is no other way open to Marxists than reliance on force as a political substitute for human understanding. And from that position there is only a small step to the Marxist denial of the possibility of a commonwealth for all men and of moral agreement among them. For in Marxist views there is only 'class man', and for 'class man' sympathy and co-operation with a man of another class is betrayal of one's own class. Therefore, Communist man knows only one loyalty, namely, the loyalty to the party as the spearhead of class struggle. In this way, man is turned into a tool for political struggle, and human society into a vast political battlefield.

If Communists were to recognize human nature as universal or even divine, man's stature would be enhanced and the sanctity of party and State would suffer. From the Communist point of view this would be undesirable because it might encourage men to resist collective controls by party and State. By the same token, if man would harbour the 'illusion' of a just God who some day would set everything right, man would not readily sacrifice himself for revolutionary causes. For this reason alone, if for no other, religion cannot have a place in Marxist thinking. Marx himself expressly refuted faith in spiritual forces and ascertained the primacy of matter over mind. It is, incidentally, at this crucial point that the Indian and Marxian philosophies are irreconcilable opposites.

Later, the theoretical instigators of western Fascism fortified and fertilized Marxist-Bolshevik thinking with ideas of socially inspired 'supermen' privileged 'elites', and the selection of the brutally fittest in a continuous 'struggle for survival'. And so it

came about that, through Soviet-Russian influences and helped by mass despair in the wake of social and international chaos, the Chinese Communists became the heirs of a long out-dated philosophy, implanting it in the Orient, the home of moral idealism since the dawn of history.

As is well known, the ethical idealism of the old Chinese culture is completely and uncompromisingly rejected by Mao Tse-tung, Communist party leader; instead, Mao extols the materialist view of 'science' as the guideline of China's 'new culture'. In his book, *China's New Democracy* (International Publishers, New York, 1945, pp. 59 ff) Mao Tse-tung writes that he wants the 'new culture' to be 'thoroughly scientific, opposing all feudal thoughts and superstitions and searching for the truth from concrete facts'. But he does not say or see that science, by itself, is barren of human values and, therefore, incapable of building culture. Taking a narrow, materialist view, Mao looks at science not as a means of human self-realization or a revelation of a universal intelligence, but as an instrument of power useful for increasing the military might of the State, for training revolutionary cadres, and informing the revolutionary masses. Science, says Mao, in effect, is the very 'core of modern civilization', because without adopting a scientific outlook China will have that much less power in its revolutionary struggle with the rest of the world.

Of course, the cultivation of a scientific outlook is nothing to quarrel with, but the abuse of science as a prime mover of national power definitely is. For not only is such a view of science morally vicious, it is also dangerous politically, as it is bound to sharpen international tensions at a time when closer co-operation is the need of the hour for progress as well as for humanity's survival.

In sharp contrast to the Confucian tradition the Chinese Communist believes that

the strength of State and nation primarily depends on the determination of the masses to support the political objectives of the country, be they right or wrong. Hence, the proletarian masses, though having no real power in China's 'New Democracy', are, nevertheless, relentlessly driven to generate fresh power for the machinery of the State. Indeed, the use of the masses for this purpose seems to be the basic, if not the only, significance of the 'proletariat' in the new Communist culture.

Another fundamental difference between the old Confucian and the new Communist culture is revealing. In the Confucian orthodoxy, the 'golden age' of a remote past when virtuous sage-kings ruled, was the great social model held forth for moral emulation. But the Communists, in a complete reversal of the Chinese tradition, look into the future for the perfection of their ideals. The western idea of progress, so alien to Chinese minds in the past, has miraculously taken root in China. The Confucian yearning for peace of mind, for stability, and contentment with the *status quo* is tabooed, and is replaced by a fanatical struggle for improvement, for change at any price. It is that forward-looking, restless quality which sharply differentiates China's modern totalitarianism from the old-style imperial autocracy.

But, perhaps, the most important phase of China's metamorphosis under the Communists is the transformation of the social pattern from one of family loyalty to one of national and community responsibility. Toward that end their political techniques had to attack the very privacy of people's lives.

The Communist view of the traditional family is simple: the Confucian-type family, the Communists say, was 'feudal' and 'barbarous'. Therefore it must be destroyed along with the Confucian society which nourished its growth. The old family system

is accused of 'barbarities', such as the suppression of women at the hands of husbands and mothers-in-law, and the subordination of the young by their elders. Marriage is now strictly considered a civil rather than a family contract, and filial piety goes entirely unrecognized. No longer are the rights and obligations of the members of a family determined by the family head or the family council; they are now determined by the agencies of the State.

Even the intimacy of the wedding rite, which once entailed kowtowing before the elders, has become a public affair being accomplished by three bows to a portrait of Mao Tse-tung. Children are boarded and educated by the State. Individuals are being praised and honoured for wholehearted devotion to party and nation, although their families may be thereby reduced to grinding poverty. Ancestral graves are being levelled off and the coffin wood used for pig pens and night soil buckets. It is in this and many other ways that the individual is 'liberated' from his familistic 'feudal slave ideology' but, in fact, resubordinated to the head of the State, who in millions of minds now replaces the traditional authority of the head of the family.

The main political reason for Communist objections to the old type family is their conviction that the Confucian Chinese, in practically all situations, had made his decisions on family grounds. By so doing, the Communists felt, he had retarded the growth of public and national institutions indispensable for modern society, such as effective government agencies, a powerful military establishment, large-scale commercial organizations, and occupational and professional societies. In a deliberate effort to remodel individual attitudes, the Communists now practise their belief that no modern, industrial nation can flourish without large-scale organizations which are managed in the public interest rather than

exploited for private or familistic benefit. Besides, mass organizations are, of course, ideal instruments of mass control by the party.

Admittedly, the traditional family system, which constantly stimulated the individual to serve and provide for all members of his family, was a root of corruption and nepotism in Confucian China. The Communist success in establishing an efficient administrative system relatively free of these vices may, in part, be attributed to the ability to neutralize family influence.

SOME CULTURAL SIMILARITIES

Notwithstanding the enormous differences between the traditional Chinese and the Communist way of life, we find in the 'new culture' also significant similarities and historical continuities which, in the long run, may become equally decisive for China's future.

Like Communist China, the traditional empire too had its rigid set of doctrines which were supposed to give a total explanation of the world: philosophy, politics, economics, everything. And this comprehensive philosophy was also largely derived from one master-teacher, Confucius. In similar manner, Communism has Marx (as interpreted by Lenin, Stalin, and Mao Tse-tung) to explain all and everything. Also, similarly, the new ideology is politically used by the leaders (who may or may not believe in it) as a means to enforce mass discipline.

Again, in both the old and new cultures, the State was governed hierarchically and autocratically by a specially trained professional elite which, for all intents and purposes, is today the Communist party.

In addition, the Communist world has now become the heir of the former Chinese Confucian empire, known in the China of old as the 'Middle Kingdom' and regarded by the Chinese as the political centre of the world. In this traditional Chinese concept only those other nations which adopted the orthodox culture were accepted as 'civilized'.

and admitted to China's Far Eastern family of nations, while those who remained recalcitrant and unconvinced were bullied and treated like 'barbarians'.

The contemporary counterparts to these traditional views in the new culture are again striking. Characteristically, in both the Confucian and the Communist schemes, there was left open the possibility of *fan shen*—a Chinese term for which no exact translation exists, meaning the possibility of 'gradual conversion to the dominant orthodoxy'. In other words, the sinner who sincerely repented—and sufficiently in time before extermination—could be accepted into the fold.

The partial resemblance between the old and the new culture which we just noted should not, however, mislead the observer to an underestimation of their basic differences. For example, we should remember that the old Confucian celestial empire with its surrounding satellite states is no longer in existence, but in its place is a much larger global world in which the honour of being the Middle Kingdom must be shared with several non-Chinese powers. Moreover, even within the Communist part of the world, China finds herself in competition, if not rivalry, with another power of different race and cultural tradition—the Soviet Union, which also thinks of itself as a political 'heartland' and, in addition, enjoys ideological priority as well as technological supremacy over the Chinese.

Also in contrast to the old culture, which had age-old roots in the Confucian tradition, the new regime insists on continuous change. But, unhappily, the social change of today is the *status quo* of tomorrow. A regime which stresses change, constantly provokes the danger of being changed itself. This danger will be especially acute if the ideas underlying the new culture are traditionally alien and untested by time. In historical perspective, we need to realize, the Chinese regime is very young indeed.

Finally, and perhaps most important, the old Confucian culture subjected man primarily to nature or natural primary groupings (family, clan, and village), to all of which the empire left a large degree of autonomy. Therefore, China's traditional culture followed a natural flow and was not as readily exposed to sweeping doctrines and large-scale errors of the centre as in the case of the 'new culture'.

No government can afford to brush away the national heritage and to challenge basic human nature without stirring deep intellectual ferment. It was not accidental that the main discussion during the brief liberal 'hundred flowers' episode in Communist China centred around the topic of the 'nature of human nature'. At that time contemporary Chinese writers courageously came out in protest against blind subservience to party doctrine and asserted their right to independent opinion and individual conscience, which Mao Tse-tung, time and time again, had denied in favour of man's 'class nature'. Man, the official position held, cannot have common human feelings related to the class struggle.

In opposition to this party line the editor of *People's Literature* in Peking said: 'We are common human beings and we share all the thoughts, feelings and aspirations of common human beings.' (*Attitudes Towards Man in Society: recent examples from Communist China*. By Yee Ming: Christian Study Centre on Chinese Religion. Hong Kong. 1960)

And another unconverted writer added: 'Any class fighter still pursues the sentiment of love, rejoices in beauty and life, hates death, loves freedom, and hopes for happiness ... and these individual desires and aspirations are of the same nature as the desires and demands of all humanity.' (*ibid*)

Hung Sha, chief editor of Peking's *New Review*, put it this way: 'The situation at present is that the party intervenes in every

aspect of our life, even down to the eating of pork by the farmers. It even intervenes in what you think, like a demon possessing you. In short, the relations between human beings are disrupted, the relation between father and son is no longer what it was, and this goes also for husband and wife and friend and friend. It has reached such an extreme stage that it cannot be endured any longer.

'In this society man has no value; today you may still be a good man, but tomorrow you may, though innocent, be branded a counter-revolutionary.' (*ibid*)

It is not suggested here that infringements on man's inner nature, such as have occurred in Communist China, will immediately lead to a breakdown of the regime. (Unfortunately, the techniques at the disposal of modern governments are quite capable not only of suppressing human nature, but completely wiping men out.) But we do believe that gross violations of human nature will increase the regime's difficulties and gradually enforce political and cultural change. We may assume that New China's development will, in some respects, be similar to that of the Soviet Union which, to Mao's displeasure, is no longer as Marxist as Mao would like. For the Russians have long given up class struggle not only within the Soviet Union, where classes are perfectly well developed, but they also have stopped talking about the inevitability of war with capitalist countries. Having learned compromise, and valuing self-preservation in an atomic age, they now talk more about coexistence—a non-Leninist term. The Soviets today realize that it is foolish to let dogma triumph and to leave vital problems unsolved. The Russians are still stubborn in many ways, but they are changing, and so will, inevitably, the Communist Chinese.

THE CHALLENGE OF THE HIGHER LAW

It is one thing to increase steel production,

and to build dams and factories: it is quite another to treat human beings as if they were nothing but cogs in a big machine. For live matter, whether man, plant, or animal, follows a law of its own, implanted by higher than mere human authority. It is here where the reasons lie for the continuous trouble totalitarian regimes encounter in the agricultural sector of their economy. It takes more than class struggle, it takes loving individual care to raise a child, an animal, or a plant.

It is this higher law inherent in all life which regimes based on force are bound to violate. It is, incidentally, the same higher law which India in her religion and philosophy taught and respected through the ages. Not interminable struggle, but the idea of the unity of all sentient life was India's guiding principle, and is today as it was yesterday. Indian culture, in the words of M. K. Pannikar, was based on wide tolerance, a universality of thought, a desire to assimilate from others what is good in their ways, in fact, a life based on sympathy and understanding. Is it not thought and sentiment like this which our sick, but interdependent, world needs more than even bread and rice?

India has something vital to teach Communist China, and may look at Communist China as Asia's prodigal son who, no doubt, will some day return to the universal ideals

of its ancestral home. Yet, let us also realize, lest we lose our own humility, that no nation has a monopoly of virtue or wisdom. While China needs to learn from India a renewed realization of the essential unity of life, there are other matters which India and other contemporary democracies may learn from contemporary China. True, modern China has done remarkably well in some ways. Industrial productivity is relatively high. There is less corruption than there used to be. There is purposeful mobilization of labour and a new sense of national discipline. Last, but not least, new China's health, thrift, and anti-illiteracy campaigns have been well planned, vigorous, and amazingly successful. However, all these accomplishments are senseless if they do not ultimately contribute to the life, liberty, and happiness of the people at large. It is at this decisive point that Communist China has tragically failed, if we put trust in the words of two simple Chinese peasants, spoken in a discussion on the family in a Shansi commune: 'Today no more planting by your own home, no more cooking by your own home, only the commune, that is home.

'Men are all two shoulders and a mouth, a roll of bedding and a hovel; filling their bellies once a day, told to do this and that, to go this place and that place—what home do they still have?' (*ibid*)

There are those who will conquer the world
And make of it what they conceive or desire.
I see that they will not succeed.
For the world is God's own Vessel;
It cannot be made by human interference.
He who makes it spoils it.
He who holds it loses it.
Hence the Sage eschews excess,
Eschews extravagance,
Eschews pride.

LAO-TZU

THE, METAPHYSICS OF LIGHT

P. B. MUKHARJI

The Hon. Mr. Justice P. B. Mukharji is a distinguished jurist and a judge of the Calcutta High Court. He is also a Vice-President of this Institute of Culture and President of the State Sanskrit Siksha Parishat. This lecture, which was given at the Institute on 22 April, is the third of a series delivered by Justice Mukharji concerning fundamental concepts of Indian metaphysics. The subjects of his previous lectures, given at the Institute in 1956 and 1957, were 'The Metaphysics of Sound' and 'The Metaphysics of Form'.

WHAT is light? What is its nature? What is the cause or ultimate origin of light? From where does it come? Where does it go? What is the purpose or destiny of light? What is its message? These are the primary interrogations in this discussion. The questions are simple but fundamental. Their answers, or even the pursuit of their answers, will reveal a whole world of wonders. Paradoxically enough, light, which should be the source of clarity, is, itself, the most obscure of things.

In this modern age of miscalled, misunderstood, and misapplied science, it is best to make basic overtures to this subject through a study of light in terms of modern physics. The questions asked will show that modern physics will not be enough to answer them. But, even then, it will be necessary to go through the barrier of physics. Rending the veil of error in the physics of light will be the first step towards the metaphysics of light.

THE LIMITATIONS OF THE HUMAN EYE

Most of our ideas of light are primarily derived from the two small peripheries called the eyes, the biological efforts of creatures, through evolution, to perceive light by physical senses. Our knowledge of light is dependent on the capacity of vision of this

biological eye, which, in spite of its wonderful and little-understood mechanism of lense, optic nerves, and related brain centre, is a very limited and inadequate instrument. The eye sees light only when it reaches the level of certain vibrations, but fails to see other light vibrations higher and lower than certain specified levels. For example, infra-red and ultra-violet rays elude its vision.

According to the modern physicist, white light consists of vibrations of mixed wavelengths, the wavelength of the violet ray being the lowest and the wavelength of the red ray being the highest. There are many other unseen rays beyond the lower limit of violet rays and the upper limit of red rays. Indeed the world of unseen rays is infinitely more variegated and more colourful than the world of visible rays, which is truly drab in comparison. If the visible world is, nevertheless, claimed to be beautiful, the invisible world of invisible rays is infinitely more beautiful and fascinating. Incidentally, it is also more powerful. For instance, infra-red and ultra-violet, or gamma rays, are far more powerful than visible rays. Infra-red waves have the power to pass through solids impermeable to visible light. Light, therefore, brings the message of a world of more power and more beauty.

The perception of light through the phys-

ical senses, such as the eye, is itself a problem which baffles scientists. Bertrand Russell, the philosopher-scientist, in his *Analysis of Matter*, writing of absorption and emission of light, observes that it is clear that when we perceive light we absorb it. That is to say, that the energy in the form of waves of light or light quanta, is transformed into a different kind of energy, though he did not venture to say what kind. According to him, however, all visual perceptions involve this process of absorption of light. If perception can ever be a source of knowledge as to things outside the perceiver's body, there must be causal laws connecting what happens to the perceiver with what goes on outside.

How inorganic and material light is transformed and transmuted by the physiological, biological, and organic processes to produce capacity for vision is still beyond the ken of modern physics. Light is a sensation of vision, but what is the organic process that takes place when the eye perceives light? The physicist answers this problem by eliminating the sense element, and by describing the facts of the process in terms of matter and motion. Physics explains in terms of form: metaphysics explains in terms of sense.

But, in fact, the eye is not the only or, indeed, real instrument of vision. The skin and other senses can be used and trained, and, in fact, are used by some eyeless creatures to produce a capacity for vision and to detect light. Even creatures with eyes may be colour-blind though not light-blind. Indeed the area occupied by the optic nerve is not itself sensitive to light: it forms what is called the 'blind spot', as distinguished from the 'yellow spot' which is the most sensitive part of the retina.

The fact is, we do not see light. We see only the effects of light. We see colours and not light. We see forms by light but not light itself. Light which makes the universe

of forms visible is itself invisible. Light is always hidden under some bushel of matter or other.

THE ELUSIVE NATURE OF LIGHT

Physicists have speculated with many theories of light. Russell says (*ibid*) that the theories concerning space, time, light, and matter illustrate the gradually increasing abstraction of physics. Newton elaborated his corpuscular theory of light when light was supposed to be a shower of small particles emitted from a luminous object. Then came, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the undulatory theory of light as waves. This is not the place for the details of the controversy between Planck, Maxwell, Jeans, Eddington, and Einstein, or for the subtle differences between the quantum theory, the new quantum theory and Einstein's light-quanta theories. It is enough to say, for the purpose of the present discussion, that the tendency of modern physics in the twentieth century is to combine the corpuscular and wave theories by saying that light consists of particles of travelling energy, of bullets of radiation, called 'photons'. Light is still groping in the dark.

Russell describes the present position of physics on this point as a 'pathetic picture of perplexity'. (*ibid*) Sir James Jeans, in his paper on 'Atomicity and Quanta' formulates this perplexity. The wave theory of light accounts adequately for all phenomena in which light only is concerned, such as interference and diffraction. But it fails to account for quantum phenomena, such as photo-electric effects. On the other hand, theories which account for quantum phenomena seem unable to explain the very things which the wave theory explains perfectly. Professor Lewis touches a mystery when he says that light is never observed in empty space. It is quite impossible to observe light in the course of

propagation. The only events in the process that can ever be detected are the emission and absorption of light. Until there are atoms present to absorb the radiation we must be unaware of its existence. This led to Professor Lewis's theory of photons. He supposes that when light radiates, what happens is that a photon travels. But at other times the photon is a structural element in the atom. According to Professor Lewis, a photon is not light but plays an essential part in every process of radiation. In his theory all photons are intrinsically alike and all radiant energy is carried by photons.

The true nature of light, therefore, still eludes the grasp of the modern physicist. In physics today, light is a mysterious agency unceasingly coursing through endless space in all directions. It is material in the sense that it has a measurable velocity, does material work, and, even when opaque, it is a form of vibration emitted by bodies when ignited, intercepted, and reflected by them. This light leaves its track perfectly cold, it is itself invisible and therefore dark, and only gross matter, shedding or catching light, can become bright. Light is literally and metaphorically infectious; there is no immunity from light. The materiality of light is further demonstrated by the fact that a ray of light has a material structure. Light is matter not formed into atoms, but perpetually remaining in an electronic state. At the same time light has weight and is affected by gravitation. It produces mechanical pressure on objects upon which it falls. In short, it is a radiant energy formed by electro-magnetic vortices.

It is the quality of reflection which is the unique property of light. Light alone reflects, nothing else does. Its capacity to produce an image makes light the mother of all forms. Indian metaphysics contemplates, meditates, and realizes light as Savitr, sun. Light is the messenger of matter,

and carries the eye through time and space to infinity. It endlessly diversifies the unity of the universe by reducing universal and indivisible cognition to specified objectives and immediate disparate experiences, for any man at any given moment of time. This is a universe of light, for without light there can be no universe, which is the panorama of reflected images and forms created and produced by light. Every object in this universe is, therefore, a concentration and reflection of light throwing a pattern of form. Light creates forms and darkness obliterates them. Every visible, or even invisible, object has a form and is disclosed by light. Light creates matter in every possible sense.

Pursuing light's capacity for reflection the question of a medium becomes important. The medium through which light travels produces both reflection and refraction. The variety and quality of images produced and forms created are considerably influenced by the medium through which light travels. It is said in physics, that light travels more or less in straight lines in a homogeneous medium, but changes direction when it passes from one medium to another causing what is called refraction. Many are the laws of reflection and refraction, and this is not the place for their discussion except to remind ourselves that the angle of reflection is always the same as the angle of incidence, and the reflected ray lies in the same plane containing the incident ray. With parallel mirrors we can produce an infinity of images in what is apparently a finite space. Then, again, reflection on curved surfaces produces diversity of images, as on a convex or a concave surface.

Light plays a significant but mysterious part in enabling us to locate a given piece of matter at a given moment. Although light travels more or less, though not strictly, in straight lines, propagation of light is spherical (or conical in the case of a directed

beam). The velocity of a body relative to any observer is always less than that of light. It is this that helps us to locate a given object at a given moment, as a result of the linear character of the motion of matter and the spherical or conical character of the propagation of light.

Referring to waves of light and their media, the analogy between light and sound must not be carried too far: their difference should be noted. Light, like sound, is produced, according to modern physics, by vibrations and waves, but there are several important differences between the two. Firstly, light is not the vibration of air as sound is, but is of a finer medium, formerly described as ether, now doubted, which penetrates between small particles of ordinary matter. Secondly, sound travels round corners and curves, but light follows a straight line, more or less, with slight bending admitted by the wave theory. Thirdly, the velocity of sound at 1,100 feet per second is much slower than the velocity of light at 186,000 miles per second.

Dispersion and refraction of light and its recombination by means of a prism disclose the colour quality of light. In ordinary white light we see different objects reflecting different colours like green, blue, or red. But through the medium of a different coloured light, green, red, and blue objects will appear to be of different colours. Our common ideas of colour and complexion are therefore delusive and are dependent on the colour of the light under which we are accustomed to see the objects. The mixture of colours and the medium in which they are mixed, limits our notions of light.

We know that light produces first, an image and, secondly, colour. Light, therefore, produces a strange chemistry of form and colour. Every object in the phenomenal world of time and space has a form and a colour, and is, therefore, a creature of light.

Opacity, translucence, and transparency

are kindred characteristics of the medium of light. That which light penetrates is transparent, that which obstructs light is opaque, and that which partly allows and partly resists penetration of light is translucent. The visibility of an object depends, paradoxically, on its capacity to resist light and reflect it. Light therefore illuminates by darkness. The more transparent an object

the less visible it becomes, and when its transparency is at its most perfect, subtle, and fine, the light fails to make it visible. Therefore, the more material we become the more dependent we are on light to display us; the less material we are the more independent of light we become.

The physics of light is the garment of materialism and non-physical light is the condition of spirituality. The utility of what we call physical light lies in its capacity to produce shadows. Light produces this world of shadows. What we call ordinary living and material life is the individual and organized pursuit after shadows.

SPACE, TIME, AND LIGHT

The effect of time and space on light is still largely an unexplored and unwritten chapter of modern physics. Bertrand Russell hints at the mystery when he writes (*ibid*) that when light travels from one body to another, the whole phenomenon is a static event, involving no internal change or process. Consequently, from the standpoint of the event itself, there is no time between the beginning and the end. He therefore concludes that since nothing travels faster than light, it is impossible that two parts of a luminous condition should be co-present with two events of which one is the causal descendent of the other. Russell thinks there is no extraneous source from which the light can discover that it is lasting a long time. Light, therefore, makes nonsense of our perception of causality and event, and we are thus brought to the brink

of metaphysics on this question of the inter-relation between light and time.

Indian metaphysics has a good deal to say on this point. Time is opaque and space is transparent. Time is opaque because it resists light and does not allow light to penetrate it. Division of time into past, present, and future, illustrates its opacity to light. We shall presently discuss how the opacity of time's trinity of past, present, and future vanishes when we analyze the velocity of the speed of light. Space is transparent and the quality of space is static. Motion and staticity produce strange effects on light. Motion resists light and is opaque, and, therefore, visible and understandable as moment. A movement, if transparent, is invisible. A static object is susceptible to transparency but a transparent object may by motion become opaque. Similarly, the opaque may become transparent by motion when the motion is such as to make it invisible.

The object of spiritual discipline is to become transparent, non-resistant to light and, therefore, to acquire the static equilibrium undisturbed by motion or emotion. Light is static. Its rays only are dynamic.

While discussing motion and its effect on light, a brief reference to the modern ideas of relativity in physics and the nature of the velocity of light will provide a good preface to the understanding of the metaphysics of light. A rigid rod moving in the direction of its length is, under Einstein's theory of relativity, shorter than the same rod when in a state of rest, and the more quickly a rod moves the shorter it becomes. Relate this theory to light, and we have wonderful and mysterious results: a rod moving with the velocity of light would lose its third dimension; it would become a cross-section of itself. Lorentz affirmed that an electron actually disappeared when moving with the velocity of light. This velocity of light opens the doors of an unlimited universe, much larger than the one of three dimensions

within which we are familiarly engaged.

The velocity of light being 186,000 miles, or 300,000 kilometres, per second, means that light from the sun reaches this earth in only eight minutes and nineteen seconds, and that light travels more than seven times the whole circumference of the earth in only one second. Light from the more distant Pole Star takes forty-seven years to reach this earth. When we see the Pole Star shining, we do not know whether it still exists or not: we only know that it was giving out light forty-seven years ago. There are other stars still more distant, such as Orion and Rigel, which are 300 to 500 light years away. An observer on some star which is, say, about 2,500 light years away, if by chance he is equipped with either super-human sight or some remarkable telescope, as yet undiscovered by science, could be watching Lord Buddha in the Deer Park at Sarnath, preaching, now, his eternal mission of *ahimsā* or non-violence, because light from this earth would take 2,500 years to reach that star. Let us have a more graphic and staggering illustration of an observer shot off from the earth at an enormous speed. If his speed be that of light he will see everything, including his dear home he left, as a still picture with no trace of life and movement. But if his speed is greater than that of light, he would be able to catch up with the rays of light which had already been emitted and, lo and behold! his whole past

would be unfolded before his eyes. The velocity of light, therefore, contains the secret of light's relationship with time and space, and shows the transformation of this three-dimensional world into a multidimensional universe.

The failure of modern physics to explain conclusively the nature and origin of light and its connection with the time-space continuum, is largely due to its preoccupation with this world of three dimensions. Relativity in physics has brought the

message of other dimensions but has not been able to decipher it intelligibly. Ouspensky, a western mystic, was of the view that motion is the beginning of the fourth dimension and that light is the doorway to the fifth and sixth dimensions. According to him, quanta of light are, precisely, circles of eternity.

THE SOURCE OF LIGHT

A word here on what the modern physics of light has to say on the cause of light, will not be out of place. That cause, according to modern physics, is either heat, friction, resistance, or oxidization. No light is possible unless caused by heat which leads to incandescence or illumination; or by friction, as in striking stones; or by electricity passing through the resistance of wires; or by oxidization in the burning of fuel. In all these physical causes, heat in some form is always present to produce light. But the fact remains that when light travels it leaves its track cold. Modern physics does not know of any light without heat. But these causes do not explain the real source of light and do not answer the simple but fundamental interrogations, Where does light come from? Does it come from heat? If so, how? Any mechanism for producing light does not necessarily enable us to know the source and nature of light.

Indian metaphysics has a wealth of knowledge on the origin, nature, and use of light. It asserts that five constituents form the fabric and texture of this universe of time and space. These elements are called the *tattvas*. They are: *kṣiti*, the solid or earth principle; *ap* or *rasa*, the liquid or water principle; *tejas*, the energy or fire principle; *marut* or *vāyu*, the atmosphere or air principle, and *ākāśa* or *vyom*, the sky or space principle, which is the static reservoir of this dynamic universe, where all else moves except *vyom*. He alone can be truly and effectively in motion who has an all-envelop-

ing sheath of indestructible stability. The quality of *vyom*, or the space principle, is sound, which is the primal cause of this phenomenal universe. The sound quality of *vyom* creates in its turn the fire, or energy, called *tejas*. It is this fire, or energy, which is called light. This *teja-tattva* is light in Indian metaphysics. This in its evolutionary descent creates the *ap*, or the liquid principle, which again coagulates into the final *kṣiti*, or earth principle. The juxtaposition of these five *tattvas* in the hierarchy and scheme of creation shows that the upper kindred of light are *vyom*, space, and *marut*, atmosphere. The lower kindred of light are *ap*, liquid, and *kṣiti*, earth. Light is, therefore, the mid-point of the five *tattvas*. Light is the heart of creation. To know light is to know the heart of the universe.

According to Indian metaphysics, sound is the father of light and, therefore, light is a product of sound (*śabda-brahma*) coursing through the atmosphere, the *marut* or *vāyu* principle. Sound carries light within it: *nāḍabhyantaram jyoti*. Sound is literally the torch-bearer. Light is luminous sound: *paśyanti vāc*. Physical light as radiant energy is, in essence, a concomitant of sound. Even now, in India, fire or light is produced by sound in certain religious rites. It is done on the principle of using the seminal sound of the *teja-tattva*, the *raṅg-bīja*. How light is produced by sound and metallic vibration in Tibet, in the Taochung Monastery on Kokhun Mountain, at an altitude of 18,000 feet, is described in a remarkable article by Captain d'Avergue, M.C., in the Journal of the Bihar Research Society (Vol. 26, 1940, Part II, pp. 116-7) under the title 'My Experiences in Tibet'.

The basis of light is *ap* or *rasa*, or the liquid principle. According to Indian metaphysics, not heat but cold is the seat of light. From this metaphysical analysis it follows that light dissolves and exists in liquid and solid forms, while it evaporates

in the atmosphere and space. Light is omnipresent throughout the universe. In the depths of the earth and the oceans, in the innermost recesses of otherwise impenetrable rock and granite, and in the bosom of the deepest darkness, there is a residing light. But it is not the light which the biological eye can catch. Light produces liquid and solid, and that is why when light penetrates the earth's surface, it produces water underground, as well as minerals and rocks. This is the inevitable reaction to the radiant energy of light penetrating everything that exists in time and space. The universe is drenched, bathed, and soaked in light. Light is the resident deity of this universe.

THE VEDIC THEORY OF LIGHT AND COLOUR

Indian metaphysics, in the Vedic theory of light, divides this universe into a hierarchy of seven planes. Each plane has its own light whose qualities and attributes are different from the light of the other planes. The light of one plane is not visible from, or with the aid of, the light from another plane. The seven different types of light are described as follows, starting from the lowest: *tapas*, *tejas*, *arci*, *barca*, *urjā*, *ojas*, and *bhargava*. It is the light of the seventh plane which is the *varanīya bhargava*, the object of meditation and realization of the celebrated *gāyatrī mantra*. It is the steadiest light, always unquenched and unquenchable; hence, eternal, pure, and free from the heat of friction, duality, and resistance, and from the smoke of ignorance and obstruction. It is self-luminous. This is the light of all lights which Indian metaphysics describes as: *Om jyotiṣam bipaima bimṛtyu biśoka*, the pinnacle flame, unsullied, immortal, and untouched by all suffering and struggle. The seven lights on the seven different dimensions of this universe are symbolized by seven flames, the *sapta-śikhā* of fire.

These lights of the seven different dimensions are beyond the reach of the modern

physics of light. Indian metaphysics asserts that by the cultivation and practice of certain processes of communion described in the Yoga Śāstras, these lights can be seen and their nature analyzed. The secret lies in learning the techniques of moving out of our own dimensions, or liberating ourselves from the thralldom of the three dimensions, to which our biological bodies are normally, but not irrevocably, subject. The modern ideas of relativity in physics are tapping at the doors of the Vedic conception of light. The limitation of modern physics is, however, that while it studies the observation and the objects, it ignores the observer.

These lights on the seven different dimensions, or planes, should not be confused with the seven colours, or rays, of the three-dimensional world of light. In the *Kūrma Purāṇa*, God is described as the Creator composed of rays and colours of limitless variety. They pervade everything in the universe, illuminate endless worlds of endless dimensions, and are themselves endowed with the powers of the Creator, whom they represent. This *Kūrma Purāṇa* is a vast storehouse of knowledge and information about cosmic rays and the seven colours, and their appreciation, use, and therapeutic properties. I shall quote a few lines from this wonderful scientific treatise, to indicate what you may expect to find there:

*Evameṣa mahādeva, devadeva pitāmaha
Karoti niyataṁ kālāṁ, kālātma aiśvarītanu.
Tasya ye rāśmayorvipra, sarvaloka
pradīpaka
Teṣāṁ śreṣṭha puna saptarāśmayo graha-
yotasa
Suṣumṇa harikeśaśca Viśvakarmā tathai-
vaca
Viśvaśravā punaścānya, sampatvasu atapa-
ram.
Asikṣasurīti khyāta, suraka saptakīrtita
Suṣumṇa sūyaraśmistu puṣpāṇi śiśir-
dyutim*

Tiryakūrdhva pracārousau, suṣumṇa parigīyate.

According to these lines of the *Kūrma Purāṇa*, the seven rays are red, orange, yellow, green, blue, indigo, and violet. They are the seven cosmic rays, omniscient, omnipresent, and omnipotent. They are the seven colours of the modern theory of the spectrum. The following description of the seven rays relates them to the seven main planets in the solar system: the sun, red; the moon, orange; Mercury, green; Venus, indigo; Mars, reddish-yellow; Jupiter, blue; and Saturn, violet. The special names given to them in this *Purāṇa* are: *Suṣumṇa*, *Sūrya raśmi*, red; *Harikeśa*, *Candra raśmi*, orange; *Viśvakarmā*, *Buddha raśmi*, green; *Viśvaśravā*, *Śukra raśmi*, indigo; *Samṛpatvasu*, *Maṅgala raśmi*, yellow (reddish-yellow); *Arbakraṣu*, *Bṛhaspati raśmi*, blue; and *Suraka*, *Śani raśmi*, violet. The solar system with its seven planets is the phenomenal source of light in the relative universe.

COLOUR IN COSMOLOGY AND PHYSIOLOGY

The seven colours of light are connected, in Indian metaphysics, with the whole cosmology of the universe. I shall briefly indicate their harmonious inter-relationships. The first is the relationship with the planets just shown. It will be seen that out of nine planets recognized in Indian astrology, two are excluded in this theory, *Rāhu* and *Ketu*, for the reason that these two are not regarded as independent planets with independent colours. In fact *Ketu* etymologically means 'the celestial doctor', representing infra-red properties. A debatable theory is that *Rāhu* represents ultra-violet properties. Secondly, these seven colours are associated with the seven days of the week: Sunday representing red; Monday, orange; Tuesday, yellow; Wednesday, green; Thursday, blue; Friday, indigo; and Saturday, violet. Thirdly, these seven rays are associated with the five *tattvas* or *mahābhūtas* or the constituent

elements of the universe: *vyom*, the space principle, representing blue; *marut*, the atmosphere principle, violet; *tejas*, the fire or energy principle, orange and indigo; and *kṣiti*, the earth or solid principle, green.

Fourthly, all these seven colours are correlated with the three variants (*tridoṣa*) of the Indian physiological science of *Āyurveda*: *vāyu*, *pitta*, and *kapha*, respectively representing the forces of harmony, energy, and inertia inherent in everybody. These three variants are again respectively the three *guṇas* of Indian metaphysics, namely, *sattva*, *rajas*, and *tamas*. *Vāyu* represents *sattva*, *pitta* represents *rajas*, and *kapha* represents *tamas*. The Indian metaphysical theory of colour associates red and yellow with *pitta*, blue and violet with *vāyu*, and indigo and green with *kapha*. *Vāyu* as *sattva* is neutral, *pitta* as *rajas* is negative, and *kapha* as *tamas* is positive. Therefore, blue and violet are neutral and harmonizing, red and yellow are negative and energizing, and indigo and green are positive.

In the study of the causes of old age, nowadays called gerontics, Indian metaphysical theory says that *kapha* as inertia-positive increases, while *pitta* as energy-negative decreases, and *vāyu* as harmony, co-ordinating the three attributes, is disturbed. These are the causes of old age. To counter the effect of decay and old age, the body has to battle against the dominance of *kapha* over *pitta* and *vāyu*. This can be done by strengthening and supplying the last two in greater proportion. In other words, in the Indian metaphysical theory of colours, red and yellow, on the one hand, and blue and violet, on the other, are good as antidotes to old age and decay.

Fifthly, the seven colours are also connected with the *tan-mātras* of the Sāṅkhya philosophy. These *tan-mātras* are the subtle substances for experiencing, and are called *jñān-indriyas*. The *tan-mātra* of *vyom* (the sky or space principle) is sound, whose *jñān-*

indriya is the ear by which sky or space is experienced; the *tan-mātra* of *marut* (the air principle) is touch, whose *jñān-indriya* is the skin by which atmosphere is experienced; the *tan-mātra* of *tejas* (the fire or energy principle) is form, whose *jñān-indriya* is the eye by which light or vision is experienced; the *tan-mātra* of *ap* (the liquid principle) is taste, whose *jñān-indriya* is the tongue by which taste is experienced; and the *tan-mātra* of *kṣiti* (the solid or earth principle) is smell, whose *jñān-indriya* is the nose by which we experience smell. These five *jñān-indriyas*, the experiencing organs of *śabda* (sound), *spṛśa* (touch), *rūpa* (vision), *rasa* (taste), and *gandha* (smell), are the basic instruments of experience. They are all represented by the seven colours, namely, blue for the sense of hearing, of sound; violet for the sense of touch, of the atmosphere; red for the sense of vision; orange for the sense of taste; and green for the sense of smell. In this scheme of five *jñān-indriyas*, the five instruments of experience, yellow and indigo are regarded as subsidiary; yellow being subsidiary to red, and indigo being subsidiary to orange.

Sixthly, all these seven cosmic colours are integrally associated with the related executive organs of the five senses. These five executive physical organs are the *karma-indriyas*. The mouth, as the organ of the voice, is blue, corresponding to the ear as the sense of hearing; the hand, as the organ of touch, is violet, corresponding to the skin as the sense of touch; the feet, as the organ of moving form, are red corresponding to the eye as the sense of sight; the reproductive organ, corresponding to the tongue as the sense of taste, is orange; and the excretory organ, corresponding to the nose as the sense of smell, is green.

These colours of the physical organs are revealed, if we study a human body under a prism. Here metaphysics is demonstrably supported by the physics of light. We, there-

fore, obtain this wonderful conclusion that, as we can know or do nothing without our five experiencing senses and their respective five executive physical organs, i.e. without the five *jñān-indriyas* and five *karma-indriyas*, we can know or do nothing without the help and assistance of the seven cosmic colours. It follows from this that we cannot hear and talk without blue, we cannot feel or touch without violet, we cannot see or move without red, we cannot taste or reproduce without orange, and we cannot smell or excrete without green. These seven colours and rays are our eternal companions who alone help us to play the game of the universe and to experience its qualities.

The association of the seven colours of the cosmic rays with the sense organs of the body leads to many interesting conclusions. On the approach of old age, or decay, or death, these colours become either depleted or faded, or disappear from the organs. A simple experiment with a prism shows that the human body is always radiating these seven colours from the different organs of the living body: the eyes, red; the nose, green; the skin, violet; the ears, blue; and the tongue, orange. A dying man seen through a prism will show, for instance, that green is fading from his nose, red from his eyes, and violet from his skin. This disappearance, weakening, or depletion of the seven colours from the dying, ageing, or decaying man can be seen not only by examining the person himself under a prism, but also by examining under a prism even his photograph, or signature, or other things associated with him such as wearing apparel, saliva, or blood specimen. All these things have the same length of vibration as the person, with the result that they may be used as media by which the omniscient rays can find the person and know what is happening to him. After all, we may not be so insignificantly engaged in leaving perishable footprints on the passing sands of fleeting time, .

All names, *nāma*, and forms, *rūpa*, lie in the ocean of light which is the real nature of the universe. Every tangible creation and all matter, whether as such or as energy, and whether visible or invisible, are the result of the condensation and combination of cosmic colours. Men, birds, animals, trees, rivers, rocks, stars, nebulae, galaxies, and planets, and all conceivable names and forms are strung as multicoloured beads in an all-encircling and all-embracing garland of light. Even a letter or an alphabet or any geometric form is a creation of colours. When we examine under a prism someone writing a few letters, or drawing lines or geometric figures, or painting, we see how cosmic colours, coming from space and the environment, surround and envelop the lines and figures as they emerge out of the hand of the writer and the drawer. Once the letters are formed they are tangible and visible things connected with the universal ocean of light. They manifest and exhibit in their luminous body their particular condensation, arrangement, quality, and quantity of cosmic colour. They constitute their own set of light vibrations, or light wavelengths which stick to them until they disintegrate.

Little is known in modern physics about this strange chemistry of the seven colours and cosmic rays. The human eye is handicapped in not seeing the colour rays which are the real texture, the warp and woof of all the manifold *nāma* and *rūpa* in this universe. What we see with our eyes is doubly delusive. It is delusive in colour and it is also delusive in form through the inverted images on the retina. But, then, through this delusion light brings the message of hidden reality—*Hiraṇmoyena patrena satya-syapihitam mukham*—and makes man hunt for truth. It does this, firstly, by creating visible reflections and images making him search their source, and secondly, through the sheer monotony of pale and colourless

light, making man search the eternally colourful reality behind. The instinctive human love for colours is not, therefore, childish, but represents the hauntings of the inexplicable memory of the lost kingdom of truth and reality and our efforts to recover both the memory and the kingdom.

But where does this wonderful chemistry of colours take place? In the vast space around the universe, the *vyom* of Indian metaphysics. It is not a vacuum, but a plenum; an inexhaustible and self-sustaining reservoir of power; a magnetic field created by millions upon millions of cosmic rays. A pin-point of space or a tiny skin pore contains thousands of cosmic rays, and is a magnetic field of tremendous cosmic energy ready to be tapped by man, provided he knows how. It is space which is the crucible wherein the chemistry of colours and the mutation of rays are ceaselessly taking place. These cosmic rays are both the scaffolding and the substance of atomic structure.

LIGHT THERAPY

The metaphysics of light contains the secrets of a marvellous system of healing. Light, colour, or tele-therapy can heal and cure patients at long distances by means of the vibrations of cosmic rays. It is based on the metaphysical theory that matter in its ultimate character is not confined within the superficial trinity of neutron, electron, and proton, but is composed of subtle cosmic rays of light. This therapy is based on the metaphysical theory that health is the result of the proportionate harmony and balance of the seven cosmic rays or colours. Disease is an unbalance or disproportion, or a qualitative or quantitative deficiency of one or more of such colours. This deficiency in proportion, quality, or quantity, can be cured by supplying the deficient ray or rays, and by re-harmonizing the cosmic colours. This supply can be given by radiating and transmitting it through space; as radio can

transmit sound, as television can transmit light and colour. This generation and transmission of cosmic colour is carried out through prisms, the pendulum as used in radi-esthesia, motor-propelled cure-disks, tele-therapy boards, magnets, and special gems representing the cosmic colours: ruby releasing red; pearl, orange; coral, yellow; moonstone, blue; diamond, indigo; sapphire, violet; and emerald, green.

Light therapists claim many advantages for their principle or method of healing. According to them, it dispenses with the physical presence of the patient, an ordinary and recent photograph being enough for radiation even though the patient may be thousands of miles away. The photograph, as the medium, will receive the vibrations and the radiation, and the unerring wings of light will transmit them to the patient wherever he may be. Light therapy does not require hospitals, medicine, or surgery. Light therapy cures are radical, and not merely symptomatic and palliative. It strikes at the root cause of disease and cures it radically. Rays have been classified and analyzed as cures for specific diseases, and the light pharmacopoeia is remarkable. For instance: red rays for old age, infirmity, blood pressure, cancer, etc.; orange rays for hæmorrhage, jaundice, piles, venereal diseases, etc.; yellow rays for obesity, lumbago, some kinds of cardiac troubles, etc.; green rays for chronic cold, cholera, chicken-pox, small-pox etc.; blue rays for poisoning, leprosy, etc.; indigo rays for diabetes, some types of anaemia, etc.; and violet rays for pains, nerve disorders, optical troubles, etc. Sometimes, maybe often, the prescription will require a mixture or alteration of rays. Indeed, cosmic rays can be applied in many other ways for treatment, not only of animals, but also of plants and vegetables. These seven cosmic colours and their permutations and combinations make the best manures and fertilizers.

THE METAPHYSICAL STRUCTURE OF LIGHT

The true nature and origin of light can never be known by physics so long as it is obsessed by the purely objective phenomenon of vision. The simple fact is, what we see outside cannot be understood without reference to what is, or happens, inside us. The philosophy of Vedānta asserts that the objective is the projection of the subjective. The only way of knowing the universe is by knowing oneself. There is no second way. There is no alternative. The Indian metaphysics of light puts forward this simple thesis, that it is the light within us that helps us to see the light outside. We are the real lights. We are the lamps. Because we ourselves are self-luminous lights and always aflame, therefore, we see light outside and around us. We see only our own reflection and shadows outside. Spiritually, we have forgotten that fact. That is why we embark on the illusory journey of examining light outside. I say illusory, because any attempt to find and know light without its source is bound to fail. As the musk-deer thinks that the fascinating smell comes from outside and starts its fruitless search outside, so are we peering at the shadows in the mistaken belief that the shadow is the light. What is the source?

The first conclusion in this search for the source is that mind is the phenomenal origin of light. Mind inprint some of its indelible qualities on light. Mind has the capacity to reflect and refract. Light's capacity for reflection and refraction is derived from the mind. It is the mind again which has the capacity to form images. Light's image-producing capacity is therefore derived from the mind. Mind, again, is always changing its colours and is always colourful. Light's colour quality is therefore also a gift from the mind. In fact, all the qualities of light are in the mind, and the affinity of light and mind is integral and inseparable.

The objective mechanism of light is a biological endeavour (or an evolutionary result) by which inner light is shaped and contained so that man may be content with a smaller vision suited to his biological survival, as distinguished from his capacity for spiritual liberation and freedom. Outer light succeeds in stimulating our sense of vision because of the inner light within us. Indian metaphysics, as pointed out by Swami Pratyagatmananda, explains it by a threefold division: *cakṣu jyoti*, or perceptual brightness; *manas-jyoti*, or conceptual lucidity; and *antar-jyoti* or *viññān-bhāti*, inner illumination. The eye does not really see. It is the mind in conjunction with the eye that produces the vision. With eyes open and mind absent, we do not see or visualize outer objects. Mind, if strong, can see without the eyes or with the eyes closed. The clairvoyant does not really see with the eyes. But, normally, the mind, through the biological and evolutionary habit of association with the eye, becomes so dependent on it that it believes that the eye sees. The pitifully dependent appears to be boastfully independent. The habit has become second nature, and the first nature is forgotten—that the light is of the mind.

It is only in one sense that the mind still over-rides this second habit of the nexus between the eye and light. That is, by its speed. We have that light has the fastest speed in the world of physics; but mind is faster than light. We have seen how light with its speed plays tricks with time and space; equally and more, does the mind with its still higher speed. Mind builds and destroys universes in less than a second. We are always too late for the past, too early for the future and, between the two, we are always missing the present. The result is that we never really live in the phenomenal world of time, space, and mind. Our real life is lived elsewhere. We mistake the place of exile for the home.

Indian metaphysics traces the origin of light in this way. The unvibrated, silent sound contains light, and light is contained in the mind. The point where mind disappears is cosmic reality, the origin and cause of all light:

Anāhatasya śabdasya tasya śabdasya yo dhvani

Dhvanerantargataṁ jyotiḥ, jyotirantargataṁ mana

Tamano vilayo yāti tadviṣṇo paramaṁ padam.

It is this light which is the centre of the universe as well as its circumference, pervading the macrocosm and the microcosm, immanent and transcendent. Hence the *Tejobindu Upaniṣad* describes it as:

Tejobindu param dhyānam, viśvātītaṁ hṛdi-sthitaṁ

Anavaṁ sambhavaṁ saktāṁ sthūlaṁ sukṣmaṁ parañcayāt.

And, again, Indian metaphysics says that this is the light of all lights, resident in the heart of every object:

Ādityantargataṁ yaśca jyotiṣaṁ jyotir-uttamaṁ

Hṛdaya sarva-bhūtān n jīvā-bhūtāṁ sa tiṣṭati.

The analysis of this resident inner light as the light of all other lights, has been carried further in Indian metaphysics. The scheme and construction of the universe are said to arise from the static potential of cosmic reality in its desire to diversify itself. This is described as the root *ahamkāra*, which, in the absence of a better terminology, may be called the universal ego. It is this primary *ahamkāra* (*ikṣaṇā*), the sweeping all-inclusive vision which the *Byhadāranyaka Upaniṣad* describes as the *rūpaṁ rūpaṁ pratirūpaṁ vabhuva*. This light is also the cit of the Indian metaphysical trinity of *sat-cit-ānanda*, the most brief and inclusive def-

inition of cosmic reality in the semantics of man. That is the first cause of light in this universe. There is more truth in the Biblical statement than is commonly realized: 'God said, "Let there be light", and there was light.'

This light is life itself and is the perennial source of creation. This *ahamkāra* in its turn creates the universal intelligence (*buddhi*) which is the first reflection of this original light. It is only after this stage of creation, that mind comes as the second reflection of the original light. Indian metaphysics asserts this hierarchy. The Ātman, or cosmic reality, is the real light. Life in its derivative is light. The second derivative is intelligence, the third is mind. What we see as light in the three-dimensional phenomenal world is its grosser derivatives, which are qualitatively and quantitatively perverted. It therefore follows from this metaphysics of light that the Ātman, or cosmic reality, is alone the light; all the rest is the reflection of that light. This immanent light transcends, and in transcending, produces the reflection, image, and colour of manifold universes. In other words, He alone is light, Indian metaphysics beautifully summarizes this in the celebrated verse of the *Ṛg-ṣaṣṭi*:

*Na astro sūryo bhāti, na candratārakām
Ne mā vidyuto bhānti, kutoyamagni
Tameva bhāntaṁ anubhāti sarvaṁ, tasya
bhāṣā sarvamidaṁ vibhāti.*

This universe is an ocean of light. The true mission of the life of man on earth is to follow that beacon light in the midst of the surging waves of the ocean of phenomena, and to know it and, finally, to be it, deathless, radiant, and joyous. Light is knowledge: *ānandam* and *bhōka*. The pursuit of external light is the pursuit of shadows. Looking at inward light is the first step to spiritual freedom.

The answers to the interrogations posed

at the beginning are short and simple. The Ātman, cosmic reality, is the cause of light. Its nature is cosmic knowledge, *cit*; cosmic peace or bliss, *ānanda*; and eternal cosmic existence, *sat*. It comes from the Ātman, radiates to reflect shadows, which are the toys of the manifest universe of time and space, and goes back to the Ātman. Its outward journey, by which we mistake the shadow for the light and the reflection for the reality, represents the panorama of the time-space continuum of the phenomenal universe of duality. Its inward journey is the voyage of liberation, knowledge, and bliss, the rending of all veils of suffering, separation, and death. That is its destiny, purpose, and message. Let us then fold up our flimsy screens with their fleeting shadows, participate in this grand festival of deathless light on the resplendant stage of the universe, and realize our inexhaustible inheritance. This light of lights, *jyotiṣaṁ-jyoti*, is the object of meditation, contemplation, and realization in the spiritual disciplines and the *sādhana* of the Vedas, Upaniṣads and the *Gītā*: *tejomayaṁ viśvamanantaṁ ādyaṁ*.

We hail the spacemen: but let us not delude ourselves by forgetting the self-evident fact that the cosmonaut carries with him nothing better and nothing more than the two very small human eyes which can never know the true cause, origin, and destiny of light by any high jump or long jump into space. To know that, we need to change our own dimensions, and nothing external will do that for us. The real problem, both for scientists and philosophers of the present or any age, is not the conquest of space, but the conquest of the inner nature of man. That conquest will alone reveal the nature of light. It is possible only by the spiritual discipline and *sādhana* of which the Vedas and the Upaniṣads of India speak. To that conquest and to that inheritance the light calls you. Turn the searchlight inward.

THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN INDIA

STEPHEN SPENDER

Mr. Stephen Spender, the well-known poet and author, and co-editor of Encounter, was welcomed to the Institute on 10 December 1960. This was his second visit, the first being six years ago. On the same day his lecture, printed below, was given extempore and was tape-recorded. The meeting organized by the Institute, was held in collaboration with the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom.

I AM not really equipped to talk about the English language in India but it is a subject which interests me. It has interested me for a long time because when I was last in India there was a great deal of talk about giving up the English language. In, I think, 1956, perhaps 1957, there was, apparently, a programme with a kind of ideal goal. The ideal goal was that English studies should cease to be official and compulsory within about ten years' time, the idea being that Hindi should then become India's second language. This goal seems to be a receding goal because every time I come to India it seems to have been put off for another ten years. Nevertheless, I think it still does remain a goal, and I want to give you my somewhat naive impressions and reflections about it.

One reason why this question of the English language interests Europeans, especially the English, is because in Europe we had the same problem early on in our history. We had a universal language—Latin, which was associated with the Roman Catholic Church, of course, but which was compulsory in the educational system. It was widely spoken and formed a lingua franca between students and the educated classes of different countries. And the interesting thing was that, although travel was on horseback or on foot and was extremely difficult, that stage in European history was,

I suppose, the period in which, amongst the educated, there was the most developed European consciousness. In fact this European consciousness really depended on the Latin language, in addition to the fact, of course, that it depended upon the privilege of having been conquered and occupied by the Romans in some moment of one's country's history.

At that time students could come from all over the world, from all over Europe—the then known world—and study in different universities. Universities really deserved to be called universities in the sense that they were universal and not just national institutions. They were meant for scholars, and they were not for the upper classes only, as became the case in the West until recently. Nor were they for everyone, as they tend to be today, which is perhaps as great a mistake as having them only for the upper classes. In those days the universities were for the people who needed a university education and who could benefit from a university education, who loved scholarship, and who spoke to one another in Latin, and who sang those beautiful medieval university songs which are still to be found in the song books. So this was our lingua franca.

India is in the fascinating position of having a lingua franca with a difference, and the difference is important: it is that English is actually being spoken elsewhere. The

English people, in spite of everything, are not completely dead, and, unlike Latin, English is not a completely dead language--in spite of everything. If it does die it is likely to be superseded by American English rather than by the English spoken by Indians.

CULTURAL COMPLICATIONS

I think that the fact that English is actually spoken and written in Britain and America as well as being spoken and written in India complicates the situation of the English language in India. I do not think that the possibility of resentment against the English language, because it was used by an occupying power, is such a very serious complication, but I do think that the fact that English is spoken in England and in America and is also India's *lingua franca* is a serious complication. It is a serious complication for this reason that if your intellectual life is expressed in the English language it is put into a permanent situation of disadvantageous competition with the English language as it is spoken elsewhere. So, from this point of view, it is a serious question. Would it not be better for India to abandon the English language altogether and to develop her national languages, while trying to develop a common second Indian language which would be, I suppose, Hindi? The argument is serious because it is, after all, a pity that a whole civilization, a whole culture should be so attracted by an almost impossibly difficult goal, namely the ambition to write and speak English as it is written and spoken in other parts of the world where it is the first language. It would be interesting to find out the effects of the English language on the thinking of the Indian cultivated, educated classes. Sociologists or social psychologists could probably make a very interesting study of this. I think the probable result of that study would be not altogether favourable.

This, to my mind, is a very vexed question.

It seems to me very difficult to be able to express oneself in a language with which one is not entirely familiar. The language should not only be familiar but the associations of the language should be with one's own background. So that when we talk about an oak tree, an English idea, we see an English oak tree. When we talk about a starling or a skylark, we do not see an abstract spirit, a kind of houri, out of the poem by Shelley, but we realize these are actual birds which do flutter about and, like the skylark, do sing a rather ugly, piercing song. Skylarks might be very annoyed by Shelley having written his particular poem about them. So this point is important: a language is a kind of net. To put it better: a language is an image, a complicated image, a reflection of the circumstances of actually lived life in a particular environment, a particular place. And the moment the language is taken away from the actual environment which it reflects, then the language tends to become abstract. When one looks at Indian works in the English language it can be seen that Indians have a somewhat abstract conception of the English language simply because, for example, a nightingale, a skylark, and a great many other things, are literary concepts seen at one remove from the real thing.

So it is a serious question whether young Indian writers are well advised to write in the English language. We should not be dogmatic about this because when we are dealing with art, we have to believe that miracles are possible. It is always possible that some writer using English, though it is not his mother tongue, might give a new dimension to the language. Talking in the city of Tagore, I should say that Tagore perhaps almost achieved this in some of the poems that he wrote in English. But, as a matter of fact, they are not written in an English which the English themselves particularly appreciate, because it seems too vague and

misty and spiritual for the tastes of a people brought up on enormous hunks of mutton and beef. But, still, his poems exist in their own right and they are contributions to the English language.

INDIAN APPRECIATION OF ENGLISH LITERATURE

There is another important contribution from India to the English language and that is Indian appreciation of our poetry. It seems to me that we do owe a good deal to India in this respect: that in some way, on some level, Indian minds are more responsive to our literature than we are ourselves. They are differently responsive, and in being so they, as it were, take in our literature and hand it back to us slightly different. To take two examples: Shelley's poetry like *The Triumph of Life* which owes a certain amount to Indian philosophy, and which we approach in a new spirit when we think of the response that it aroused in India. Shelley was an extremely spiritual kind of writer and I think that to a great many English people he seems rather unreal. The fact that his ideas exist as something very real in India is important to us; and the same applies, I think, to W. B. Yeats. I found an example of this the other day when I was reading an essay by Arthur Koestler, which some of you may not have liked, on the subject of Yoga. It is a rather hideous article, what is called a debunking article, and at the end of it he quotes excerpts from the Upanishads. One excerpt is about death in life and life in death. When I was reading this I suddenly realized that it reminded me of a poem by W. B. Yeats, called *Byzantium*, and so I looked it up. And I have no doubt that I was quite right that, in fact, Yeats was thinking of this particular Upanishad when he wrote his poem. This fact has not been referred to by western critics, so far as I know, although I have not read all of them on the subject

of Yeats. They may not have noticed this because our critics always like to think that everything comes from Latin or Greek or from our own literature. And then I remembered that Yeats at one time had a guru, and also that he not only worked with Tagore on Tagore's translations of his own poems into English, but Yeats himself translated the Upanishads with the help of an Indian friend.

These, therefore, are good examples of the inter-reflection, the interaction, between English and Indian minds which we owe, in fact, to the appreciation of a certain mode, a certain Shelleyan mode of literature in Indian minds, and which we owe to the interest that certain writers like Yeats, and still later, T. S. Eliot, have taken in Indian philosophy, primarily, I think, through the interest of Indians in our literature. At the end of one of his poems, *The Cocktail Party*, T. S. Eliot, who is supposed to dislike the poet Shelley very much, has one of his heroes asked what he thinks about life, and the hero says: 'In order to answer that question I must quote poetry', and he then quotes lines of Shelley which are about Zoroaster, which is Shelley in his most 'eastern mood.

We owe a good deal in England to the Indian appreciation of English literature, and this has been a real contribution to English literature, though perhaps it has not been the kind of contribution Indian writers wish to make. The kind of contribution they wish to make is in the form of great Indian writers in English. This seems a very, very difficult goal. I wonder whether a good many things have not been lost or wasted by trying to do this incredibly difficult thing, of writing poetry and prose in a language which is not only strange to the writers, but which does not have associations with their own particular backgrounds. From this point of view one can entirely sympathize, if Indians say, 'Let's forget about the English

language, and let's try to make a new start in our own languages'.

THE FLUX OF A LIVING LANGUAGE

I would like to emphasize that the difficulty of using a foreign language which is outside one's own culture is that language is a changing thing within any culture. It is changing for a great many reasons; partly because of new inventions and because there are new words coming into use all the time. We have to live in the particular place where it is spoken in order to keep up with a language. Although writers sometimes talk as though language is something invented by them, in fact language is not invented by them; it is something which they have to handle. It is invented by ordinary people, people who walk about the streets, who go in buses and underground railways, and it is also invented by circumstances. It is invented, for instance, by scientific and social changes which require new vocabularies. This is so much the case that one might say that American is becoming the most important English language simply because it is the most developing language. The English language in America is situated in a place where there is the greatest development of techniques and society, which, therefore, leads to the greatest development of language. Moreover, America, for some reason which it is possible to explain, but rather difficult to do so, is much more interested in itself than Britain is interested in itself. America is enormously interested in what life is like in Iowa City, for instance, whereas we feel that we know very well what life is like in Bath: Jane Austen told us two centuries ago, so no one has had to mention the subject since. Within the whole area of the English language one can see that it is really life, the movement of life, the interest in life, the intensity of life, which makes language contemporary.

That is one point. Another point is that

the English language changes its standards the whole time. If you take the history of a language as it has been lived and spoken in a certain place, you will find within that language that there are certain values, certain traditions which are relevant at a particular time and these are always altering. Perhaps this is owing to historic circumstances, perhaps because we really do become better critics and do learn something about our language. So that in the last fifty years, or in the last thirty years, the whole of English criticism has fundamentally altered; the whole view of what is important in English literature has been modified. The nineteenth century view was that English poetry, for instance, consisted of one enormous 'Mount Everest' called Shakespeare, followed by a 'mountain' about 20,000 feet less high, called Milton, and at the bottom a vast 'plain' out of which, at last, Shelley, Keats, Byron, Tennyson, and Browning emerged: this view is no longer held. We have a much more historic view of what happened in English literature and, taking it all in all, we feel that Shelley and Keats, for instance, were perhaps quite minor poets much as we might treasure them, and that, say, Pope and Donne and Dryden were much more important poets than Shelley and Keats.

Now, I do not feel that any of this is really reflected in India. I do not feel that within the Indian universities they have reached this point. I feel that the idea of English is still that which was laid down by Lord Macaulay in 1848, or sometime, I do not know quite when. Lord Macaulay wrote rather rumbustious poetry and was a sort of tough romantic himself, though he, and perhaps Matthew Arnold, Edwin Arnold, and various other Arnolds, slightly modified the position afterwards; but nothing very much seems to have happened since. So, as a matter of fact, from any point of view, I would suggest that the 'Indian

universities overhaul the standards of their English departments and take a look at some recent books about English literature. For instance, there is a useful book: Professor Daiches' *A Critical History of English Literature*. This was published in 1959, and I think it reflects the current view of literature.

THE GAINS AND LOSSES FOR ENGLISH IN INDIA

But now I want to consider again the general question of the English language in India. What I have said so far indicates that there is a kind of profit and loss account as regards the service to English literature by Indians writing and reading in English. The loss side of the account is that a lot of Indians have been put into a rather tragic position of perpetual disappointment. As an editor I know how great this disappointment is because I receive many manuscripts from Indians who are trying to write in a language from which they are at a certain distance, a distance which it is almost impossible for them to catch up on. The profit account is, as I said, that the Indian appreciation of English literature has been a real service to English literature, and, as I was suggesting in the case of Yeats, and perhaps, even in the case of Eliot, has even stimulated some of our writers to do some of their best and most significant work.

There is another aspect to be dealt with and that is whether, apart from literature, the English language is not extremely useful in India; and here again, I think, there is a profit and loss account to be made. I do not know anything about the Hindi language, but if Hindi is not a very scientific language I can see the advantages of having English as India's lingua franca. India's second language ought to be a language which can deal with modern life, and which can keep pace with the developments of modern life without having to introduce from

another language odd words slightly altered, like saying 'telephono' or 'telephoné' or something else because we cannot think of a word for 'telephone'. We cannot imagine a people in the thirteenth century telephoning to each other or fitting this word into their language. Arthur Koestler made an apt remark when commenting on the insistence of the Israelis that they should learn Hebrew. He said that when Hebrew is applied to science in a modern, scientific, industrialized state, as Israel seeks to be, it is rather like taking a war-chariot of Roman times—the sort of thing that Boadicea rode about in—and hitching a machine-gun onto it. This method produces grotesque effects.

A LANGUAGE FOR INTERNATIONAL LIVING

However, the most important consideration of all, to my mind, is this, that the fact that the English language is spoken in India and that Indians can express themselves so adequately in it, gives India an altogether extraordinary place in the modern world. I believe it is the ambition of Mr. Nehru and the Indian Government to be a bridge between the East and the West, and this is an ambition which I think more and more people in the West and, perhaps eventually, also in the East, are beginning to support. There has been a great shift, even in the last few months, in the attitude of America towards 'bridge politics'. A few years ago, as you know, the Americans regarded the attempt to be a bridge between the East and the West, or to be neutral, as being almost a betrayal of the West and a surrender to the East. But now the idea is becoming more and more widely diffused that the salvation of the world might lie in a neutral bloc, in the idea of having neutral powers which even both sides might agree to support—in development, for instance. In achieving this, India is already far better equipped than other Asian nations to take

a lead in Asia and the world. In doing this the English language is an absolutely invaluable instrument.

India is in the position of being linguistically the mouthpiece of Asia to the rest of the world. And again, it is in the position of being a sort of chief interpreter between western languages and eastern languages through the virtue of Indians speaking, and being educated in, the English language. When you consider that India is a country that does not believe particularly in sputniks, and hunks and H-bombs and all those other things, and that India does not intend to take its position in the world by having vast bomber fleets and navies and armies and so on, we have to ask ourselves, well, after all, what does she have? I think one answer would be—the English language; that, in the present struggle in which we all hope that India will play a role, the English language is really the equivalent of several divisions of tanks, several H-bombs, and a great many other things. It is an enormously powerful instrument, in fact. So for that rather material reason I think it would be a great pity if there was a neglect of English studies.

Looking far enough ahead one might say that the solution is to learn three languages,

which already several nations in Europe do—the Swiss and the Scandinavian nations, for instance—which seems to be enormously difficult. But in future this will not be so difficult, I think, because one of the things in which science is making a tremendous advance is in the methods of teaching languages. Within fifty years' time the great difficulty that our children today have in learning foreign languages will, in fact, no longer exist. Learning foreign languages is now a sort of laboratory task, it can be said. When I was at Harvard University recently, I was taken round the latest language-teaching school and I was absolutely amazed at the extent to which modern instruments, like tape-recorders and so on, can be used to speed up the learning of languages. The old idea that we have of learning languages, in the way that we still learn them in all English schools, is already hopelessly out-of-date as regards the technique. So I think that if the ten years' moratorium, the ten years' postponement, which is always being put on the time when India will stop learning English is carried on for another thirty years or so, you may find that the problem really does not present the difficulty which it seems to at the present moment.

All you have been, and seen, and done and thought,
Not *you* but *I*, have seen and been and wrought ...
Pilgrim, pilgrimage and Road,
Was but *Myself* toward *Myself*, and your
Arrival but *Myself* at my own door ...
Come, you lost Atoms, to your centre draw ...
Rays that have wandered into Darkness wide,
Return, and back into your Sun subside.

Mantiqu't-Tair

BOOK REVIEW

SPIRITUAL DIMENSIONS. By Ania Teillard. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London. 1961. 25 shillings.

Ania Teillard, who is described by the publisher as a well-known psychologist, discusses in this book some of her experiences of extrasensory perception: visions of many kinds, apparitions of the dead and angels, premonitory dreams, and visions of persons, events, and experiences connected with her previous existence. These immersions in other spheres occurred to her spontaneously and had a message whose meaning was known to the soul. Her whole personality was involved in these experiences to which the whole soul responded. It took many years for her to understand the spiritual significance of these happenings, which came with psychic development stimulated by psychoanalysis. Her contact with gods and angels, with the dead and demons, radically changed her psychological conceptions, but in practice she was guided by the theories of the late C. G. Jung, to whom she owes much.

The authoress emphasizes that many of her experiences had both a psychical and para-psychical meaning, and others surpassed the limits of both planes. Through her incursions into the other worlds she developed the power of thought-reading and telepathy. A study of mythology, religions, and the Yoga of Sri Aurobindo, confirmed the spiritual value of the visions and apparitions and helped her spiritual growth.

From the interesting accounts of her varied experiences, it seems the authoress has both eagerness for knowledge and spiritual propensity. But she is confused and uncertain about her own stand, often shifting from spiritualism to depth-psychology, whichever seems plausible to her varying moods in explaining dreams, visions, and spiritual practices. She becomes hypersensitive and in-

patient after having a 'shocking and poignant' experience in India. This was on the occasion of her discovery of the cult of the Mother at Pondicherry, the French lady who was raised to the venerated position of Divine Mother by Sri Aurobindo himself. In an attempt to explain the Mother cult, she draws analogies from the lives of Auguste Comte and Dante, who both unconsciously projected their anima (Jung's idea of the image of the soul) onto their beloveds in order to deify and immortalize them. It is not known how far it is valid to draw such analogies and apply Jung's theories to explore the unconscious of Sri Aurobindo. Furthermore, an orthodox Freudian could interpret the same phenomena as expressions of the Oedipus fixation with no less convincing explanations. Yet this may prove nothing except the intellectual pride of the mind and its ignorance about things which belong to a plane of consciousness far above the mind. The authoress could do better justice to Sri Aurobindo if, instead of quoting his sayings in support of the spiritual validity of her own visions and experiences, she strictly followed his teachings about spiritual self-discipline.

There is a trend growing among psychologists and analysts of various schools to accept spiritual experiences in the name of 'psychical research', but they consider reason and intellect as the supreme judges of spiritual truths. Such efforts have some value in removing the veil of mystery about spiritualism and mysticism, but are not quite free from the danger of creating a 'scientific' version of spiritualism based on reason and its ignorant handling of spiritual facts. The only solution lies in accepting spiritual discipline under able Masters with a view to developing spiritual consciousness first of all, before indulging in so-called scientific or pseudo-spiritual generalizations.

The authoress uses the words 'psyche' and 'soul' quite often, possibly not in the sense of spiritualism, but in a limited sense as used by C. G. Jung. By 'psyche' Jung means a total of psychological processes, both conscious and unconscious. He used the word 'soul' to designate the particular manner of one's behaviour and character manifested in an attitude towards the unconscious or inner psychic processes. But in the spiritual practices of the East the words 'psyche' and 'soul' are used in the same sense. It is described as the undifferentiated spark of the Divine Consciousness, which grows behind the veil of physical, vital, and mental experiences in human nature and supports it. By spiritual practice the soul can be made free from the limitations of the physical, vital, and mental ego, and become the Lord of nature. Only when one can live in soul-consciousness can one have unerring perception of spiritual truths, without being confined by sense-perceptions or intellectual

constructions, or being misled by the excitement of vital, mental, or other visions on different planes.

Interpreting higher experiences in terms of Jung's concept of the soul to determine spiritual values, is likely to be misleading, and is not a safe judge of inner experiences. Visions do not come from the spiritual plane, and to have visions and some occult powers may not be a sign of spiritual attainment. However, these experiences have value so far as they help the growth of spiritual consciousness.

We appreciate, and feel sympathy for, Ania Teillard's quest for truth and her lonely adventure into other worlds. We also hope her courageous endeavour will inspire many readers when, living in the higher consciousness of the soul or the spirit, she will write about more illuminating experiences. She has a very rare gift from God.

MRINAL BARUA

In the exploration of the unconscious we come upon very strange things, from which a rationalist turns away with horror, claiming afterwards that he did not see anything. The irrational fulness of life has taught me never to discard anything, even when it goes against all our theories (so short-lived at best) or otherwise admits of no immediate explanation. It is of course disquieting, and one is not certain whether the compass is pointing true or not; but security, certitude, and peace do not lead to discoveries.

C. G. JUNG

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

Tuskegee

In America, eighty years ago, in the State of Alabama, a handful of wretchedly poor negroes listened to a man speaking: 'Education is meant to make us give satisfaction and to get satisfaction out of giving it. It is meant to make us gain happiness out of service to our fellows. And until we get to the point of helping our fellows, we are not truly educated.' 'This man was Booker T. Washington, a negro himself, who became one of the most outstanding educationists in America in the nineteenth century. He founded the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama on 4 July 1881. Since that time there is hardly a country where the service of the Tuskegee Institute has not been felt.

At the time when Booker T. Washington came to Tuskegee from Virginia, negroes were just emerging from slavery. After surveying the needs of his people, the young teacher made plans to found a school with a curriculum which included courses on agriculture, bricklaying, carpentry, and home-making. The money for this school, which ultimately developed into the Tuskegee Institute of world-wide fame, came through the efforts of a white American politician, W. F. Foster, an ex-slave, Lewis Adams, and an ex-slave master, George W. Campbell. Another man who contributed much, in later years, was the well-known chemurgist, Dr. George Washington Carver.

Today, students from eighteen countries are among the student body of 2,300 at the Institute. At present, a team of Tuskegee graduates is conducting a rural elementary teacher-training institute in Zoror, Liberia, in co-operation with the United States International Co-operation Administration, and the Government of Liberia. A Tuskegee professor is heading a development project in Sierra Leone. A Booker T. Washington

Institute at Kakata, Liberia, has been modelled after Tuskegee. A miniature Tuskegee (Achimota College) now stands in Ghana, while in the Philippines and India, students are attending schools patterned after the 'learn-by-doing' Tuskegee plan. The administration of the Tuskegee Institute has launched a \$40 million expansion programme to develop over the next thirty years.

Unesco Educational Institute

The UNESCO Educational Institute in Hamburg was founded, in 1951, as a meeting-place for educationalists from all over the world, where they could exchange and compare the results of their experience in the various branches of education. The board of twenty-four trustees, appointed by the Director-General of UNESCO, includes educationalists from Great Britain, France, Denmark, Italy, West Germany, Switzerland, the U.S.S.R., and the U.S.A. The Institute receives financial support not only from UNESCO, but also from the Federal Government of West Germany and from the city of Hamburg.

The Institute's frequent meetings of educational experts are always kept small enough to enable close personal contact between delegates. Every year there are seminars for young teachers, held in conjunction with the UNESCO national commissions.

Johannes Tauler, German Mystic

Johannes Tauler, one of the outstanding mystics of fourteenth century Europe, died six hundred years ago this year, on 15 June 1361. Born about 1300, he studied under Meister Eckhart at the Studium Generale in Cologne around 1326. Among the mystical thinkers of his day he stood out as an authority on ethics and as a popular speaker. As a member of the Dominican Order he preached in monasteries and in public, and some of his sermons, which had a direct

practical influence on the thought of his time, have been preserved. The six hundredth anniversary of his death is being marked in Germany by a collected edition of the extant sermons, to be published by Herber of Freiburg.

Asian Studies in London

New departments in economic, political, and social studies are to be opened early next year at London University's School of Oriental and African Studies, which trains, among others, a large number of Indian students. These new departments will be followed a few years later by a geography department, which will join the existing departments of language, history, law, and anthropology, with a staff of some 170.

Announcing this in London, Professor C. H. Philips, Director of the School, said the new developments would adjust the lack of balance 'which exists in the high degree of attention we have paid to the Asian classical past compared with the slight regard for the living present'.

Scholars for the new departments have already been recruited, and many have been training for the past four years. Funds for this new activity have come mainly from British and American foundations.

Professor Philips hopes to start post-graduate teaching courses covering many aspects of Asian and other regions. The school also intends meeting the growing demand for specialized undergraduate courses as part of the honours degree both in languages and other disciplines.

International Links

The municipalities of Brunswick, in the Federal Republic of Germany, and Bandung, Indonesia, have decided to establish links between their two cities. Plans so far announced include a number of exchanges between technical schools and teacher-training colleges. A group of twenty-five Indonesian

students, at present attending the Advanced Technical School in Brunswick, will help to promote the programme.

Tagore Centenary News

Dr. Gerhard Fischer, Consul of the Federal Republic of Germany in Madras, recently addressed the Madras Rotary Club. He drew close parallels between Tagore's thought and the trends of activity in the contemporary intellectual world in Germany. He said Tagore had stood for a rethinking of Indian tradition at a time when Germany was rebuilding her culture, after its pattern of traditions had been shattered by the First World War.

Tagore's efforts in education, Dr. Fischer said, were born of his realization of the lopsidedness of modern education; he wanted universal education based on Indian tradition but applied through modern methods. Similar developments were taking place in Germany also. In the economic and political fields, Tagore drew quick and warm response from many German intellectuals.

In the field of art and literature Tagore had left a deep impression among the German people. This was most eloquently borne out by the enthusiastic and nationwide celebration of the poet's centenary throughout the Federal Republic of Germany.

Tagore's dance-drama, *King of the Dark Chamber*, was the highlight of the Tagore Centenary observances in New York. Directed by Krishna Shah of the Indian National Theatre, Bombay, the production had a mixed Indian and American professional cast. The Madras stage and film actress, Surya Kumari, played the role of the Queen, and the American actor, Brook Peters, played the King.

This production was warmly received by New York theatre critics, and received support from enthusiastic audiences.

INSTITUTE NEWS

OPENING OF THE NEW BUILDING AND INAUGURATION OF THE EAST-WEST CULTURAL CONFERENCE

The Institute's new building, now complete and in full use, will be opened officially by Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, on 1 November. On the same occasion Sri Nehru will inaugurate the East-West Cultural Conference which is being held in collaboration with UNESCO and is related to its Major Project on the Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-President of India and President of the Institute, will preside over the inaugural function. Dr. C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar will be the Chairman of the Conference and will preside at the symposia, and the concluding session at a public meeting.

The theme of the Conference is 'The Reactions of the Peoples of East and West to the Basic Problems of Modern Life'. The Basic Document of the Conference was published in the September issue of the *Bulletin*. The participants of the Conference will be:

Helmuth G. Callis

Professor of Oriental History, University of Utah, U.S.A.

E. Adamson Hoebel

Professor of Anthropology, University of Minnesota, U.S.A.

Count Arnold Keyserling

Formerly Director of the Kriterion, the philosophical institute in Vienna, Austria

John F. Ledy

Professor of Classics, Saskatchewan University, Canada

T. M. P. Mahadevan

Professor of Philosophy, Madras University, India

R. C. Majumdar

Formerly Vice-Chancellor of Dacca University, East Pakistan

E. Maung

Minister of Education, Government of Burma

Gustav Mensching

Professor of Comparative Religion, University of Bonn, Germany

Radhakamal Mukherjee

Director of the J. K. Institute of Sociology, Lucknow, and formerly Vice-Chancellor, of Lucknow University, India

Z. Safa

Professor of History of Persian Literature, Teheran University, Iran

Ototo Tanaka

Professor of Indian Philosophy, Chuo University, Tokyo, Japan

E. W. F. Tomlin

British Council, U.K.

The following is the programme of events taking place at the Institute from 1 to 9 November:

Wednesday, 1 November 1961

11.30 a.m. to 1 p.m.

Invocation

Welcome address by Srimati Padmaja Naidu, Governor of West Bengal

Opening of the building and Inauguration of the East-West Cultural Conference by Sri Jawaharlal Nehru

Messages from UNESCO, and other messages

Address by Dr. C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar

Address by Professor Humayun Kabir, Union Minister for Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, and Vice-President of the Institute

Presidential address by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan

Vote of thanks

Jana Gana Mana

4 p.m.

Reception to Dr. S. Radhakrishnan and
Sri Jawaharlal Nehru

Thursday, 2 November 1961

9 a.m. to 12 noon

Symposium on
'Religious Thought as a Component of
Cultural Values' (First session)

5.30 p.m. to 7.30 p.m.

Public Meeting
Chairman: Professor Gustav Mensching
Speakers: Mr. E. W. F. Tomlin, on
'The Unity of Mankind'
Professor R. K. Mukerjee, on
'The Universal Principles and Forms of
Civilization'

Friday, 3 November 1961

9 a.m. to 12 noon

Symposium on
'Religious Thought as a Component of
Cultural Values' (Second session)

5.30 p.m. to 7.30 p.m.

Public Meeting
Chairman: Professor E. Adamson Hoebel
Speakers: Professor Gustav Mensching, on
'Motives and Forms of 'Tolerance and
Intolerance in the World of Religions'
Professor T. M. P. Mahadevan, on
'Traditional Values of India: Their
Universal Appeal'

Saturday, 4 November 1961

9 a.m. to 12 noon

Symposium on
'Modern Socio-Economic Patterns as
Affecting Cultural Values' (First session)

5.30 p.m. to 7.30 p.m.

Public Meeting
Chairman: Mr. E. W. F. Tomlin
Speakers: Professor J. F. Leddy, on
'The Mutual Appreciation of Eastern
and Western Cultural Values'

Professor R. C. Majumdar, on
'Reactions of the Peoples to the Prob-
lems of Modern Life'

Sunday, 5 November 1961

RECESS

Monday, 6 November 1961

9 a.m. to 12 noon

Symposium on
'Modern Socio-Economic Patterns as
Affecting Cultural Values' (Second
session)

5.30 p.m. to 7.30 p.m.

Public Meeting
Chairman: Dr. R. K. Mukerjee
Speakers: Professor E. Adamson Hoebel,
on 'An Anthropologist Looks at the
Basic Problems of Modern Life'
Professor Otoy Tanaka, on
'Religion as a Transmitter of Literature'

Tuesday, 7 November 1961

9 a.m. to 12 noon

Symposium on
'Cultural Values as Affecting the Evo-
lution and Inter-relations of Cultures'
(First session)

5.30 p.m. to 7.30 p.m.

Public Meeting
Chairman: Professor R. C. Majumdar
Speakers: Professor Arnold Keyserling, on
'Is Culture Essential?'
Professor Z. Safa, on
'Cultural Unity'

Wednesday, 8 November 1961

9 a.m. to 12 noon

Symposium on
'Cultural Values as Affecting the Evo-
lution and Inter-relations of Cultures'
(Second session)

5.30 p.m. to 7.30 p.m.

Public Meeting
Chairman: Professor J. F. Leddy

Speakers: Professor Helmut G. Callis, on
'Ancient Traditions and One-World
Problems'
Dr. E. Maung

Thursday, 9 November 1961

9 a.m. to 12 noon

Symposium

Summing up the views of the parti-

cipants during the six-day discussion

5.30 p.m. to 7.30 p.m.

Public Meeting

Chairman: Dr. C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar
Concluding session of the Conference.
Presentation of the findings of the six-
day symposium by representative parti-
cipants.

SCHOOL OF HUMANISTIC AND INTERCULTURAL STUDIES

Information concerning the aims and purposes of the Institute's School of Humanistic and Intercultural Studies was published in the October issue of the *Bulletin*.

Dr. Helmut G. Callis, Professor of Oriental History at Utah University, U.S.A., has been appointed Academic Director of the School for the academic year 1961-62. He has been closely associated with the Institute since November 1960, and has been chiefly concerned with the formation and development of the School. In addition to being Academic Director, Dr. Callis has been assigned to the Institute by the United States Educational Foundation as a Fulbright visiting lecturer for the academic year 1961-62.

Further information about Dr. Callis and the important and valuable part he has been playing in the development of the Institute's work, has been published in several issues of the *Bulletin* throughout the year.

The first term of the School's Programme for the Study of World Cultures, which opens on 13 November and continues till 15 December, is as follows:

13—15 November at 6.30 p.m.

A Vision of Mankind: Introductory lectures

17 November, and every following Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, at 6.30 p.m.

Far Eastern Civilizations: China and Japan

17 November, and every following Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, at 7.30 p.m.

A Perspective of India

The second term's courses open on 8 January 1962, and continue till 2 April, and will be as follows:

8 January, and every following Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, at 6.30 p.m.

Western Civilizations: Europe, America, Russia, and the Islamic East
(Four courses)

8 January, and every following Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, at 7.30 p.m.

The Great Religions and Modern Society
(Two courses)

21 February, and every following Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, at 7.30 p.m.

Building the World Community
(Two courses)

The programme will lead to a completion certificate which will enhance the intellectual stature and further the occupational advancement of all serious participants.

Full particulars and facilities for registration are available at the office of the Institute.

Professor Humayun Kabir

Professor Humayun Kabir, Union Minister for Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, paid a visit to the Institute on 4 September. Discussions were held in connection with the programme of the East-West Cultural Conference.

Library and Reading Room

In August the number of volumes added to the accession list in the Institute's library was 137, of which 121 were purchased and 16 were gifts. A total of 166 books were classified and catalogued. 2,091 books were borrowed and 1,713 books were issued for reference. The reading room contained 344 Indian and foreign periodicals. There was an average daily attendance of 142 readers.

Children's Library

During the month of August there were 432 members on the roll. 1,118 books were borrowed and 4 books were added to the accession list. There was an average daily attendance of 61 readers.

Scripture Classes

During August the following scripture classes continued to be held:

Mahābhārata: This class, conducted by Professor Tripurari Chakravarti, was held every Monday, at 6 p.m. The attendance numbered from 1,100 to 1,200.

Śrīmad Bhāgavatam: This class, conducted by Swami Omkarananda, was held every Wednesday, at 6 p.m. The attendance numbered from 750 to 800.

Sanskrit Catuṣpāthi

The Sanskrit *catuṣpāthi*, conducted by Pandit Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya, Śāstri, Tarka-Vedānta-tīrtha, continued to be held during August on Mondays, Tuesdays, and

Thursdays, at 6 p.m. 6 students are studying *Pañcadaśī* and *Gītābhāṣya*.

Indian Language Classes

During August the following classes were held:

Hindi: Pandit Bhubaneswar Jha continued his classes. 50 students attended the *Prārambhika* (beginners') class, which was held on Tuesdays and Fridays, from 6.30 to 7.30 p.m. 7 students attended the *Praveśa* (intermediate) class, held on Tuesdays and attended the *Parichaya* (advanced) class, held on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays, from 6.30 to 7.30 p.m. 2 students attended the *Kovid* (diploma) class, held on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays, from 7.30 to 8.30 p.m., and on Saturdays, from 6.30 to 7.30 p.m.

Bengali: This class, conducted by Professor Saurindra Kumar De, continued to be held every Wednesday and Friday, from 7.30 to 8.30 p.m. 12 students attended.

Foreign Language Classes

German: The class, conducted by Countess Keyserling, continued to be held on Wednesdays and Saturdays, from 6.30 to 7.30 p.m. and from 7.30 to 8.30 p.m. 61 students attended.

French: The class, conducted by Mr. Cadelis, was held on Tuesdays and Fridays from 6.30 to 7.30 p.m. and from 7.30 to 8.30 p.m. 61 students attended.

Persian: The class, conducted by Dr. Hira Lal Chopra, continued to be held on Mondays and Thursdays, from 6.30 to 7.30 p.m. 4 students attended.

Russian: Enrolment for a beginners' class in the Russian language, conducted by Mrs. M. Shemansky, commenced on 15 September. The class is being held on Tuesdays and Saturdays, from 6.30 to 7.30 p.m.

NOVEMBER LECTURES

At 5 p.m.

- November 11 **The Hindu View of Life**
Speaker: Amiya Kumar Mazumdar, M.A.
President: K. P. Khaitan, M.A., Barrister-at-Law
- November 18 **Trends in Post-war English Literature**
Speaker: A. P. Weaver, M.A.
President: S. N. Roy, M.A., Ph.D.
- November 25 **Indian and Western Philosophy: A Comparative and Synthetic Interpretation**
Speaker: J. N. Mohanty, M.A., D.Phil.
President: S. C. Chatterjee, M.A., Ph.D.

SPECIAL LECTURES

A Course of Lectures on
The Metaphysics of Science

by

ARNOLD KEYSERLING

Every Tuesday, at 5.30 p.m.
 from 14 November till 12 December 1961

In this series of five lectures Count Keyserling presents a thesis, namely, that, from the metaphysical standpoint of the creative origin of the world, the dilemmas and contradictions of modern science disappear, and an understanding of the structure of the universe becomes possible.

The five lectures will be as follows:

- | | |
|-------------|-----------------------------|
| 14 November | The Origin of Mathematics |
| 21 November | The Origin of Matter |
| 28 November | The Origin of Life |
| 5 December | The Origin of Consciousness |
| 12 December | The Origin of Language |

A printed synopsis of the lectures is available at the Institute.

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No. 12

WILLIAM CAREY OF SERAMPORE

WILLIAM STEWART, M.A., D.D.

In August, Bengal celebrated the bi-centenary of the birth of William Carey. This man, who started life as a cobbler and came to Bengal in the late eighteenth century as a Baptist missionary, profoundly influenced the cultural life of Bengal. Today, his is a household name and his work continues in the College which he founded at Serampore. The Institute was privileged to hear this talk, given on 26 August, by Dr. William Stewart, present Principal of the College. Dr. Stewart was formerly Warden of New College Settlement in Edinburgh. Since 1936 he worked as a missionary in India, and since 1953 has been Professor of Christian Doctrine at Serampore College.

IT is a privilege to be invited to speak on this platform which is rightly noted for the high quality of the lectures given on a rich variety of subjects, whereby this notable Institute is enriching the cultural heritage of the country. If I understand it aright, it is one of the dominant aims of the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture to promote understanding and appreciation of the contribution to that heritage of the widest possible range of those who have played their part in it. These are to be studied in their integrity, every endeavour being made to allow them to be seen in their distinctive

quality so that their share in the whole may be appreciated. If such is the aim, then who can doubt the appropriateness of some attempt to grasp the massive contribution of William Carey to the life of his adopted land?

Late in the year 1955, some building operations at Serampore College led to the unearthing of a small collection of stones which, to the untrained eye, looked no more important than a heap of rubble. It chanced, however, that there was then on the staff an American teacher whose knowledge of archaeology was widely recognized, and

whose trained eye at once detected that this was no chance heap of stones but a collection of geological specimens which must have been painstakingly made by some keenly interested person.* As he eagerly sought to show us the significance of the discovery, I listened with some attention while he picked up one and another of these stones, pointing out their distinctive features and telling something of the history of the earth's crust which they implied. Fascinated, I made the rather trite exclamation, 'But this is most interesting', to receive the rather impatient reply, 'Of course it is interesting. Everything in this world is interesting. The trouble is that there are so many uninterested people'. Everything in this world is interesting! It is a remark which would certainly have been approved by William Carey. For, indeed, investigation soon proved that the hand which had lovingly brought together that collection of minerals was no other than his own. Here was one more example of his universal interest, turned to practical expression, which had been too much for his breathless successors to hold on to and which had, therefore, at some unknown period been lost to sight. Yet it is there in his remarkable last will and testament: 'I give and bequeath to the College of Serampore the whole of my museum, consisting of minerals, shells, corals, insects and other natural curiosities ...' (*Life of William Carey*. Smith) It is a source of some satisfaction that today the most interesting selection from that long neglected collection is displayed in the small museum at his College.

Everything in this world is interesting! And how astonishing is the range of interest which was shown by this remarkable man. It is in Bengal that the practical outcome of that interest is probably better realized than anywhere else. Yet it is fascinating to discover from a letter to his father written in 1790, three years before he left his native soil, how wide that interest already was:

'On Monday I confine myself to the study of the learned languages and oblige myself to translate something. On Tuesday to the study of science, history, composition, etc. On Wednesday I preach a lecture and have been for more than twelve months on the book of Revelation. On Thursday I visit my friends. Friday and Saturday are spent in preparing for the Lord's Day and the Lord's Day in preaching the Word of God.' (*A Memoir of William Carey*. By Eustace Carey)

His sister's recollections of his childhood tell of this same eager interest already awakened, and showing itself in his collections of plants and insects, his observation of birds and animals. The record of the voyages of Captain Cook published during his early years found no more enthralled reader than this consecrated cobbler, who turned scraps of unwanted leather to good account by building up his own globe from them, and who constructed his map of the expanding world and discoursed to all who would listen on what he was learning about its people. When a few pages of printed Dutch came into his hands he, who had had no formal schooling beyond the age of twelve, would not rest till he had learned to read that language, and it was the attraction of the beauty of the Greek characters which he chanced to see that set him to the mastery of that tongue. These were the beginnings of that width of interest, the fruits of which are manifest in so many aspects of the life of Bengal and, indeed, of India today, William Carey's contribution to the development of Bengali has been recorded and expounded by many in these weeks of commemoration, yet we know that he was the first European to give a public oration in Sanskrit before a notable gathering at the College of Fort William in 1804, and his professorship at that College included Marathi along with that classical language and Bengali which he hailed so eagerly as an

instrument finely tuned to express the wide concerns of man.

A MAN OF WIDE CONCERNS

Translations of part or the whole of the Christian scriptures into no less than thirty-six languages of India bear eloquent testimony to the range of his linguistic achievement. But he was no mere linguist. Some six years ago when the National Library in Calcutta opened to the public an exhibition to trace the history of printing in the country, it was very fittingly entitled 'The Carey Exhibition'. The manufacture both of type and paper owes much to his eager initiative. The Royal Agri-horticultural Society has been justly celebrating the bi-centenary of the birth of its founder, and a brief paragraph in a recent issue of the *Statesman* reminded us that we owe to his concern the development in India of the Naini Tal potato and of the cauliflower! His contribution to education and to social reform have been chronicled afresh in recent days, and we shall not attempt here to complete what would have to be a lengthy catalogue of all the aspects of life which were enriched by his work.

What stands out, however, in all this range of interests is the fact that in none of it does he appear as an amateur or a mere dilettante with a mind which flits inconsequently from one interest to another. The memoir of the same sister says of him as a child that: 'Whatever he began he finished; difficulties never seemed to discourage his mind ... when he took up a plant of any kind he always observed it with care.' (*ibid.*)

He was exceedingly modest about any claims for himself, and we find him in his private journals bewailing his lethargy! Yet he did say of himself that 'I can plod', and it was that steady application to any work which he took up which led to such prodigious results. Some have opined that such an output of translation work, for instance,

must have implied a good deal that was hastily and ill prepared. The evidence would seem to be all the other way. There is the record of his painstaking work with his notebook seeking to appreciate the shades of meaning applied to the words in common use. We have the product of such observation in his published *Colloquies*. We have still the massive volumes of his Sanskrit and Bengali dictionaries as well as 256 pages of the great polyglot. Of the Bengali dictionary of 80,000 words there is a tribute from the nineteenth century which describes it as 'unique in those days in its erudition and philological completeness'.

Surely it was not for nothing that he was chosen for the posts which he held at Fort William College. Yet with it all we find the perfectionist, never satisfied with his work, who records towards the end of his days that he had revised his Bengali version of the Bible, the Old Testament four times, the New Testament eight times. There is no hint of one who was complacent or proud of his own handiwork, or who imagined that others would not require to improve upon it. But as he prepared and published his dictionaries and his grammars of different languages, it was with the declared purpose that he might be able thereby to lighten the burden of sheer hard labour for those who would follow him.

Perhaps that sentiment fittingly reminds us of that profound interest in his fellow-men which was surely a master motive in all his work. It was not simply the interest of the things which he observed which led him to devote his energies to them. Seldom did he leave out of sight the possible utility of his work and studies, and especially the possibility of creating a richer life for his fellow-men. This spirit shows itself in yet another recollection of his sister which has come to us: 'I forgot to mention that he was always, from his first being thoughtful, remarkably impressed about heathen lands and the slave

trade. I never remember him engaging in prayer, in his family or in public, without praying for these poor creatures.' (*ibid.*)

The slave trade, that shocking example of man's inhumanity to man, moved him very deeply in his years in England, and he was one of those who tried by a boycott of the use of sugar to bring pressure to bear for the release of the slaves in the West Indian plantations. Towards the end of his life the news that this evil trade had been abolished came to him as a source of great joy. As to the people whom his sister refers to as being from 'heathen lands', his mind had been kindled especially by what was coming to light about the primitive inhabitants of newly explored territories like the South Seas and New Zealand, who were too readily dismissed by the sophisticated as 'savages'. But that did not satisfy William Carey, who in his epoch-making *Enquiry* of 1792 wrote as follows: 'Barbarous as these poor heathens are, they appear to be as capable of knowledge as we are; and in many places at least have discovered uncommon genius and tractableness, and I greatly question whether most of the barbarities practised by them have not originated in some real or supposed affront and are more properly acts of self-defence than proofs of inhuman and bloodthirsty disposition.' (*An Enquiry into the Obligation of Christians*. Facsimile edition, Carey-Kingsgate Press, 1961)

In the event, as we know, his path led him not, as he had anticipated, to those remote islands of the South Seas, but to India, a land of rich and ancient culture, but a land in which also he was to find much which he felt called upon to challenge. Never did he abandon that fundamental attitude of respect for his fellow-men, a fact that is enshrined in the Pledge of the Serampore Brotherhood which he took along with his colleagues and which contains these resolves among others:

1. To set an infinite value on men's souls;
3. To abstain from whatever deepens India's prejudice against the gospel;
4. To watch for every chance of doing the people good; and
6. To esteem and treat Indians always as our equals.

It was this genuine love and respect for his fellow-men which underlay his endeavours to promote the use of the mother tongue, for he counted it a vain thing to hope to provide education for more than a privileged minority in a foreign medium. It was this which led him to write into the permanent statutes of his College the assurance which had been there from its foundation, that its doors would remain open to all who cared to benefit from it no matter what their race or creed. It was this affection which underlay so much of his practical activity, and we find both, together with his affection for India, expressing themselves in this extract from a letter to England in 1794, in which he asked for agricultural implements and seeds and went on: 'Apply to London seedsmen and others as it will be a lasting advantage to this country; and I shall have it in my power to do this for what I now call my own country; only take care that they are new and dry.' (*A Memoir of William Carey*. By Eustace Carey)

It was this respect for his fellow-men, tutored by his early convictions which protested against all tyranny, which restrained him rigorously from bringing any pressure to bear on his fellows, however humble, in matters of conscience or religion. Thus we find an early record of his shock when he found one of his servants making an idol of wood; but he records his reaction: 'I might have forbidden him but thought this would be persecution.' (*ibid.*)

Later he was to record his firm conviction

tion that either direct command or direct prohibition in such matters would be of the nature of coercion and must be always eschewed, and it was this basic respect for the personality of others which enabled him and his colleagues to give such sincere assurance that, in their schools and their college, no one would ever be asked to act against his conscience.

His concern for his fellow-men, expressing itself both in an eagerness to see the end of any inhumanity or injustice and also in the desire to do no violence to deeply rooted religious conviction, met a massive challenge in his encounter with the then common practice of *satī*. Of its inhumanity he was utterly convinced; the possibility of it being practised in the name of God seemed to him well-nigh incredible, and that he would not allow any plea to refrain from touching the customs of the people to deter him from campaigning against it, is certain. Yet we find him making painstaking researches into the Śāstras to satisfy himself that it was not a custom enjoined by these ancient texts. His conclusions that it was not so enjoined, supported by some of the foremost pundits of the time, tremendously strengthened his hand for the campaign, and few things rejoiced his heart more than the news, as late as 1829, that at last the practice had been declared illegal.

A MAN OF INDIA

What we see in William Carey, a lover of humanity, is a moving example of what can be involved in the encounter of diverse traditions and civilizations. The voyages of Captain Cook fitted into that pattern of an expanding world, in which the merchants had already become deeply engaged in the search for wealth by contacts with other countries. The East India Company, emerging as the strongest of these trading organizations in India and moved almost entirely by an interest in success in trade, sought to

ensure peace for its ventures by advocating a complete non-interference in the customs of the people. This policy, if consistently pursued, would have implied a disinterestedness in the well-being of those in whose country they had settled, which might be most suitable for their purposes. It was not a conceivable attitude for one who felt his kinship with all men and so was moved by a compulsion to share with others his treasures. In addition, surely Carey was right and the Company wrong in imagining that it would be possible for representatives of different civilizations to meet without there being some influence on one another, whether they willed it or not. The tragic truth was there for all to see that some of the corruptions of European society were already infecting the land. This, too, Carey had recorded in his *Enquiry* before ever he set foot on Indian soil: 'It is also a melancholy fact that the vices of Europeans have been communicated wherever they themselves have been, so that the religious state of even heathens has been rendered worse by intercourse with them.'

Recognizing, therefore, the inescapable fact that when civilizations encounter one another there will be a mutual communication whether for good or ill, Carey had no doubt whatsoever that it was his duty to seek to convey the good, the treasures which he had found to be precious. It is not with any indifference, but out of genuine love for his fellow-men that he obeyed this impulse, however heartily his activity might be disapproved in high places.

For this to be effectively carried out, however, he was deeply aware of the costly extent to which he must be willing to enter into the life and thought of the land of his adoption. It is this which is involved in the labour to master the language, but which at once led him to see that to understand he must go beyond Bengali to the well-spring of Indian culture in Sanskrit. Even

more remarkable, it seemed to many, was his decision that he must help the ordinary person to know more of his own heritage, which he should understand not at second hand, as it might be transmitted to him by the few privileged pundits, but that he might discover it for himself. It was not out of any idea of the relativity of truth that he did this, but rather in the conviction that each man must be free to follow his own conscientious conviction and that, for this to be possible, the whole pattern should be unfolded in the light of day. And he went one step further; for he wanted the European on his part, also, to understand what lay deep in the cultural and religious tradition of India, and so was willing to spend his time in preparing English versions of such classics as the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The Bible he would present in Sanskrit for the learned world of India; while the *Rāmāyaṇa* he would present in English for the student of the West. The biblical text 'Prove all things; hold fast to that which is good' (I Thess. v: 21) is one which would seem to express most precisely his underlying convictions in this matter. He is, indeed, an impressive example of the possibility of one who to his dying day remained utterly convinced of the supreme and vital truth of his own faith which it was his longing to convey to others, nevertheless showing, throughout a long life of devoted service, the patience, the affection, and the tolerance which will never seek to compel or to be unfair in the presentation of other's convictions.

Finally, as to what was the dominant motive, the mainspring which expresses itself in the manifold activities of this great man, there is really no mystery. From the moment of his own personal conversion the compel-

ling motive was his devotion to his Lord. It was already in his so-called 'Deathless Sermon' that he coined that remarkable motto which remains an inspiration to so many:

Expect great things from God;
Attempt great things for God. ' ,

And it was this same continuing faith which expressed itself in that dying injunction to Alexander Duff, that when he should have gone men should speak 'not of Dr. Carey but of Dr. Carey's Saviour'. It is indeed a life of selfless devotion. It is not the life of one who has renounced the world in the sense of deliberate abstemiousness; for, on the contrary, we realize how richly he rejoiced in the wealth of the world in which he lived. But it is a life of that only true humility which is quite unconscious of itself: 'I am not my own', he writes, 'nor would I choose for myself. Let God employ me where He thinks fit and give me patience and discretion to fill up my station to his honour and glory.' It was in this unself-conscious spirit that he did his work, earning large sums, but never dreaming of keeping it for himself, so that it is recorded that he did not cost his Society more than \$600; yet contributed in his lifetime some £46,000 to the work, and died uncomplaining in 'honourable poverty'. It was his thought that after his death he should be forgotten as soon as possible.

We cannot agree that such a man should be forgotten. We are certain that future generations will continue to draw inspiration from his example and enlightenment from his wisdom. Yet it would be to miss the very centre of his life-work to fail to recognize that above all else this man was a Man of God.

PLOTINUS AND CHRISTIAN MYSTICISM

BY R. K. DAS GUPTA, M.A., P.R.S., D.Phil. (Cal.),
D.Phil. (Oxon.)

Dr. R. K. Das Gupta is Reader in English at the University of Calcutta. A scholar and a distinguished educationist, he is well-known for his interest in East-West cultural relations and is a regular contributor to the Indian and foreign journals on the subject. He attended the South-East Asian History Conference in London in 1956, and the International Congress of Aesthetics in Athens in 1960, as an Indian delegate. The lecture reproduced below was delivered by him at the Institute on 12 August.

I MUST begin, with an apology for choosing to speak on a subject which is perhaps a little remote from the interests of most of my hearers. I confess my own interest in Plotinus is not academic, and I am incapable of speaking on Christian mysticism as a mystic or even as a theological scholar. Obviously, I am neither the one nor the other. But perhaps it will be possible to understand the nature of my interest in Plotinus and in his influence on the religious mind of Europe, when I describe the origin of that interest. Reading the poems of Rabindranath Tagore and trying to reconstruct for myself their philosophical foundation, I thought that they represented a spirituality which did not involve a rejection of the world. To the poet the world was not bad and earthly life was not necessarily corrupt.

The idea of the world as an illusion and of salvation as an escape from that illusion, did not appeal to me: perhaps I feared such a deliverance though I knew that I did not quite deserve it. The monist or the non-dualist position of Śaṅkar spoke of a bliss which I could never understand and would never desire. I love form and colour; I value individuality and distinction. I want to breathe and to be myself even after death.

The severe Vedāntist will find me a man of inferior spiritual culture, but I have never been able to reconcile myself to the idea of being undistinguishably absorbed with the grand public soul of the universe. In the poetry of Rabindranath there is a kind of cheering cosmody— I would call it Hindu cosmody, a Hindu justification of the world, which is as sustaining as the Hebrew theodicy, the Jewish justification of God. I came to Plotinus with that attitude and through the Cambridge Platonists of the seventeenth century.

These devout Christians built up a theology which derived a good deal from Plato and from Neoplatonism, of which Plotinus was the founder.

Reading through the *Discourses* of John Smith, I came upon a passage where this distinguished Cambridge philosopher says, 'God is best discerned . . . as Plotinus phraseth it, by an intellectual touch of Him'. He wanted to say that man could know God by virtue of something divine in himself. This gives dignity to our human life; not only dignity but also sanctity.

I have often thought that this was the basis of Rabindranath's philosophy of creative unity, of his idea of man's meeting with God as a result of some creative

urge in both. I do not for a moment suggest that Plotinus influenced Rabindranath. But I am struck by the similarity between the ideas of Plotinus and the ideas of the Indian poet, and also of some medieval Indian mystics. And I was encouraged to value this similarity by an observation of a great authority on Plotinus and Christian mysticism, Dean Inge. In his Gifford Lectures on '*The Philosophy of Plotinus*', published in two volumes in 1918, Dean Inge said: '... the soul of man comes from God and cannot be altogether cut off from Him. And above the soul of man is the great soul, the Soul of the world. This, for Plotinus, as for eastern thinkers down to Rabindranath Tagore, is no mere metaphor but a truth.'

THE FIRST NEOPLATONIST

Plotinus, the founder of Neoplatonism, was born in about A.D. 204 of Egyptian parents. His name is Roman and it has been conjectured that he was descended from one who was made a free citizen by Trajan and in gratitude assumed a name derived from the empress's name, Plotina. Plotinus himself does not say a word about himself or his family and our knowledge of his life is for the most part provided by his disciple, Porphyry, who wrote his biography. We cannot be certain about his birthplace which is not mentioned by Porphyry. There is, however, a tradition that he was born at Lycopolis, an ancient city in upper Egypt, a site near modern Asyut. After his school education at his birthplace he studied at Alexandria, which was then the centre of liberal learning, and lived in that city till his twenty-eighth year. He remained there so long because he was not satisfied with the philosophical instruction he received from his preceptors and perseveringly searched for a master who could answer his questions. He found this master in Ammonius Saccas who became to him what Socrates was to

Plato. Plotinus attended his lectures for two years, that is, till he reached the age of thirty-nine. We have no means of knowing what doctrines Ammonius preached for he never wrote a word. It is also strange that Plotinus never mentions him in his writings. I fancy the master asked his pupil not to refer to his lectures in his writings. It is also probable that Plotinus developed a philosophy which could not be conscientiously related to the teachings of his master.

After ten years of instruction in the school of Ammonius, Plotinus had a strong desire to study eastern philosophy, and to this end he accompanied Emperor Gordian's expedition against the King of Persia. We can guess that he looked forward to meeting the Magi in Persia and then the Brāhmanas in India. But when the Roman Emperor was assassinated in Mesopotamia he was forced to come back, first to Antioch and then, in A.D. 244, to Rome where he lived for the rest of his life. Rome was then important not only as the capital of the Roman Empire but also as a great intellectual centre.

At Rome, Plotinus opened a school and took pupils for philosophical instruction. He soon found not only devoted disciples but also a number of admirers in polite society, amongst whom were Emperor Gallienus and his wife Salonina. Plotinus was not only an inspired teacher but was also very keen to illustrate his idea of the good life by founding an ideal city on the model of Plato's *Republic*. With this end in view he applied to the emperor for a site in Campania where he would establish his utopia: he wanted to call it Platonopolis. The project was given up because the place was found to be very malarious.

When Plotinus was in his sixtieth year his most devoted pupil Porphyry joined his school. The master had already written many of his works, but he was not a very careful writer and perhaps he did not cover the distinction of becoming an academic

philosopher. But during the six years that Porphyry was with him he produced the maturest portion of his writings. His last writings, showing signs of failing powers, were sent to Porphyry in Sicily. His health was failing and, although we have no means of knowing the disease which afflicted him, it appears from Porphyry's account that he was extremely unwell in his last days. He died in his country house in Campania in A.D. 270 at the age of sixty-five or sixty-six. His last words were spoken to his friend and doctor, Eustochius, to whom he said: 'I was waiting for you, before that which is divine in me departs to unite itself with the divine in the universe.'

Plotinus was a scholar and a thinker, but he did not give all his time to reading and teaching. He had his hours of devotion and meditation; studied art and music; took charge of orphans whom he looked after as a father, and often acted as an arbitrator in quarrels. He valued intellectual discipline but only as a means to an end. He had no regard for speculation for its own sake, and never indulged in the excitement of mere cerebration. Philosophy was to him a way of life, the means by which the human soul could return to the Heavenly Father. He lived a saintly life and, though he did not believe in self-immolation, his habits and tastes were very simple. His gentleness and modesty impressed all who met him and he was so shy that he would not claim any originality for his ideas. He never claimed to be a prophet or the expounder of a new doctrine and never affected any supernatural powers. But he said that he had experienced the beatific vision of God several times.

The writings of Plotinus were in Greek and were collected by Porphyry in six parts of nine Books each. They are called *Enneads*, *enneas* being the Greek word for nine. The Greek text was translated into Latin by the great Renaissance scholar, Ficino of Italy, in 1492. Thomas Taylor, the Platonist, translat-

ed parts of the *Enneads* between 1787 and 1834. In 1895, G. R. S. Mead edited these first English translations of Plotinus for Bohn's Philosophical Library under the title of *Select Works of Plotinus*. There is an English translation of the whole of the *Enneads* in five volumes by S. Mackenna and B. S. Page published in 1926 under the title of *The Enneads of Plotinus*. Apart from Dean Inge's great work which I have already mentioned, the two other important works on the philosopher in English are A. H. Armstrong's *Architecture of the Intelligible Universe in the Philosophy of Plotinus* (1910) and P. V. Pistorcius's *Plotinus and Neoplatonism* (1952). I do not know of a translation of Plotinus in any of our Indian languages.

NEOPLATONIC INFLUENCE ON CHRISTIANITY

Let us now consider the condition of European civilization during the time when Plotinus taught and wrote. The third century A.D. was an age of decadence. The old civilization, the pagan civilization, was dying and Christianity was in its infancy. The pagans thought that their days were gone: the Christians were uncertain about their future. It was an age of moral despair, and an age of political despair too. There was dangerous instability in the government of the Empire. In the fourteen years between A.D. 235 and 249 as many as seven puppet emperors were seated on the throne and then deposed by the army. The liberal arts were in decay. The Empire was being ravaged by the most horrible pestilences on record. 'The civil distractions of the Empire,' says Gibbon in his *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, 'the licence of soldiers, the inroads of the barbarians, and the progress of despotism had proved very unfavourable to genius, and even to learning.'

In a period of political disorder and moral despair such as this, Plotinus devoted him-

self entirely to the cultivation of the spirit. Perhaps it was a depressing sense of anarchy in social life which intensified his concern for a life of the spirit. And what emerged out of that concern was a source of strength to Christianity. Dean Inge has said that in the third century we were 'witnessing the last signs of classical antiquity, and the birth of Catholic Christianity. But the second was the child of the first. The Christian Church is not the beginning of the Middle Ages: it is the last creative achievement of classical antiquity which may be said to have died in giving birth to it'. Now this may seem blasphemous to many pious Christians who would say that the new faith needed nothing outside the Galilean Gospel. And I know that Christian thinkers like Dean Inge, who have discovered some continuity in the spiritual history of the West and have dwelt with some enthusiasm on the influence of the classical philosophy of ancient Greece and Rome on the growth of the Christian faith, have sometimes been rebuked for what has been called their paganism. But when we concentrate on the work of the Christian Platonists of Alexandria and their influences on later Christian thinkers, when we discover that the early Christian Fathers, in spite of intermittent qualms about their debt to pagan authors, found Plato an immensely useful philosophical instrument for their spiritual work, we begin to realize that it was Plotinus more than anyone else who, as the founder of Neoplatonism, provided the Christian Church with whatever classical wisdom it needed to assimilate. We have, amongst many others, one great witness on our side, the witness of one of the greatest names in the history of early Christianity, St. Augustine, who was born eighty-four years after the death of Plotinus. Now, Augustine was acquainted with the whole of the *Enneads* and quotes from them several times in his works. In *Contra Academicos*, as quoted by Dean Inge, St. Augustine says that 'the

utterance of Plato, the most pure and bright in all philosophy, scattering the clouds of error, has shone forth most of all in Plotinus, the Platonic philosopher who has been deemed so like his master that one might think them contemporaries, if the length of time did not compel us to say that in Plotinus Plato lived again'. Augustine goes on to say in his *Epistles*, 118, again quoted by Dean Inge, that 'if Plotinus and his friends had lived a little later, they would have changed a few words and phrases and become Christians, as many of the Platonists in our generation have done'. Now this was significant particularly when Augustine was sharply critical of certain aspects of Neoplatonism. We must also remember that in St. Augustine's doctrine of grace there was no room for the Plotinian idea of the free activity of the human will. Judging from St. Augustine's observations on Plotinus it appears that the devoutest Christians of the third and fourth centuries would not have found the Platonist too pagan to be of use to their work.

Plotinian Metaphysics

The basic principles of Plotinian philosophy are Platonic. In fact, his philosophic purpose was to make Plato's metaphysics the basis of a deeply religious life. I have already said that his aim was practical rather than speculative and his dialectic was important only as an aid to devotion. For, like St. Paul, he thought that one must pray with the spirit and pray with the understanding also. The whole business of philosophy, to Plotinus, was to rationalize the life of the spirit, to help man to arrive at Reality by understanding its nature. In his view religion, ethics, and metaphysics represent one comprehensive endeavour of the human intellect to understand the universe and the ultimate human purpose.

To Plotinus the Divine substance is 'a trinity. The three principles in this triadic

universe are, first, the unconditioned One or the Good, second, *Nous* or the Spirit, and third, the Soul of the world. We must consider these three members of the trinity—the Absolute, the Spirit, and the Soul, to be in descending order. But at the same time we must not imagine that they are successive in time. That is, there was never a time when the Absolute alone existed and the Spirit and the Soul did not exist. The difference between the one and the other is not temporal but qualitative. The Absolute is greater than the Spirit but not senior to it in age, and, similarly, the Spirit is greater than the Soul but not senior to it in age. That is, the three principles are co-eternal but differ in value.

The One is the unconditioned, transcended Being. We must not give it any predicate except that of existence. Bertrand Russell says this Plotinian One is comparable to the One of the Greek Eleatic School, the One of Parmenides. We may add that this One is more like the Vedāntic Brahman. It is present everywhere but has no movement; it is Good and is yet above all goodness; it is Beautiful and yet it precedes all beauty:

The second principle is called *Nous* by Plotinus. 'I am afraid it is difficult to find an English word which would be an exact equivalent of the Greek word in the sense Plotinus has used it. The word 'mind' would be unsatisfactory. Mackenna calls it the Intellectual-Principle, but Bertrand Russell rightly discards it as 'awkward' because, as he says, in his *History of Western Philosophy*, it 'does not suggest an object, suitable for religious veneration'. On the whole Dean Inge's translation of the word as 'Spirit' is satisfactory although we must accept this with some reservation. I say this because I feel Dean Inge's 'Spirit' does not quite signify the intellectual element implied by *Nous*, the element overemphasized by Mackenna. The Spirit is an emanation from the One. Now the question is why

does the Spirit appear? The answer of Plotinus is that the Spirit is that by which the One knows itself, an instrument of the One's self-awareness.

The third principle in the trinity is the Soul. It is inferior to *Nous* but it is that which creates the sensible world that we know. It shares the divinity of *Nous* as *Nous* itself shares the divinity of the One. That is, the three principles are necessarily related. Like three lumps of mercury in a glass tube they can be seen to pass into each other. If the Soul must strive to reach the Absolute it must come through the Spirit, and the Absolute, too, gives itself forth into the Soul through the Spirit. The three principles constitute a unity and since the principles are active the unity is a creative unity. In brief, Plotinus contemplates a triadic universe in which the lower principle is striving to ascend to the higher and then to the highest.

How can the Soul realize the One? It is in Plotinus's answer to this question that we have an idea of his mystic experience. He says in the *Enneads*, as translated by S. Mackenna, 'those divinely possessed and inspired have at least the knowledge that they hold some greater thing within them, though they cannot tell what it is; from the movements that stir them and the utterances that come from them they perceive the power, not themselves, that moves them: in the same way, it must be, we stand towards the Supreme when we hold *Nous* pure; we know the Divine Mind within, that which gives Being and all else of that order: but we know too, that other, know that it is none of these, but a nobler principle than anything that we know as Being, fuller and greater; above reason, mind, and feeling; conferring these powers but not to be confounded with them'.

Further, on the nature of this mystic experience Plotinus says: 'At the moment of touch there is no power whatever to make

any affirmation; there is no leisure; reasoning upon the vision is for afterwards. We may know we have had the vision when the Soul has suddenly taken light. This light is from the Supreme and is the Supreme; we may believe in the Presence when, like that other God on the call of a certain man, He comes bringing light; the light is the proof of the advent. Thus, the Soul unlit remains without the vision; lit, it possesses what it sought. And this is the true end set before the Soul, to take that light, to see the Supreme by the Supreme and not by the light of any other principle to see the Supreme which is also the means to the vision, for that which illumines the Soul is that which it is to see just as it is by the sun's own light that we see the sun.'

Fortunately for us we have Plotinus's description of his own mystic experience: 'Many times it has happened: lifted out of the body into myself; become external to all other things and self-centred; beholding a marvellous beauty; then, more than ever, assured of community with the loftiest order; enacting the noblest life, acquiring identity with the Divine; stationing within it by having attained that activity; poised above whatsoever in the intellectual is less than the Supreme: yet, there comes the moment of descent from intellection to reasoning, and after that sojourn in the Divine, I ask myself how it happens that I can now be descending, and how did the Soul ever enter into the body, the Soul which, ever within the body, is the high thing it has shown itself to be.' (*ibid.*)

This encounter of the individual soul with the Absolute is the highest end of life. But this does not imply the rejection of the visible world as worthless or as evil. Plotinus does not consider the human condition as a fallen condition. This distinguishes his idea of earthly life from that of the orthodox Christian view. In fact, he wrote at length rejecting the Gnostic conception of the cos-

mos and its creator as evil. According to Plotinus not only the human soul but also the heavenly bodies had something divine in them. Whatever was beautiful in the world was a visible reminder of the transcendental and invisible Beauty.

Plato distinguishes between appearance and idea, between becoming and being. But he also affirms that the becoming can participate in the being. Plotinus lays particular emphasis on this capacity of the human soul to transcend itself and rise to a higher level and ultimately to the highest level of being. The phenomenal world is a copy, it is an immediate and derivative thing; but it is not depraved or corrupt. Ernest Cassirer has rightly observed in *The Platonic Renaissance in England* (Tr. by J. T. Pettegrove, 1953), that Plotinus 'remains the representative of the Classical spirit, which even when asking deliverance from the world of sense, does not look upon this world as burdened with the defilement of original sin'.

THE COMMON GROUND OF MYSTICISM

Now, when we try to trace the influence of Plotinian philosophy on Christianity we face several difficulties. When we trace the influence of the *Brahma-Sūtra* on Hindu mysticism we have not much anxiety about our task. For the *Brahma-Sūtra* is a Hindu text and we would expect that the mystical tradition of the Hindus would derive many things from this early text. But Plotinus was a pagan and there is no mention of the New Testament in his works. Secondly, Christian mysticism is certainly as old as Christianity itself, and you must remember that Plotinus was born more than two hundred years after the birth of Christ. Considering the spiritual experiences of St. Paul and of the author of the Fourth Gospel, known as the Gospel according to St. John, mysticism must be acknowledged as an indigenous element in Christianity. St. Paul was converted in A.D. 31, that is, more than 170 years before

the birth of Plotinus. And if St. John was the author of the Fourth Gospel and of the Book of Revelations it is important to remember that he was only twenty years old during the Lord's ministry.

There is, however, something in Pauline Christianity which makes Plotinian influence welcome to Christian mysticism. St. Paul combined in himself the intense devotion of the Hebrews, the philosophical temper of the Greeks, and the practical sense of the Latin mind. When Neoplatonic thought entered into Christian thought it did not look like a foreign element. To the historian of religious ideas, however, Christian mysticism of the three centuries after Plotinus appears to be a form of Neoplatonic mysticism. Even the devoutest Christian writer on the subject will agree to that. Evelyn Underhill, for example gave it as her opinion that the early mysticism of Europe, both Christian and pagan, came down to us in a Neoplatonic dress; and spoke the tongue of Alexandria rather than that of Jerusalem, Athens, or Rome.

Before I proceed to discuss some of the Plotinian elements in early Christian mysticism* and the revival of Christian interest in Plotinus during the Renaissance, I must warn you off from imagining that the Plotinian trinity of the Absolute, the Spirit, and the Soul corresponds to the Christian Trinity of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. To identify the two would be fanciful for the resemblance is superficial and not fundamental. The members of the Plotinian trinity are co-eternal but are not co-equal in value. The members of the Christian Trinity are co-equal. •

Still, when Christian mysticism began to develop along Neoplatonic lines there was, naturally, a tendency to find a parallel between the Absolute and the Spirit of Plotinus on the one hand and the Eternal Father and Logos-Christ of the New Testament on the other. We can assume the Greek

idea of the Logos as the 'Divine Reason' was known to the Christian evangelist. Philo, the Graeco-Judaic philosopher of the first Christian century, conceived the Logos or the Word as a 'second God', and he called it the agent or instrument with which the Eternal God created the universe. As William Sanday has pointed out in his *The Criticism of the Fourth Gospel*, 'Philo fully shares the conception of the transcendence of God and speaks of the Logos as His prophet and interpreter'. Philo had a Greek culture and, Philonic thought was an important influence on early Christianity. It is probable that Philo first found the idea of the Logos or the Word in the Old Testament, for example in Psalm XXXIII, Verse 6: 'By the word of the Lord were the heavens made'; and in the Apocrypha, 2 Esdras, VI, Verse 43: 'As soon as Thy word went forth thy work was done'. Thus Philo explained it in terms of Greek philosophy. It is equally probable that the Word of the Fourth Gospel, that is, the Gospel according to St. John, was this Philonic Word.

The Christian Platonist then found in the conception of the Logos something that could easily be made a Christian conception. It was the creative principle of God, and the being through which God gives himself forth into creation. It is significant that in the Johanne Gospel God is Spirit and 'they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth'. And it is an important characteristic of Neoplatonism that it can conceive of spiritual existence without any reference to materiality.

The first great Christian mystic is certainly St. Augustine (A.D. 354-430), and he is something of a Neoplatonist. It is true that he disparaged many of the 'perversions' of Neoplatonism and it is also true that his idea of grace implying the corruption of the human will after the Fall, is inconsistent with the Plotinian idea of the holiness of the human will. But, on the whole St. Augustine

is a Plotinian in his mystical faith and it is through him and Dionysius the Areopagite, who wrote between A.D. 475 and 525, that Plotinus's ideas entered into medieval Christianity. The influence of Neoplatonism on patristic thought has, I am afraid, still to be explored. For it is an extremely difficult task to point out specifically Plotinian elements in the vast corpus of patristic literature. And, apart from the influence of Plotinus, there was also the influence of another Neoplatonic thinker, Proclus (A.D. 412-490), whom we may call the last of the pagan philosophers.

When working in a vast field like this there is the danger of drawing facile analogies. There is a risk of being led by fancy and discovering influences where none exist. For we are dealing not only with ideas but also with experiences and we cannot label experiences by fixing their source. For the source of the experience is often the experience itself, the soul of the experiencing person, and it may not refer to any text. I have found this to be true in the case of Rabindranath's mysticism, which cannot be interpreted in terms of any text. Neither the dualist-non-dualist position of the Vedānta, nor the ideas of medieval mysticism will explain the religious experience of *Gitanjali*. In an individual mystical experience there is something unique and autonomous. Furthermore, mysticism is not primarily a doctrine but a mode of devotion: the doctrine is whatever idea of God and creation that devotion implies. When we talk of the influence of one mystic upon another or when we talk of a philosophy of mysticism in general, we mean that there is such a thing as an education of the religious mind, a permeation of the mind by ideas and experiences of others.

THE INDWELLING SPIRIT

When we consider the influence on early Christian mysticism of the nameless writer

whose works are ascribed to Dionysius the Areopagite and who was probably a man of the sixth century, we will see how the Plotinian idea of the unconditioned Absolute did indeed influence early Christian devotion. Still, we may not very clearly specify the purely Plotinian elements in Christian mysticism. Because it would seem that when Plotinian elements enter Christianity they cease to be specifically Plotinian and become undistinguishable from what is apparently uniquely Christian.

Nevertheless, we may concentrate on certain ideas of Plotinus as ideas which naturally appealed to the Christian mind and gave it an orientation. Indeed, it may seem to many very strange that the Plotinian element which influenced Christianity most profoundly is the element which is outwardly rather repugnant to the most fundamental idea of Christianity. The faith of the Christian is rooted in his belief in the historical Christ, His ministry, and His miracles. The religion emerged out of the activity of this historical Christ, the Son who brought to man his Father's love and his Father's word. Now, Neoplatonism is not contingent on any historical event, on any revelation, or on any miracle. But the Neoplatonic idea of the Spirit, the second principle of the Plotinian trinity, gave a philosophic foundation to the idea of the Logos-Christ. It helped the growth of the idea of Christ as an 'indwelling Spirit' in the individual, as God's creative love working in man and ever renewing his spiritual link with Him. The Neoplatonic or Plotinian elements in Christian mysticism must be seen in terms of this idea of the Spirit. Plotinianism has not in any way impaired faith in the historical Christ: it has spiritualized the whole idea of the descent of God on earth. To Plotinus the cosmic process is a continuous process of ascent and descent both of the Divine and the human. Perhaps it can best be symbolized by Jacob's ladder by which

Divinity can move between the higher and lower levels of life. It binds the whole universe in one chain, the chain of divine love.

This triadic universe is a spiritual hierarchy, a kind of feudal order in an excellent divine scheme in which the lowest rank is connected with the King of Kings. The whole universe thus is charged with Divinity and the individual cannot escape its power. So the human soul has not only beauty but also truth and goodness and through its truth and goodness it can attain the highest Truth, the highest Goodness and the highest Beauty, that is, if given undivided and divine power, the means for attaining God.

From this follows the mystical idea of the Absolute as a unity of 'otherness' and identity. I am afraid this spiritual experience is something that cannot be adequately defined. There is no love or worship without a sense of otherness or duality; and the monist's or the non-dualist's universe may seem to be a colourless void. Rām Prasād, the eighteenth century Bengali mystic, discarded non-duality by saying, 'Sugar I love to eat, but I have no wish to become sugar'. Yet this idea of otherness is not alone sufficient for a perfect psychology of devotion. Without the idea of ideality or non-duality truth literally goes to pieces and the human soul is deprived of its share of Divinity. Plotinus overcomes this difficulty with his idea of the grades or degrees of

value. The three principles of his holy trinity are different from each other in quality, there being an ever-active creative process in the universe which allows the promotion of one level of truth to a higher level and then to the highest level.

Closely connected with this idea of standard or value is the idea of the creative spiritual endeavour of the individual. The initiative of the individual is creative because it is essentially a divine initiative. This idea is pronounced amongst the Cambridge Platonists of the seventeenth century, amongst men like Henry More, John Smith, and Cudworth, to whom the human reason was the candle of the Lord. Earlier, the Italian Platonists of the Florentine Circle developed this Plotinian idea of the divine element in man in a cheerful doctrine of the competence of the soul to rise to the highest level of spiritual consciousness. The Florentine Platonist is almost a Pelagian although he does not feel that he is guilty of any heresy. The descent of the soul into the world and its ascent to a higher and yet higher sphere of the spirit have a teleology; both the processes are determined by a cosmic design. In that design the highest gives itself forth into the lowest and the lowest has its impulse towards the highest because both are connected by the bond of Eros. The idea very profoundly touched the Christian who believed that the Eternal Word, the Logos, became flesh out of love for man.

THE METAPHYSICS OF THE NEW AGE

ARNOLD KEYSERLING

Count Arnold Keyserling came to India in 1957 to deliver a series of lectures, as an honorary visiting lecturer, at the invitation of Visva Bharati, Santiniketan, and at Pilani under the auspices of the Birla Education Trust. He is the son of the late Count Hermann Keyserling, the founder of the well-known School of Wisdom at Darmstadt in Germany. Count Keyserling was a participant, appointed by the Austrian Government, at the East-West Cultural Conference, held at the Institute from 1 to 9 November. The following lecture was given by him at the Institute on 17 June.

WE LIVE in a revolutionary time. The old forms of society are disintegrating all over the globe, and the patterns of social relations are changing. Many people have had to leave their ancestral homes and make new lives elsewhere. On the other hand, nations who were previously politically dependent, find themselves suddenly free to follow their own destinies. The world, conscious for the first time of its fundamental unity is, however, divided into many antagonistic parts, of which the tension between East and West, between America and Russia, is only one example.

Many peoples have placed themselves in the vanguard of contemporary revolutions, scientific as well as political. But as soon as they have seemed to attain their aim—for example, the Chinese Revolution of the Kuomintang—they have been already surpassed by events; the revolutionaries of yesterday suddenly become the reactionaries of today, unable to understand the new impetus which is bound to replace them. None of the revolutionary movements have consciously foreseen what was going to happen. And so, all over the world, there is a sense of anguish. The prophets of doom gain ever stronger adherence, the latest instance

being the writers of total world destruction in the wake of the atomic bomb. On the other hand, material life becomes increasingly better organized. Science, technology, and medicine have made more progress in the last two hundred years, than in all the preceding two thousand years. Thus, modern man is in a singular state of puzzlement. Although plans—economic, political, and social—abound everywhere, there is a general feeling of lack of direction and of purpose. The question of the significance of human life seems more difficult to answer than ever before. The last two generations chose an easy way out of this dilemma: they refused to tackle the problem, thinking it meaningless, and concentrated their endeavour on hastening political and social transformations, trying to lose their small finite individuality in loyalty to their nation, their cause, or world revolution. But now, everywhere, the same problem reappears. And so we come to realize that the real anguish which besets humanity at this hour is not yet of a political, social, scientific, or economic kind: it is of such a nature that it demands a fundamental metaphysical change in the structure of the human mind. Today, we live in a crisis similar to the critical times of Christ's birth. In order to understand the actual problem

in its essentials, we have to consider the metaphysical roots of the situation from which, unremarked by the multitude, the actual change in human history stems.

That this change is profound, there can be no doubt. For at least fifteen hundred years, all the conditions necessary for technical and industrial revolution have been in existence. Nevertheless, the change came only with the French Revolution. Then, suddenly, and in all fields, the hitherto accepted values were questioned: the absolute validity of religious revelation, and the static social relations between kings and subjects, and between rich and poor. In order to understand why hitherto seemingly self-evident truth is overthrown, we have to turn to metaphysics, to a study of the fundamental relations between the first and direct conditions of human experience and of the universe, and, also, of fundamental human attitudes towards these relations.

CHANGING ATTITUDES TO TRUTH

Few people understand metaphysics, and not many more even bother to ascertain what it is about. But all are influenced by the consequences, if there is a change in metaphysical thought. And here we come to the main discussion in our lecture: metaphysics—as the knowledge of ultimate sources, causes, and relations in the universe, and as the basis of truth—is not static. The human attitude towards truth changes in the course of history. These changes do not happen continuously, but suddenly, and only at rare moments—about once in two thousand years. These changes affect the roots of every human being. It is at these times of crisis that the transformation becomes intelligible: it involves a new attitude towards life. Such a change we are undergoing today all over the globe. In order to understand the impact of the change, we will consider its four main trends.

Firstly and physically, the accent has

shifted from adaptation to nature as it is—the characteristic of the traditional agricultural society as exemplified in Mensorius's saying: better than ordering new agricultural tools is to wait for a change of weather—to the transformation of the world through human effort. Hence, man lives no longer on nature as it is, but his existence is dependent on work, on the changing of raw materials of every kind into products fit for human use and consumption. In this process anybody can participate. On the other hand, it is only through work that the human being can now subsist; possessions, birth, and static riches do not provide their owner any longer with security. Sooner or later the State takes what it can. Even in some remote communities, the fear of such a loss takes all joy from the life of the last remaining propertied persons.

Secondly and psychologically, traditional society, based on duty and loyalty, is no longer valid. People are psychologically equal. Hence, no man can now rule over others owing to his charism, or historical position. Also, the authority of the father, and of the joint family, is broken: the fundamental psychological unit is nowadays the married couple, united in common work. The difference between masculine and feminine professions is diminishing. And people everywhere are trying to establish patterns of public life which will guarantee for everybody a minimum of security and freedom. Nobody now looks for a magnanimous king or hero to carry his burden, but for a psychologically correct society which will enable man to fulfil his life, whatever it may entail.

Thirdly and intellectually, the scientific approach has replaced emotional faith. Whatever cannot be critically and scientifically understood is, today, doomed to failure. However, the field of scientific understanding has widened to include all possible manifestations of life, especially the religions. All are viewed in a critical spirit;

not, as in the last century, destructively, but in the spirit of sincere enquiry.

Fourthly and, spiritually, the attitude to the realization of God and Being has changed. Instead of admiring a lofty and remote ideal, as exemplified in the Buddha or Christ, people now try to understand for themselves what truth the messages of the saints contain, and whether they can use this truth for their own personal benefit. Hence, the attitudes to the established institutions of devotional religion are changing. Man is considering himself no longer as a member of a church, following blindly its religious precepts. Now he has to know how, and in which way, he may live his own life; he is prepared to learn from anyone who knows a better way. And, instead of trying to identify himself with a community based on a founder and led through the bond of devotional love, he is endeavouring to become capable of loving all humanity, to realize God beyond form and name, as pure Being, or as the pure force of love, the origin of his personal centre.

The universe is based on creative energy, which, in human life, takes the form and the experience of love. But man may be supported by this fundamental energy, or God, and may establish himself in this never-ending stream, only if he does not act from finite causes, such as scientific nationalism, political loyalty or private interest. Here we come to the metaphysical implications of the transformation of our age: in order to derive love from the unborn origin, out of the real creative God, man has to understand the whole of the universe, has to grasp all the basic truths which condition his living, otherwise, a finite aim will place itself between his source and his self-realization, carrying him to destruction by its own momentum. In the last age of faith, of *bhakti*, this total comprehension was not necessary; the urge of faith took the striving individual, even without understanding, up

to heaven. As Goethe wrote at the end of *Faust*: 'Whoever labours in striving, him we can redeem'. But in our age, metaphysics is going to become for everybody the necessary basis for the achievement of destiny.

This metaphysical transformation, however, lies not in the distant future. It has already been consciously prepared by three pioneers, who, relatively unknown during their lifetime, established the basic tenets of truth for the new age: the Indian, Ramana Maharshi; the Russian-Greek, Georgy Ivanovitch Gurdjieff; and the German-Austrian, Josef Matthias Hauer.

All three have died only recently, and a survey of their work will enable us to understand the metaphysical basis of the new age.

THE UNION OF KNOWLEDGE AND LOVE

If we consider the teaching and writings of Ramana Maharshi at first they will appear to be little different from the traditional teachings of Advaita philosophy. But we have to remember that the fundamental experience, from which stems the teaching of Sri Ramana, came to him before he knew anything of Advaita philosophy: he realized suddenly that his essence, the *Ātman*, was the real centre of his being. He felt that his body was only the clothing of it, and so, for long years after the initial experience, he tried firmly to establish this spark of inner fire as the master in his body, without speaking or bothering about material needs.

When asked later whether he had achieved his state of consciousness through asceticism and silence, he denied it emphatically. These attitudes, which others took for penance, were nothing but a bye-product of his endeavour to keep himself centered in Being; not as a static monad or soul in the Aristotelian sense, but as an inner spark, as a conscious part of the unending creative energy pervading the universe, experienced by ordinary human beings only in moments of real love. This creative flow was ever

present to the Maharshi. His teaching consisted in the endeavour to make this experience common to all people who came to receive enlightenment from him.

In his way of giving enlightenment, if it was not through silent *upadeśa*, lay the fundamental difference to all the other known spiritual teachings and metaphysical systems. When somebody came to ask help for his personal problems, Ramana Maharshi would enquire: 'Who is it who is asking? Who has the troubles? It is through these questions that you will achieve communion with your inner Self, beyond the reaches of the troubled mind, which Self is in immediate contact with the source of the universe.'

This, now, was a completely different approach from the sinner seeking salvation through Christ, or the Buddhist *bhikṣu* seeking annihilation of his personal mind. Ramana asked: 'Who is the "I"?' There exists in the inward essence of man a kernel of being, which can, and has to, assume the role of the real 'I', that is, of directing mind and life. For Christians, Moslems, and also for Jews, Jains, and orthodox Hindus, this 'I' was beyond the threshold of salvation, *nirvāṇa*, and *mokṣa*. The Christian sought salvation for his soul. He endeavoured to attain the spiritual body only After the Last Judgement. The realm of the Holy Spirit belonged not to man, but only to God; only after resurrection, would it become part of man.

Sri Ramana tried to establish this fundamental Ātman, the centre of the resurrected spiritual body, as the centre of the ordinary human being on earth. This 'I' he said, exists beyond the stages of consciousness, of waking, dreaming, and deep sleep. One has to experience in waking the state of silence, of deep dreamless sleep, in order that the inner 'I' can take control. And by questioning this 'I', by concentrating on it, the spiritual centre of gravity will shift from the soul organism, which is subject to re-

birth and fixed in *samsāra* and the world, to an awakening to reality beyond the cycle of existence. Once this 'I' is firmly established, then *karma* is dissolved and becomes simply the mechanical basis of self-expression. That does not mean that man becomes exempt from the results of his former actions, but they will now mean something different for him; they become the means through which the inward essence, the real 'I' is able to express itself.

Up to the advent of Sri Ramana, the way of *jñāna* and of *bhakti* had been kept separate. He himself belonged to the Ayars, the Śivait Brāhmins, but with him a union between the two paths of realization was achieved. Devotion and cognition are ultimately one. It is the same 'I' which is able to love the world and God impartially, and from which standpoint alone the universe can be understood in its ultimate reality. Thus, profound understanding, that is, metaphysical knowledge, cannot be achieved through academic training of the mind, but only through the establishment of the cognition 'I' in the real core of Being, which itself is rooted in the never-ending cosmic energy, in God.

Zen Buddhism in Japan had a similar development. The Zen Master helped his pupils to get through to the core of Being, but linked it with a special way, a special activity, as, for example, the arts of archery or swordsmanship. If a person achieved *satori*, or liberation, he himself became a Master limited to his traditional way of art. But, with Sri Ramana, there was no technique and no necessity for a *guru*; the only *guru* was God and the real 'I', the centre of Being, which became the ruler of the person. It was by this process of continuously questioning his 'I' that man would establish communion with his Being, and that he would rise beyond death. Thus, historically speaking, Sri Ramana effectuated a metaphysical trans-

formation for humanity. Through his experience it has become possible without techniques, or *yoga*, or rituals, to attain the innermost essence; 'to attain a centre of being which acts as the real 'I', the real person in man—a person grounded in the world beyond the last karmic judgement, in the Spirit.

Sri Ramana was a living example of a person centred in ultimate reality. However, he taught in seclusion. People, in coming to him, moved out of their usual spheres of activity, and found peace in the quiet of his *āśrama*. But how to live in touch with this innermost essence in the turbulent world of daily preoccupations, of drudgery, and mechanical associations? To solve this problem was the aim and life-work of the second metaphysical pioneer, the Russian-Greek, Georgy Ivanovitch Gurdjieff.

SEARCHERS OF TRUTH

Born in 1873, in Alexandropol in the Caucasus, Gurdjieff was educated as a doctor, and also for priesthood in the Russian Orthodox Church. But during his studies, he came to realize that neither the orthodox teachings of his Church, nor the scientific training of the nineteenth century, could give a conclusive explanation for such so-called supernatural phenomena as the healing influence of certain holy places, the strange behaviour of the Jezidis (the devil-worshippers) and the obvious differences between human beings of different levels of understanding; and that the Church teachings could not provide a real understanding of the meaning of human existence in the universe.

In order to elucidate all these problems, Gurdjieff, and some friends of his, started at the end of last century on a search for hidden knowledge throughout Central Asia, especially in Chinese and Russian Turkestan and Tibet. The group called themselves the 'Searchers of Truth'. From time to time they would come together to pool their in-

formation. In 1914, Gurdjieff thought that he had achieved his goal, and he started to share his knowledge with a group of students in Moscow, amongst whom was the, later famous, Russian philosopher, Pitor Demjanovitch Ouspensky. After the revolution, Gurdjieff went to France, firstly establishing an institute of, as he called it, 'the harmonious development of man', in Fontainebleau, near Paris. He died in 1949. His pupil, Ouspensky, established at the same time an institute in London, which, after his death in 1947, reverted to Gurdjieff.

The starting point of Gurdjieff's teaching was the question: Why is the average man not grounded in his immortal essence (in the way Sri Ramana taught) but lives in a world of dreamlike pseudo-reality, pursuing aims which he does not really want, doing things against his better knowledge, and often behaving against the public's, as well as his own, private, best interests? The Christian Churches had explained this obvious state of affairs through the theory of original sin, which the eschatologically representative sacrifice of Christ was thought to have redeemed. However, it is obvious that since the time of Christ people are still living and moving in the same unreal and imaginary world. Therefore, this explanation, given by the Alexandrine Church Fathers, was incomplete.

Gurdjieff found in some ancient tradition another explanation: man has two origins. On the one hand, his essence originates in God, the never-ending creative energy. On the other hand, his psycho-physical organism is not only dependent on earth, but fulfils also a certain necessary purpose in the economy of nature. Whatever man may do, his best strivings as well as his stupidity, everything finally serves nature's ends. However, the same man uses this psycho-physical organism—after having paid his debt to nature—to become the vehicle of his final liberation, attaining the status, as Gurdjieff

put it, of a cosmic individual, who, no longer bound to our solar system, fulfils a higher cosmic role, probably within the framework of the galaxy.

Hence, the state of dreamlike unreality, in which man is a kind of food for nature, is, the precondition of human freedom. Whatever man does, he serves the purposes of nature; even the greatest folly will not lead him outside her scope. But the same man, at the same time, is free to use his earthly existence for spiritual and essential growth.

So far, Gurdjieff's teaching resembles the Brāhmaṇic or Mahāyānic traditions. The northern Buddhist also does not regard the final earthly aim, *nirvāṇa*, as a state of extinction, but as a biologically and spiritually higher state with certain definite tasks and aims. But now follows the metaphysical revolution of Gurdjieff: whereas the Asian tradition saw the way in renunciation and meditation, Gurdjieff, conscious of being the pioneer of the new age (he called himself 'the herald of the coming Good'), coined the term 'work on oneself' to describe the way to fulfilment. By 'work on oneself' he did not mean asceticism, but technical understanding of what is machine-like in man. He compared the human organism to an electrical machine: it can fulfil its function by simply running down, or by using food and other matter only for self-preservation. But the function of this machine may be changed to generate additional energy, which may be used for the formation of the immortal centre of Being, for the growth of man's essence.

Everywhere in the world this has been accepted as the age of the worker, but Gurdjieff saw the spiritual task of the new age as in the hands of a different kind of worker than the social revolutionary, namely, the worker for self-realization, for fulfilment. This work, to proceed normally, had, according to Gurdjieff, to follow certain

stages, which we will now try to describe.

As long as people can live in the illusion that their existence is perfectly all right, they will not bother to change. Furthermore, many people exist who deplore the actual state of affairs, and are convinced of the suffering, drabness, and drudgery of everyday existence, yet they will not part with their suffering: they even feel this suffering existence worth while, although they seem to affirm the contrary. Take away their suffering and grievances, and in due course they will create new ones of the same intensity. Only a small number of persons will really start working on themselves: those who, on the one hand, have realized that something is amiss, but, on the other hand, have the confidence that in searching they will discover the right answers.

GURDJIEFF'S METHODS

In order to start on Gurdjieff's way, however, we have to realize that we know, and are, nothing. This, however, has nothing to do with Christian humility: it means that we must realize that there is something of which we know nothing, but which, if we did know it, might help us to achieve our destiny. In order to help his student to realize that attitude, Gurdjieff devised a series of exercises which enables a person to attain a state of complete relaxation. He taught that man's real being is hidden beyond the consciousness of deep sleep. In his usual state of waking he is conditioned by his dreams, his angers, and sorrows; he is identified with the contents of his mind. By attaining a state of silence, he realizes how dreams and associations form themselves to influence his waking personality, carrying him along in their momentum. Now, at this stage in the exercises the student experiences an apparent division in the mind. The average person feels that this division is harmful, that he will lose his former identity and adaptation to the world, and will

shirk the effort to go on. But the striving person will reach an attitude of despair, realizing how much of his so-called individuality is of a mechanical nature.

For those who have the courage to continue, who persevere, Gurdjieff devised a great number of exercises for self-observation. In order to let the psychical organism serve the Atman, the former, according to Gurdjieff, has to be observed in its mechanicalness. We are the victims of a great number of Pavlovian reflexes. Certain attitudes of thought and feeling are linked automatically to certain bodily postures or movements, so that a person, trying to concentrate on a given line of thought, will suddenly, inadvertently, take a certain posture, which activates a different train of thoughts, so that he becomes unable for continuous concentration. Gurdjieff, in order to acquaint a person with this mechanical part of his nature, assembled and devised a great number of dances, in which a person could have the opportunity to watch his different mechanical reactions and associations. He called these exercises 'the cleaning of the machine'. A student trying to do this work alone would be overcome by despair, but a group of people performing the movements together, help each other to overcome their anguish and sense of frustration. At the end of this stage of the work, a student should be able to attain at will a state which Gurdjieff called 'self-remembering': he should be able to make the relation between his essence and the outward person more and more conscious. In other words, he should become capable of watching from his deep-sleep silence the waking consciousness in movement, and thus come to know the mechanical behaviour of much of his mind.

Having attained self-remembering for a fairly continuous time, the next stage is the division of the functions. In the average man, all thoughts are tainted by desires, and reality is seen through the distortions

created by such desires. In order to achieve normal functioning, the three states of waking, dreaming, and sleeping, usually separated, have to be blended together, and the centre of gravity has to shift from the images of the mind to the inner light, the force of attention which itself illuminates the mind. Once the change from the images to the illumination is attained, the stream of associations has to be divided according to four functions:

Firstly, sensing—the experiencing of reality as it is, of colours, tones, touch, and smells, without attaching value judgements.

Secondly, feeling—the experiencing of division into lust and pain, pleasant and unpleasant, striving and rejecting, love and hatred, and finally the attainment of impartiality and compassion.

Thirdly, thinking—the experiencing of the change from automatic thought-associations to conscious ratiocination, directed towards causes or ends, which can be stopped at will.

Fourthly and finally, willing—the consciousness of one's aims; making resolutions and decisions and following them up, instead of taking, as is usually done, the accidental happenings of life to be the results of personal decisions and deliberations; and, especially, admitting to oneself personal failure in any respect.

Once this division of functions is achieved, and once consciousness becomes finally anchored in the essence, in the form of the force of attention (which itself flows from the source of energy of the universe), then the real work on oneself can begin. This Gurdjieff summed up under two 'being-duties': conscious work, and intentional suffering.

Conscious work means the establishment of a personal aim, the pursuance of a line of activity and development which does not originate in, and is not dependent upon, out-

ward causes, influences, or stimuli. Gurdjieff agreed at this point with the definition of the American behaviourists, that man is usually the result of outward influences, education, environment, and heredity. But, instead of accepting this state of affairs, Gurdjieff tried to change it in order that the real man might emerge master of his destiny, and be able to help his fellow-beings on their way to fulfilment. However, he taught that this decision to work on oneself cannot be forced or induced from outside. Man has to yearn for it in order to find it. For this reason, Gurdjieff made it very difficult for anyone to find out about his work. Everybody connected with him had to keep absolutely silent about the work, its aims, and its nature. But since his death, a great number of writings about his methods have been published, which may help man, if he yearns for it, to get to know himself objectively, and also thereby achieve a real comprehension of the universe.

Gurdjieff used to say that his school provided the necessary steps, like a staircase, up which man would have to ascend in order to progress on his personal way. But this final way had to be for every person individually different. Once a person arrived at the threshold of his way, the school had served its purpose and attendance had to end, and the individual would have to take the next step. Many people refused to take this final step; in many cases, Gurdjieff had, literally, to throw them out in order to make them independent. After Gurdjieff's death, many of the groups degenerated into religious sects, keeping the members forever in a state of pupillage, and using the methods of self-awakening as religious rites. But once firmly set on his personal way, man is not left without guidance. To re-establish the understanding of man's purpose in life in accordance with the universe, was the result of the life-work of the third metaphysical pioneer, Josef Matthias Hauer.

THE METAPHYSICS OF MUSIC

Josef Matthias Hauer was born in 1883, the son of a town musician in Wiener Neustadt. From his early youth, he was also a musician, and, furthermore, later earned his living as a primary school teacher. While still young, his composer's gift made itself felt. However, when he started composing, he suspected that the classical theory and framework of European music was too primitive. He heard in himself music which had nothing whatsoever to do with the major and minor seven-tone scales: what he heard were free sequences, following each other in harmonic relatives, but completely different from what was considered harmonious in the classical style.

Thus Hauer came to realize that the basis of European music was incomplete. The basis of music, he felt, should not be considered as the tone with its harmonics or overtones, but the free melody or sequence of tones. There exist a practically infinite number of tone-sequences or melodies: it is these which Hauer considered to be the starting point of music. Up to his time the impact of Aristotelian metaphysics in all fields had been strong, but Hauer broke through this influence. Music he felt to be the expression of the blending of space and time. Time being more fundamental than space, he considered the given tonal sequence of any melody the starting point of musical composition.

Thus Hauer, at the turn of the century, became recognized as the father of the new twelve-tone music. Schönberg, Berg, and all the now famous exponents of this modern development in music, were his epigones. Hauer established, furthermore, that the twelve-tone sequence was not wilfully created but was based on a mathematical structure in which all the intervals of the octave are arranged on the proportions of the root of two, forming what is nowadays called the

tempered scale. In a tonal scale, the different intervals in time-progression, as in the cycle of fifths, very soon would be out of tune with the original tone. However, the intervals have a certain tolerance. And, taking the tempered scale as a basis, and the natural intervals as deviations, all the intervals of a twelve-tone scale can be kept in tune. Thus, Hauer came to postulate two root factors in musical composition: on the one hand, the different natural overtone scales, and, on the other hand, the free melody, that is, the sequence of tones based on the tempered scale.

Had Hauer lived in India or in China, his theory would have met with approval and understanding: the fundamental theory underlying the Indian *rāg* is very similar, and Chinese musical theory speaks expressively of two roots of composition, which are called 'earth' (overtone scale), and 'heaven' (tempered scale). However, in the Vienna of his time, Hauer's discovery, or affirmation produced only scorn and derision. 'Look', the pundits said, 'at this uncultivated primary school teacher who wants to teach us our job!' And, after a short while, Hauer came to be considered as a crank. Although his compositions continued to be respected as original, hardly anybody bothered about his theories.

This scorn, however, had an unexpected effect on Hauer. Astonished at the hostility aroused by his idea, namely, that the tempered scale should be considered as a law rather than as a compromise, he started to wonder whether the whole scientific basis of musical theory, and hence also the underlying metaphysics, were not wrong. For many years he had studied the possible configurations, the so-called tropes, of the twelve tones between the chromatic scales and the whole-tone scales. After having established the limited number of these forms, one day, while studying Chinese classical literature, he came across the *I Ching*, or the Confucian

Book of Changes, which, as he immediately realized, was based, in its study of the laws of chance, on a similar system of tropes. A little later, he met the German translator of the book, Richard Wilhelm, who confirmed the idea that his musical discovery was formed on the same basis as this example of Chinese metaphysical thought. With this development, Hauer came to understand his personal mission: he was not to be a composer in the ordinary sense of the term, but to re-establish the metaphysical foundations of understanding on a scientific basis.

Sound, far from being a rather unimportant field of the science of physics—as it is treated in European science—is the fundamental law of form and matter in our part of the universe. With an understanding of the laws of sound, we may more easily understand the other sciences. Through mathematics alone we may not be able to comprehend time as well as space, except as the former is measurable aspect of space, even with the latest Einsteinian formulas. But music, melody, harmony, and rhythm, grasp the essence of time.

All existing matter, from atoms through plant, animal, and human life, to the structure of the solar system and the galaxy, are space-time configurations. Hence, if one understands the basic structure of sound, one may be able to understand the structure of the universe. Sound, being the qualitative, direct experience of space-time for man, is, by necessity, also the systematic basis of metaphysics. Once this fundamental concept was established, it would be found that all the other sciences would fit into the concept in correct relationship, and man, for the first time, would have a key to the understanding of not only the whole of creation, but also his personal significance therein.

Hauer continued to elaborate his original system of sound, and to develop the foundations of metaphysical music which, as the Chinese tradition held, had once been known

to humanity but had been lost during the eighth or ninth century before Christ. Hauer's musical importance was readily recognized. Repeatedly he received the State prize of Austria, and also a prize from the city of Vienna. Two years ago he died, content to have re-established the basis of metaphysics, and conscious of being a pioneer of the new age. He was understood by only a very few persons during his lifetime.

THE NEW METAPHYSICS

It was in 1952 that I came to know Josef Matthias Hauer. Previously, for ten years, I had been trying to find the scientific basis of metaphysics recognized through a universal symbol but whose mathematical basis had either been lost, or had never been established. This symbol was the wheel, and was well known in all the ancient civilizations: in China, Tibet, and India. It pictured man's place in the universe, and his relation to death, rebirth, and other realms of existence. In Iran and Turkestan it was considered as the key to understanding matter and language; in Greece, with Pythagoras, it was treated as the basic symbol of mathematics; in Egypt and Chaldea, as a cypher for understanding man's relation to the stars, and the study of astrology; and in Europe, as the cross of roses, symbolically uniting scientific and religious strivings. Now, owing to the work of Josef Matthias Hauer, it became possible for me to establish firmly the symbolism of the wheel on a scientific and mathematical basis, and hence, to make metaphysics again the foundation of all knowledge, which it had been only once before in the course of human history—about six thousand years ago in Central Asia.

What is this new metaphysics? There are, today, so many schools of metaphysics, that many people, especially the English philosophers, have affirmed that metaphysics is necessarily meaningless, or, like the followers of Kant, that metaphysics has to be

confined to epistemology, as we can never know the ultimate truth. Again, other people consider metaphysics as the realm of speculation. But if the word, which was coined by Aristotle, needs to be defined, it must cover objective and intelligible subject-matter, which, like mathematics, is universally communicable but which thinkers in different ages may elucidate in different ways. In order to circumscribe this subject-matter, I will now try to formulate its scope in a series of principles.

Metaphysics is concerned with the whole of reality. Whereas the different sciences consider only parts of reality, choosing only certain points of approach—as medicine regards everything under the aspect of healing—metaphysics, by definition, has to include everything which exists including that which happens to be outside the scope of the accepted sciences.

Metaphysics is limited to the immediate elements of experience. If metaphysics were a super-science including all the other sciences, then its subject-matter would be infinite. But it has to limit itself, in philosophical terminology, to what is given, that is, to the elements of the universe. Hence, we come to the conclusion that speculation is in contradiction to metaphysics; its place is in the individual sciences. Metaphysics should shirk all metaphorical or poetic expression; it should use every element only in its legitimate place. On the other hand, the concepts should be augmented so as to include all possible data of experience.

The elements of experience are subject to certain laws. All laws are subject to mathematics. Hence, the basic structure of mathematics provides the structure of all the sciences and fields of experience. This mathematical system is limited, as Pythagoras established, to the possible relations between the first ten numbers: all primary laws are contained inside the possible combination of these numbers.

The resulting structure, which assumes the figure of a wheel, is the grammar of reality. As a typewriter with German lettering will contain virtually all the works of German literature, in this sense this system of metaphysics, symbolized by the wheel, contains the whole of the universe.

In the wheel all the realms of reality are blended into one. But to understand these realms we have to consider nine fields of experience:

- (i) the system of mathematics
- (ii) the system of matter
- (iii) the systems of life
- (iv) the structure of consciousness
- (v) the structure of language

These five aspects of metaphysics are open to direct experience. The remaining four aspects have to be realized consciously by learning appropriate concepts as they determine the nature of man:

- (vi) The combination of world elements in the individual character—astrology.

(vii) The qualitative structure of the earth—geo-psychology.

(viii) The history of humanity; the successive exfoliation of its possibilities, and

(ix) The pattern of culture in accordance with the structure of human nature, which enables man to fulfil his life in public.

The new age is built on the three pillars of work, social justice, and critical understanding. Hence, the new metaphysics will no longer be confined to the class-rooms of universities. Its tenets will become general knowledge, thanks to which man will be able to understand his place in the universe and to lead his life accordingly. However, in establishing the fundamental structure of the new age, only one step has been taken in the right direction. The further efforts of whole generations will be needed till this system of knowledge embraces all the fields of human endeavour and activity; until metaphysics becomes a part of everybody's life as the tenets of faith have been in past ages.

Faith is in this world the best property for a man; *dhamma*, well observed, conveys happiness; truth indeed is the sweetest of things; and that life they call the best which is lived with understanding. . . . By faith one crosses the stream, by zeal the sea, by exertion one conquers pain, by understanding one is purified. . . . He who does what is proper, who takes the yoke upon him and exerts himself, will acquire wealth, by truth he will obtain fame, and being charitable he will bind friends to himself. He who is faithful and leads the life of a house-holder, and possesses the following four *dhammas* (virtues), truth, justice, firmness, and liberality,—such a one indeed does not grieve when passing away.

BOOK REVIEW

THE NEW ENGLISH BIBLE : NEW TESTAMENT. Oxford University Press and Cambridge University Press, 1961. pp. xiv, 417, 21 shillings and 8s. 6d.

For most English-speaking people the Bible means the Authorized, or King James, Version of 1611. This version was the culmination of more than one hundred years of effort, and was, itself, based on much earlier work, notably that of Tyndale and the Geneva Bible. It was most carefully prepared by a group of forty-seven Oxford and Cambridge scholars appointed by royal commission. What further 'authorization' it secured is a matter of dispute, but its intrinsic merits as a sustained piece of fine English style and, for its time, accurate rendering of the original, secured for it an unrivalled place in English life and literature.

The earlier translations disappeared from use and for nearly three hundred years the Authorized Version was 'The Bible' as far as English-speaking people were concerned. Many people still so regard it. Indeed, it has so established itself that not a few find it hard to recognize that the Biblical writers did not use English in the first place.

Because of the success of the Authorized Version, the spate of translation activity which the sixteenth century had witnessed subsided. Virtually nothing more was done until 1880. But, by that time, it was being increasingly recognized that the Authorized Version, great as it was, had certain defects: the centuries had brought increased knowledge of the Hebrew and Greek in which the Bible was originally written, and the science of textual criticism had made rapid strides in establishing the original form of the text by minute comparisons of the thousands of early manuscripts.

Respect for the Authorized Version was so great, however, that a new translation

could not then be contemplated. Instead a Revision was sponsored by the non-Roman churches in England, whose basic principle was to change as little of the Authorized Version as possible. American scholars also collaborated, and ultimately they produced a further revision of their own (which still claimed to be the Authorized Version in an improved form), known as the Revised Standard Version. This was first published complete in 1952. It represents sober and accurate translation in modern style, while it preserves much of the language and structure of the Authorized Version. For purposes of study and general use, it is the most dependable version now available.

Meanwhile, two other impulses were making themselves felt. At the end of the nineteenth century vast quantities of fragments of ancient account books, letters, legal and other documents were recovered from the sands of Egypt. They were written mostly in Greek, dating back to the centuries just before and just after the beginning of the Christian era. Now, it had always been recognized that the Greek of the New Testament was very different from the classical language of Plato and Thucydides. The new finds, in fact, revealed that the Greek of the New Testament was the common language of the eastern Mediterranean: the language of everyday affairs, of commerce and banking, the simple letters of common folk. It was not, therefore, a literary language. An inevitable conclusion followed. As far as the New Testament went, at any rate, the majestic and lofty cadences of the Authorized Version imparted a quality which (except possibly in one or two books) was not to be found in the original.

In addition to this academic revaluation, there was also the fact that English people were growing less and less familiar with

the language of the Authorized Version. Christian leaders were, therefore, deeply concerned that the Scriptures should be put into a language, which should be contemporary and understood by the ordinary man.

There thus arose a fresh and fertile interest in new translation. In his useful recent survey, *The New Translations of the Bible* (1959), E. H. Robertson has listed and discussed twenty-two such versions of the whole or parts of the Bible, and there have been others.

In every case the motives have been similar: to present a version in modern English which, with a greater or less degree of paraphrase, will 'get across' to the modern English-speaking person, and convey to him the same impression as was conveyed in the first century A.D. by the original Greek. Some of these versions achieved a quite remarkable success, but they all suffered from one defect. They were the work of gifted individuals. They represented the judgement of an individual scholar. However much light they might shed on the sacred text, they therefore lacked authority, and had constantly to be read with this limitation in mind.

Hence, in 1946, a proposal came from the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland that a committee, representative of all the major non-Roman churches of Great Britain, be formed to produce an entirely new translation which should incorporate the best insights of modern scholarship, be written in contemporary English, and have behind it the authority of the Church as a whole. The volume under review is the first fruits of this work.

Before analyzing the book in a little more detail, it is well to lay stress on its authoritative nature. The whole enterprise is headed by Professor C. H. Dodd, acknowledged on all hands as the greatest living British New Testament scholar. He has

gathered around him a team of the most competent men available. It can be assumed, therefore, that whatever surprises the new translation may bring have been carefully weighed and approved by those most fitted to judge the issues. Moreover, conscious that those who know Greek are not automatically equipped with an infallible feeling for English style, the translators have submitted their work to an independent literary panel. This panel's function has been to scrutinize every paragraph to ensure that its meaning is clear and that its rhythms and idioms are those of good contemporary English. Indeed, the phrase 'timeless English' has been used to express the ideal, though such a concept is of doubtful meaning, except in so far as it excludes what is obviously a very transient idiom.

The literary panel was rendered the more necessary by the revolutionary principle of translation adopted for the new venture. Older translators had attempted to give a word-for-word rendering, preserving the sentence structure of the original as far as possible. The Authorized Version in fact adopted many turns of phrase which were more Hebrew or Greek than English. The New English Bible, however, has attempted 'a radical transference from the idiom natural to Greek and Hebrew to the idiom natural to English'.

The way this has been done may be thought to verge on paraphrase. Paraphrase, however, suggests a rather loose relationship to the original as far as thought is concerned: a paraphrase giving the 'general sense', perhaps amplifying or reducing, without achieving an entirely accurate reproduction of the original. In this sense the New English Bible is certainly not a paraphrase. The translators have aimed at (and this reviewer would say, have mostly achieved) scrupulous accuracy in reflecting the thought of the original, even where their words seem to depart a long way from the Greek.

A striking example is the (for translators) intensely difficult opening of the Fourth Gospel. In the New English Bible this becomes: 'When all things began, the Word already was. The Word dwelt with God, and what God was, the Word was.' Greek scholars have for a long time disputed about the Authorized Version's translation of the phrase 'the Word was God'. The apparently paraphrasing version of the New English Bible is, however, not only weighted with meaning; it reproduces neatly and exactly what the best commentators hold to be the grammatical implications of the Greek. Similarly, the famous words about faith in Hebrews XI:1 become: 'Faith gives substance to our hopes, and makes us certain of realities we do not see.'

A rather less justifiable liberty may be seen in the treatment of connectives between sentences. For instance, the verse just quoted is introduced by a question, 'What is faith?', for which the only basis in the Greek is a small word usually translated 'and'. Similarly, at John IV:9 the connective 'for' becomes 'it should be noted', and at Romans V:12 'for this reason' becomes 'Mark what follows'. This feature is particularly marked in Acts, where, for example, in one passage the very common 'behold' has blossomed into 'And what has happened'.

In every case, however, the New English Bible gives what the normal twentieth century Englishman would say or write in the circumstances suggested by the context. Such expansions are, therefore, perhaps pardonable. They certainly give the rendering a naturalness and spontaneity which are welcome, and such liberty has never been taken with matters of substance.

Any impression that the devices just mentioned indicate carelessness on the part of the translators will be banished by an examination of their dealings with the various Greek tenses. The point cannot be fully illus-

trated without reference to the Greek, but again and again the Greek scholar will see in a changed rendering of the verb a meticulous attention to the precise nuance of the original tense. This can often only be shown by a locution in English. Where, for example, the Authorized Version says, 'they stoned him' (Acts VII:58), the New English Bible more accurately gives 'set about stoning him'. At John XIV:1, 'Set your troubled hearts at rest' is not only a very beautiful rendering, but also more accurate than the earlier translation, 'Let not your heart be troubled'. At Matthew II:16, it is not simply that Herod 'was exceeding wrath', in the new translation, 'he fell into a passion'.

The use of contemporary English idiom may occasionally startle: it sometimes verges on the colloquial. We are surprised to read that the angel in Acts XII:7 'tapped Peter on the shoulder' in the Authorized Version, 'smote Peter on the side'. But, for the most part, the substitution of English idiom is deftly done, and frequently the reviewer has been astounded, on checking against the Greek, to find just how accurately a vivid English phrase reproduces the Greek word. Examples are: 'racked with pain' (Matthew IV:24) 'outlandish teaching' (Hebrews XIII) 'lifeless as a corpse' (James II:26). There is a good example of this feature in I Corinthians XIII, the great Hymn to Love to which many may turn to as a test of the new translation. The New English Bible rendering of the chapter has dignity, clarity, and a rhythm which, while very different from that of the Authorized Version, may not in the long run be found inferior. We may, however, be affronted by 'I may dole out all I possess' instead of the familiar 'Though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor'. The verb, in fact, is an unusual one which undoubtedly has the meaning 'to dole out in small portions'.

Accuracy, however, in this translation is quite designedly an attribute of the passage as a whole, not a pedantic literalism. In their preface, the translators roundly declare that the Revised Version's attempt to use one word consistently for the same word in Greek was mistaken, and they use great freedom in varying their expressions according to the context. A noteworthy example (with important theological implications) is the word commonly translated 'righteousness', and the kindred adjective and verb. In Romans the noun appears as 'righteousness', 'Justice', 'God's way of righting wrong'; and in two notable Gospel passages we find a longer phrase, 'those who hunger and thirst to see right prevail' (Matthew V:6), and 'Unless you show yourselves far better men than the Pharisees' (Matthew V:20) where the Authorized Version has 'Except your righteousness exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees'.

This principle has the great merit of rendering the meaning more exactly and clearly than would otherwise be possible in each individual passage. It, however, completely obscures the subtle verbal relationship between various passages. The study of these relationships has proved one of the most fruitful sources of understanding in recent discussions, and one must say categorically that the New English Bible cannot be used for serious theological study of the New Testament. But then, that is not its purpose. It is, moreover, a healthy reminder that the New Testament writers were not using the carefully regulated and defined language of technical philosophy, but were expressing spontaneously their living apprehension of a new dimension of life.

All in all, one must welcome the new translation. It is to be judged first as a translation, and must be set alongside not the Authorized Version but the Greek original. After all, Christianity stands or falls by the admittedly difficult assertion that God intervened at a particular Moment in human history. Truth demands that that Moment be studied in its original setting, naked and unadorned, rather than through the clouds of religious 'atmosphere'. A new translation, such as the New English Bible, can bring us close to the first century as the Authorized Version never can.

If, secondly, it is to be judged for its style, then let that again be by comparison not with the antique beauty of the Authorized Version, but with the polished vigour and directness of the best contemporary English writing. In fact, the style of the New English Bible varies with considerable subtlety from book to book. The greater colloquialism of the Gospels as a whole; the breathless swiftness of Mark; the easy narrative of Luke and Acts; the earnest argument of Romans; all are to a considerable extent reproduced in English that is lucid, contemporary, and easy-flowing.

By both tests, that of translation and that of style, despite occasional flaws, the new translators have achieved signal success. One hopes that the phenomenal sales of the first edition will be followed by widespread reading of this new and valuable aid to the understanding of the message of the Bible.

J. C. HINDLEY

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INTERNATIONAL NEWS

The Monuments of Nubia

World interest in the monuments of Nubia has been created by the campaign initiated by UNESCO to save the monuments from submersion by the floodwaters of the new Aswan dam.

Television networks in more than thirty countries in Europe, America, Asia, and Africa have broadcast programmes on the campaign. And two documentary films, produced by national television organizations, have been made and shown to members of the Action Committee for the Protection of the Monuments of Nubia.

One film is a German work called *The Drowning Deities - Record of a Journey to Nubia*, and is an account of the life of the people in the threatened area and of the work of the archaeologists. The other film is French, called *Bread and Stones*, and shows not only the sites of the monuments but also views taken in museums in Thebes and elsewhere.

Both films show how archaeological activities have been speeded up since work started on the building of the Aswan dam, and both films close with an appeal for support to the UNESCO campaign.

Unesco's Index Translationum

A total of 29,213 translations in more than 200 languages is listed in the current, eleventh edition of the *Index Translationum* published annually by UNESCO. This total, comprising translations published in 64 countries, mostly in 1958, is well above the figure of 27,978 reported for 1957 in the previous edition of the *Index*.

As in the past, Lenin is the world's most translated author with 209 translations, most of them in languages used in the U.S.S.R. Then comes Shakespeare with 127 translations, followed by Jules Verne with 104,

Among countries publishing translations, the U.S.S.R. remains in first place with a total of 4,458 translations into all its various languages, but this figure is below that of the previous year (4,608). Then come Germany (showing a marked increase with 2,513 as against 2,041 in the previous year), Czechoslovakia, Japan, France, the Netherlands, Rumania, and Sweden, all countries publishing more than 1,000 translations.

A statistical table published at the end of the 730-page volume shows that, as in past years, works of fiction are translated far more than any others. They amount to 16,293 in this edition of the *Index Translationum*, more than sixty per cent of the total. Then follow, far behind but closely grouped, history, geography, biography, law, social science, education, applied science, etc.

Tagore Centenary News

At this year's Edinburgh Festival an unusually imaginative exhibition, 'presenting Tagore in sight and sound', was arranged. The organizer was Mr. Arthur Geddes, the son of Sir Patrick Geddes, the renowned architect, philosopher, and sociologist. Mr. Geddes was associated with Tagore in the nineteen thirties as a teacher at Santiniketan.

The exhibition was designed in an informal manner with music and background material from Bengal. On entering the exhibition, visitors passed through a typical Bengali hut. A recording, in an English translation by Mr. Geddes, of Tagore's song 'Deep in My Heart He Lies', was played at the entrance.

The exhibition contained photographs, reproductions of Tagore's paintings, and original books of poems in Bengali. There was also a display illustrating India's recent economic growth, her industries and crafts, which emphasize the realization of some of Tagore's dreams for the future.

INSTITUTE NEWS

Inauguration of the East-West Cultural Conference and Opening of the New Building

The East-West Cultural Conference, which was announced in the September issue of the *Bulletin*, and the detailed programme of which was published in the November issue, was held at the Institute from 1 to 9 November 1961. Inaugurated by Sri Jawaharlal Nehru and organized by the Institute in collaboration with UNESCO, the Conference had as its theme 'The Reactions of the Peoples of East and West to the Basic Problems of Modern Life'. The symposia and public lectures of the Conference were regarded by those who attended as a valuable contribution to UNESCO's Major Project on the Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values.

The new building of the Institute was formally opened by Sri Jawaharlal Nehru on 1 November. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan presided over the function, as also over the inauguration of the East-West Cultural Conference. A full report of these functions and of the Conference, from its opening on the morning of 1 November by Sri Jawaharlal Nehru to the final summing up of its discussions by Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, the Chairman, on 9 November, will be published in the next issue of the *Bulletin*.

On 1 November, in the afternoon, a reception was given to Dr. S. Radhakrishnan and Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, in the Institute's quadrangle. It was attended by a large gathering of friends and members of the Institute and distinguished citizens of Calcutta.

United Nations Youth Movement

The Institute was particularly pleased to welcome a party of ten German students who stayed at its International Hostel from 1 to 6 October. They were members of the West German section of the International Student Movement for the United Nations,

an activity closely in line with the Institute's aims and work.

The members of the group were: Dr. Wolfgang Schmidt, an assistant in forensic medicine and a student of jurisprudence; Mr. Kuno Lorenz, Dr. Phil., mathematician; Mr. Peter Lubbert, a student of mechanical engineering; Mr. Dagulf Muller, a student of education, psychology, and geography; Mr. Wolfgang Hayler, a student of economics; Mr. Hartmut Keller, Cand. Ing., a student of traffic and constructional engineering; Mr. Jobst Buhmann, a student of law and history; Mr. Dieter Bricke, M.A. and Mr. Karl Lange, students of economics; and Mr. Lutz Moebius, a student of art history.

It is worth noting that one of the ten students was able to speak fluent Hindi.

This group of students came to Calcutta after visits to Chandigarh and Banaras and after participating in a work camp at Okhla, near Delhi, organized by the Indo-German Prototype Production and Training Centre in Delhi. Mr. Lange, the leader of the group, described how the group had worked at the Centre and had thereby had an opportunity of meeting working people and hearing about their problems which mainly arose from industrialization.

On leaving Calcutta the group continued their journey through India via Hyderabad, Madras, Cochin, and Poona.

This is one of eight such groups now visiting developing countries. This movement is likely to lead to a programme of exchange of students between countries.

Professor Humayun Kabir

Professor Humayun Kabir, Union Minister for Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, visited the Institute on 14 October. He held discussions with some eminent writers.

Vivekananda Centenary Fund

The Institute is one of the centres for receiving contributions towards the Vivekananda Centenary Fund and fees for membership of the general committee concerned with supporting the programme for the Centenary celebrations in 1963.

According to the programme drawn up, a nucleus of a central fund will be created to help develop humanitarian and educational activities with an emphasis on vocational and industrial education. The amount required would be about Rs. 50 lakhs.

To work out this programme a general committee, a working committee, and an executive committee have been formed. Membership of the general committee is open to any person paying a minimum fee of Rs. 20; any two members of the same family may pay Rs. 30; teachers and students may pay Rs. 10 each.

Contributions may be sent either to this Institute or to the treasurer, Vivekananda Centenary, Belur Math, Howrah, West Bengal; The Manager, Advaita Ashram, 5 Dehi Entally Road, Calcutta 14; The United Bank of India, 4 Clive Ghat Street, Calcutta 7, or to the Central Bank of India, 33 Netaji Subhas Road, Calcutta 1.

Library and Reading Room

In September the number of volumes added to the accession list in the Institute's library was 241, of which 123 were purchased and 118 were gifts. A total of 264 books were classified and catalogued. 2,014 books were borrowed and 2,433 books were issued for reference. The reading room contained 347 Indian and foreign periodicals. The average daily attendance was 178 readers.

Children's Library

During the month of September there were 448 members on the roll. 1,053 books were borrowed and 33 books were added to the accession list. The average daily attendance was 54 readers.

Students' Day Home

In September the number of students on the roll of the Day Home rose to 800. The average daily attendance was 538, and those taking meals or tiffin in the canteen averaged 335. No new text-books were added to the library, the total of 4,838 remaining unchanged.

International Hostel

Amongst those who stayed at the Institute's International Hostel during September and part of October were the following:

Sri Saila Kumar Mukherjee, I.L.B., formerly Speaker, West Bengal Legislative Assembly; Dr. S. N. Roy, M.A., Ph.D., formerly Head of the Department of English and Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Dacca University, and Principal of Charu Chandra College, Calcutta; and Sri A. K. Mazumdar, M.A., Principal of Hooghly Mohsin College and Professor of Philosophy at Calcutta University, who were concerned with preparations for the East-West Cultural Conference.

Professor Charles F. Remer, Ph.D., from America, Professor Emeritus of the University of Michigan, and formerly chief of the Far East Division of the U. S. Government, who was on his way back to America having participated in the golden jubilee celebrations of the University of Hong Kong;

Dr. Geronimo Delacerna, doctor of veterinary medicine from Manila, Assistant Chief of the Laboratory Services Division of the Bureau of Animal Industry in Manila, who was in India for the purpose of purchasing breeding cattle for the Philippine Govern-

Dr. G. K. Shirokov, Ph.D., from Russia, research officer of the Institute of the Peoples of Asia, U.S.S.R., who is making a study of Indian economy under a UNESCO grant;

Brigadier P. Subramanyam, Director of Vehicles and Engineering, Ministry of

Defence, New Delhi, who was on a visit to Calcutta;

Srimati Kusum Wankhede, M.A., from Bombay, Chairman of the Maharashtra State Social Welfare Advisory Board, Srimati Kusunba Desai, from Baroda, Vice-Chairman of the Gujarat State Social Welfare Advisory Board, and Srimati Hira Shinde, from Nasik, a member of the Maharashtra State Social Welfare Advisory Board, all of whom were on an official inter-State tour;

Mr. Tha Tun U, from Burma, who is undergoing training in welding technology in Calcutta;

Sri Biswarup Bose, Dip.F.A.(V.B.), Principal of Kala Bhavan, Santiniketan; Sri Sukhen Ganguly, Dip.F.A.(V.B.), Adhyapak, Kala Bhavan; Sri Munidasa Palayan-goda and Sri Madhav Baisya, students of Kala Bhavan, all of whom are concerned with the plans for the painting of frescoes in the Institute;

Miss Gerlinde Stöger, from Munich, a kindergarten teacher, who was on a tour of India;

Dr. Kameshwar Thakur, M.B.B.S., Dr. Mrs. Eileen Thakur, M.B.B.S., and Dr. Yadubana Bihari Prasad, M.B.B.S., all Civil Assistant Surgeons from Bihar who were in Calcutta in connection with examinations;

Dr. Sajiro Makin, D.Sc., from Japan, Professor of Zoology at Hokkaido University, Sapporo, Japan, who was in Calcutta for the purpose of giving lectures at Calcutta University;

Sirdar Gurdip Singh, B.Sc., from Karnal, Punjab, who was on his way to Manila;

Sirdar Sher Singh, from Karnal, a cattle breeder who was in Calcutta on business;

Sirdar Jagat Singh Anand, from Karnal, the manager of the Montgomery Dairy Farm in Karnal, who was in Calcutta on business; and

Sri A. Banerjee, from Asansol, a

metallurgist attached to TISCO, who was in Calcutta as a tourist.

Visitors

Among the visitors to the Institute during September and part of October were the following:

Professor O. P. Bhatnagar, Assistant Professor attached to the History Department of the University of Allahabad. Professor Bhatnagar is the secretary of the Foreign Students Welfare Committee of the University of Allahabad. He has been instrumental in organizing the university's seventh Winter School for the Study of Indian History and Culture which will be held from 20 to 30 November, and to which fifty foreign students will be admitted;

Rev. Mr. J. C. Hindley, Professor of New Testament and Greek at Serampore College; and

Sri and Srimati Uday Shankar.

Scripture Classes

During September the following scripture classes continued to be held:

Mahābhārata: This class, conducted by Professor Tripurari Chakravarti, was held every Monday at 6.30 p.m. The attendance numbered from 1,000 to 1,200.

Śrīmad Bhāgavatam: This class, conducted by Swami Omkarananda, was held every Wednesday at 6.30 p.m. The attendance numbered from 700 to 800.

School of Sanskrit Studies

With the opening of the Institute's School of Sanskrit Studies in September the Sanskrit *catuspāthi*, which the Institute has held since its inception, has become a part of the School's curriculum. The new course, conducted by Pandit Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya, Śāstrī, Tarka-Vedānta-tīrtha, is divided into two sections, general and advanced. The students of the *catuspāthi* are now members of the advanced class. Dur-

ing September, 19 students attended the general class, which is held on Tuesdays and Thursdays, from 6.30 to 7.30 p.m. 8 students attended the advanced class which is held on Mondays from 7.30 to 8.30 p.m., on Wednesdays from 7.45 to 8.30 p.m., and on Fridays, from 7 to 8 p.m.

Pandit Bhubaneswar Jha

It is with deep sorrow that we record the death in October of Pandit Bhubaneswar Jha who taught Hindi at the Institute since 1948. His work for the promotion of the Hindi language will be remembered and appreciated by many.

School of Languages

During September the following classes were held:

Hindi: The late Pandit Bhubaneswar Jha continued his classes. 50 students attended the Prārambhika (beginners') class, which was held on Tuesdays and Fridays, from 6.30 to 7.30 p.m. 7 students attended the Praveśa (intermediate) class, held on Tuesdays and Fridays, from 7.30 to 8.30 p.m. 9 students attended the Parichaya (advanced) class, held on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays, from 6.30 to 7.30 p.m. 2 students attended the Kovid (diploma) class, held on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays, from 7.30 to 8.30 p.m., and on Saturdays, from 6.30 to 7.30 p.m.

Bengali: This class, conducted by Professor Saurindra Kumar De, continued to be held every Wednesday and Friday, from 7.30 to 8.30 p.m. 9 students attended.

German: The beginners' class, conducted by Countess Keyserling, continued to be held on Wednesdays and Saturdays, from 6.30 to 7.30 p.m. and from 7.30 to 8.30 p.m. 46 students attended.

French: The class for beginners, conducted by Mr. Cadelis, was held on Tuesdays and Fridays, from 6.30 to 7.30 p.m. and from 7.30 to 8.30 p.m. 51 students attended.

Persian: The class for beginners, conducted by Dr. Hira Lal Chopra, continued to be held on Mondays and Thursdays, from 6.30 to 7.30 p.m. 5 students attended.

Russian: The class for beginners, conducted by Mrs. M. Shemansky, was held on Tuesdays and Saturdays, from 6.30 to 7.30 p.m. 24 students attended.

A new section of the beginners' class, conducted by Mrs. M. Shemansky, commenced on 14 November. The class is being held on Tuesdays and Saturdays, from 7.30 to 8.30 p.m. 18 students have enrolled.

Japanese: The class for beginners, conducted by Mr. M. Konishi, commenced on 11 November. The class is being held on Tuesdays and Saturdays, from 7.30 to 8.30 p.m. 10 students have enrolled.

DECEMBER LECTURES

At 5.30 p.m.

- December 2 **The Role of Kamarupa in the Cultural History of India**
Speaker: Sacchidananda Bhattacharya, M.A.
President: Kalidas Nag, M.A., D.Litt.
- December 9 **The Vision of Man in Modern English Poetry**
Speaker: H. M. Williams
 Reader in English, Jadavpur University
President: A. Bose, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon.)
- December 16 **Book Production and Graphic Arts in the United States**
Speaker: Milton Glick
 American Institute of Graphic Arts
President: Niranjana Chakravartty
 Principal, School of Printing Technology,
 Jadavpur University
- December 23 **The Message of Christmas**
Speaker: William Stewart, M.A., D.D.
 Principal, Serampore College
President: Shashi Bhushan Das Gupta, M.A., P.R.S., Ph.D.
- December 30 **Indian and Western Philosophy: A Comparative and Synthetic Interpretation (2)**
Speaker: J. N. Mohanty, M.A., D.Phil.
President: K. P. Khaitan, M.A., Barrister-at-Law

THE RAMAKRISHNA MISSION INSTITUTE OF CULTURE

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In 1962 the *Bulletin* enters its thirteenth year. In addition to the publication of lectures given at the Institute, pages will be reserved each month, for book reviews, news from the Institute, and news from India and abroad, of matters of interest to the Institute.

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